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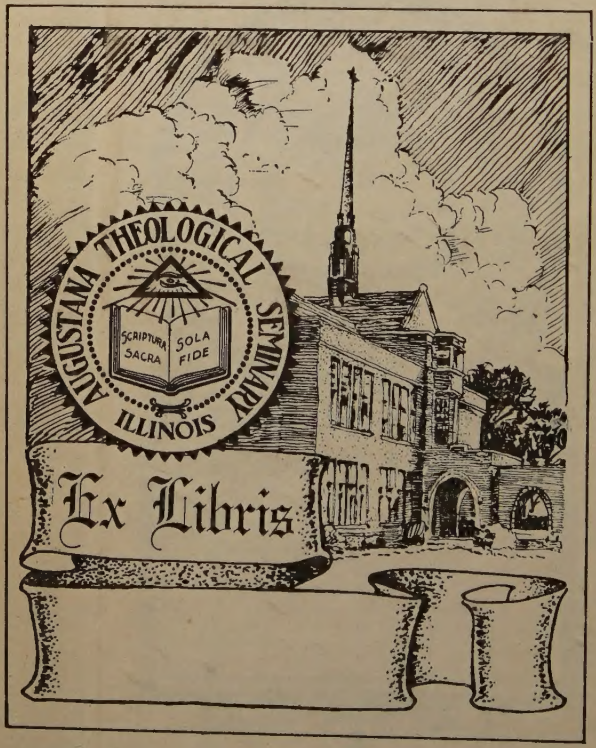
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OF

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BY

JOHN FLETCHER HURST

VOLUME II

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WILLIAM OF OCCAM.

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THOMAS BRADWARDINE.

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WILLIAM LANGLAND.

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HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

The Modern Church.

PART I.

HERALDS OF THE BETTER CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

GROSSETESTE, WILLIAM OF OCCAM, BRADWARDINE, AND LANGLAND.

THE morning never comes unheralded. Every great historical movement has antecedents—those prophetic gleams which tell us that a new day is coming to the world. The Reformation was no exception to this. It had its intellectual preparation—Humanism and the Renaissance; its moral preparation—Savonarola; and its dogmatic preparation—Wyclif and Hus. Each of these was a mighty historical current.

Robert Grosseteste[1] (Greathead) was one of the noblest prelates of England. Born of peasant parentage about 1175, educated at Lincoln, Oxford, and Paris, teacher in the Franciscan school at Oxford, archdeacon and rector of various churches, bishop of Lincoln in 1235, and dying in 1253—this is the simple record of his life. His reforming zeal was based on a passionate devotion to the priestly ideal. He labored hard to do away with the employment of ecclesiastics in secular pursuits, and to abolish "appropriations," that is, the transference of church tenures, tithe-rights and glebe-lands to monasteries, knightly orders, and the like—a practice which so impoverished the parishes that they were left entirely without pastoral care. He tried also to stop the papal custom of putting "Italian rascals" into English benefices, who drew the fees but never set foot in the country. For these and other reforms he

[1] This name is spelled in thirteen different ways.

journeyed twice to Pope Innocent IV at Lyons, 1244–46 and 1249–50. In 1250 he presented his famous Memorial to the pope, which on the moral side is an anticipation of the Ninety-five Theses of Luther. After scathing the "bad pastors" and describing the miserable conditions of the Church, he says:

GROSSETESTE'S "MEMORIAL."

"What is the cause of this evil? I tremble to speak of it, and yet I dare not keep silence. The cause and source of it is the holy see itself; not only because it fails to put a stop to these evils as it can and should, but still more because of its dispensations, provisions, and collations. It appoints evil shepherds, thinking therein only of the living which it is able to provide for a man, and for the sake of that handing over many thousands to eternal death. He who commits the care of a flock to a man in order that the latter may get the milk and the wool, while he is unable or unwilling to guide, to feed, and protect the flock, gives over the flock to death as a prey. That be far from him as the representative of Christ! He who so sacrifices the pastoral office is a persecutor of Christ in his members. And since the doings of the papacy are a lesson to the world, such a manner of appointment to the cure of souls on its part teaches and encourages all who have patron's rights to make pastoral appointments of a like kind as a return for services rendered to themselves, or to please men in power, and in this way to destroy the hope of Christ. And let no man say that such pastors can still save the flock by the ministry of middlemen. For among these middlemen many are themselves hirelings who flee when the wolf cometh.

"Besides, the cure of souls consists not only in the dispensation of the sacraments, in singing of 'hours,' and in reading of masses, but in the true teaching of the word of life, in rebuking and correcting vices; and, besides all this, in feeding the hungry, giving drink to the thirsty, clothing the naked, lodging the strangers, visiting the sick and the prisoners—especially among the parish priest's own parishioners—in order by such deeds of charity to instruct the people in the holy exercises of active life. To do such deeds is not at all in the power of these middlemen, for they get so small a portion of the Church's goods that they scarcely have enough to live upon. In the midst of such evils men might still have the consolation of hoping that possibly successors might follow who would better fulfill the pastor's calling. But when parish churches are made over to monasteries these evils are made perpetual. All such things end, not in the upbuilding, but in the destruction, of the Church. God forbid that even the holy see should act

against Christ and thereby incur the guilt of apostasy and division. Further, the pastoral office, especially of the bishops, is at the present time circumscribed and restrained, particularly in England, and this in three ways: 1. The exemptions and privileges of monasteries. For when the inmates of these addict themselves outside their walls to the worst vices the bishop can take no action against them—their hands are tied by the privileges of the convents. 2. The secular power puts obstacles in the way in cases where investigations are made into the sins of the laymen, in order to prevent other laymen from being sworn as witnesses. 3. Appeals to the pope or archbishop. For if the bishop take steps according to his duty to punish vice and depose unworthy pastors, protest is taken, the liberty of the Church is appealed to, and so the matter is delayed and the action of the bishop lamed."

In conclusion, Grosseteste appealed to the holy see to stop these disorders, to leave off the unevangelical practice of using the interposition of the sword, and to root out the notorious corruption of the papal court. Unless this is done the holy see would draw upon itself the heaviest judgment—yea, destruction itself.

Certainly such writing is in the true Protestant spirit. Bolder still is Grosseteste's letter on the appointment of the pope's nephew or grandson to the prebendary of Lincoln. This appointment—made by the pope himself—Grosseteste disowned and almost anathematized. As the appointment was made simply to give the young ecclesiastic the revenue of the prebend without its work, Grosseteste's ire was raised, and he indulged in a plainness of speech unwonted in those who, like him, were thoroughly devoted to the Roman Church. The commands of the apostolic see, he said, are valid only when given for the edification of the Church, and when such orders as this are sent forth it is the duty of all loyal subjects of the pope to resist them with all their might. No command is apostolic which contradicts the teaching of Christ and the apostles.

GROSSETESTE'S PROTESTANTISM.

This is very near the Protestant ground, for evidently Grosseteste reserved to himself the right to judge whether any papal command was according to Christ or not. At all events, the writings of Grosseteste were very good food for the ripening mind of Wyclif, who studied them ardently and quoted them freely and accurately. In fact, this memorable letter of 1253 Wyclif quotes entire in his De Civili Dominio,[1] and adds notes and comments of his own. Hus was also perfectly familiar with it.[2]

[1] Bk. i, ch. 43. [2] See his De Ecclesia, ch. xviii.

Grosseteste was a teacher of Wyclif, who refers to him admiringly and often, and the English reformers looked back upon him with gladness as a kindred spirit with their own. Lechler sums up very well the position of Robert Grosseteste as a precursor of the Reformation: "When we take into view how high a place he assigned the Holy Scriptures, to the study of which in the University of Oxford he assigned the first place as the most fundamental of all studies,[1] and which he recognizes as the only infallible guiding star of the Church;[2] when we remember with what power and persistency and without any respect of persons he stood forward against so many abuses in the Church, and against every defection from the true ideal of church life; when we reflect that he finds the highest wisdom to stand in this—'To know Jesus Christ and him crucified,'[3] it is certainly not saying too much when we signalize him as a venerable witness to truth, as a Churchman who fulfilled the duty which he owed to his own age, and in so doing lived for all ages; and who, through his whole career, gave proof of his zeal for a sound reformation of the Church's life."[4]

One of the boldest thinkers and most original minds of the fourteenth century was William of Occam, who died in 1349. An Englishman by birth, he spent most of his time at Munich, under the protection of Lewis of Bavaria, where he was the center of a coterie of brave writers who were vindicating the rights of the State and the Church against the extravagant pretensions of the pope. He was general of the Franciscan order, 1342–49. His principles undermine the modern theory of the papacy, which was made an article of faith by the Vatican Council of 1870. It is false, he says, to maintain that the pope possesses unlimited power, both spiritual and temporal. That would mean intolerable slavery, whereas the gospel of Christ is a law of liberty. The whole hierarchy is not immediately of divine

WILLIAM OF OCCAM.

[1] Epistolæ, 123.

[2] Hac sola ad portum salutis dirigitur Petri navicula, Ep. 115. "The hac sola," says Lechler, "answers completely to the Reformation principle—verbo solo—which constitutes the formal principle of Protestantism." [3] Ep. 85.

[4] John Wycliffe and his English Precursors, p. 40. The most of Grosseteste's works remain in MS. Edward Brown published some of his sermons, treatises, and selections from his epistles in his Appendix to the Fasciculus Rerum Expetendarum et Fugiendarum, Lond., 1690. A critical edition of his invaluable epistles was prepared by H. R. Luard for the Rolls Series, Lond., 1862. His life has been written by Pegge, Lond., 1793; Perry, Lond., 1871; and Felten, Leipz., 1887.

authority, but is only a human order. It might be of more advantage to have several popes rather than one only; for the unity of the Church does not depend upon one, and the danger of moral corruption is much greater. The pope may become heretical. In that case he must be judged by every believer, but especially by the emperor. The Church through a general council may depose him.

Occam would build up a general council on the representative, not on the hierarchical principle, thus anticipating the development of Protestant Church polity. As to infallibility, this penetrating Franciscan holds that it resides in the Church as a whole, not in the pope, not even in the episcopate, but in true believers. Even if all the great ones should fall into error God would still reveal his truth unto babes (Matt. xi, 25) or inspire pious men to stand forth in its defense. For our faith does not stand in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God, who sometimes chooses the foolish things of the world to confound the wise (1 Cor. i, 27). OCCAM ON INFALLIBILITY.

In fact, Occam maintains the possibility of both clergy and laity falling into error, and that the true faith might find a home in the hearts of godly women. Occam is constantly minimizing pope and hierarchy, and external power for the sake of Christ. "The head of the Church," he says, "and its foundation, is Christ alone."

Such a clear and strong voice from out the fourteenth century was an unmistakable presage of Luther. In the matter of Church and pope it could not have had a more Lutheran ring. In his general theological teaching Occam held to the mediæval theology as true, not to reason, but to the vision of faith; but his demonstrating the untenableness of the doctrinal teaching of the Church on the ground of reason, even though he held to that teaching as true to faith, was a damaging assault. In his tract on the Sacrament of the Altar he propounds a more rational theory of the eucharist than that held by the Church, but he does this, not to satisfy his faith, which still receives the ordinary doctrine, but his reason. His theory, in fact, was that afterward adopted by Luther. Considering the limitations of his age, William of Occam was a true herald of the Reformation, and such Luther considered him, for he studied him well and called him "My Dear Master Occam."[1]

[1] No modern edition of the works of Occam exists, nor any satisfactory memograph. See the histories of the Church, of doctrine, and of philosophy, also Riezler, Die literarischen Widersacher der Päpste zur Zeit Ludwig des Baiers, 1874. The best estimate of his theological position in English is T. M. Lind-

Another man whom Wyclif greatly loved was Thomas Bradwardine, mathematician and theologian, teacher of theology at Oxford, chancellor of St. Paul's in London, chaplain to Edward III during his war with France, 1339, and for a few weeks only archbishop of Canterbury. He died prematurely of the plague on August 26, 1349. Bradwardine was one of those earnest scholars and spiritual men whom the Church in England has reared, a man who, like Isaac Barrow, was equally great as a mathematician and as a theologian. He did not consciously deviate from the teaching of the Church, and he submits all his opinions to her authority; but in his profoundly Augustinian mind, his emphasis on grace, his earnest protests against any trace of Pelagianism, and the spiritual fervor of his writings he plowed the soil deep for Wyclif's sowing.

THOMAS BRADWARDINE.

In a most interesting passage Bradwardine gives an account of his awakening to the evangelical conception of grace: "I was at one time, while still a student of philosophy, a vain fool, far from the true knowledge of God, and held captive to opposing error. From time to time I heard theologians treating the questions of grace and free will, and the party of Pelagius appeared to me to have the best of the argument. For I rarely heard anything said of grace in the lectures of the philosophers except in an ambiguous sense; but every day I heard them teach that we are masters of our own free acts, and that it stands in our own power to do either good or evil, to be either virtuous or vicious, and such like. And when I heard now and then in church a passage read from the apostle which exalted grace and humbled free will—such, for example, as that word in Rom. ix, 'So then it is not in him that willeth, nor in him that runneth, but in God that showeth mercy,' and other like places—I had no liking for such teaching, for toward grace I was still unthankful. I believed also, with the Manichæans, that the apostle, being a man, might possibly err from the truth on any point of doctrine. But afterward, and before I had become a student of theology, the truth struck upon me like a beam of

say, Occam and his Connection with the Reformation, in British Quar. Rev., July, 1872. See the same author in Ency. Brit., 9th ed. Dorner shows that Occam had a remarkably modern view of the relations of State and Church. The State is to subserve justice, the Church spirituality, and neither is to interfere with the concerns of the other. To his credit be it said, Occam is a stanch supporter of popular rights. Rulers spring from the people, and should care for the people, else they may fall. Few more penetrating and incisive minds have the Middle Ages left to us than Occam.

grace, and it seemed to me as if I beheld in the distance, under a transparent image of truth, the grace of God as it is, prevenient both in time and nature to all good deeds, that is to say, the gracious will of God which precedently wills that he who merits salvation shall be saved, and precedently works this merit of it in him, God in truth being in all movements the primary mover. Wherefore, also, I give thanks to him who has freely given me this grace."[1]

Bradwardine felt himself called to oppose the superficial views then prevalent in the Church. "The doctrine is held by many," he says, "that either the free will of man is of itself sufficient for the obtaining of salvation, or if they confess the need of grace, that still grace may be merited by the power of the free will, so that grace no longer appears to be something undeserved by men, but something meritoriously acquired. Almost the whole world has run after Pelagius and fallen into error."

DE CAUSA DEI.

Bradwardine's treatise "Of the Cause of God" is an able and earnest exposition of the Pauline doctrine, according to the thought of St. Augustine, whom the author highly praises, and an appeal to the Church to return to the old paths. Although Bradwardine did not have the genius of Wyclif in the latter's breadth and boldness of theological reconstruction, he yet prepared the way for him by his thoroughly Protestant doctrine of grace. Let us say here that Bradwardine's doctrine, resting firmly on the scriptural principle that every good and perfect gift cometh down from the Father of lights, needed only the modification of the other truth, that in the reception and use of those gifts the sinner is left absolutely free. The movements toward salvation which he feels are from God alone, but he is yet master of himself in the response which he chooses to make to the divine promptings.[2]

It is remarkable that the first outbursts of English song should have been consecrated to the work of reform—a prophecy of the fact that the glorious course of English literature was to run in Protestant channels. Even the Catholic age must make its protest, and prove its fidelity to English and Teutonic genius by its anti-Roman strain. Thus we find that the Vision of Piers Plowman, by William Langland, though never consciously departing from the dogmas of the Church, is one of the finest documents in the moral

[1] De Causa Dei, i, 35.

[2] The De Causa Dei was published in London, in 1618, by Henry Saville, head of Bradwardine's College—Merton at Oxford. His mathematical works were published in Paris, 1495, 1502, and later. Schrœckh gives long extracts from the Causa Dei in his Kirchengeschichte. See Lechler, *l. c.*, ch. 1, sec. 6.

strenuousness of its Protestantism that the pre-Reformation period has left us. Very little is known of the author.

That entertaining explorer of some of the byways of history, Jusserand, has patched together in an ingenious and scholarly manner every shred of evidence which he can find as to the personality of the author, and these are his conclusions: William Langland,[1] born at Cleobury Mortimer about 1331–32, arose from the ranks of the peasantry into the orders of the Church —at least the lower order—lived in his early life in Malvern,[2] where he studied at the Benedictine convent, and later in London, and died we know not where or when. It is pathetic that we know so little of the author of this great poem, this passionate outcry against the abuses of a dead Church.

WILLIAM LANGLAND.

Langland was a theological reformer only in the sense of exalting the reason and the conscience over against the pope and Church, and of insisting on righteousness and charity and the fear of God as more important than pardons and indulgences.

> "For wise men been holden
> To purchase you pardons and the Popes bulles,
> At the dreadful doom when the dead shall rise
> And come all before Christ, accounts to yield,
> How thou leddest thy life here, and his laws kept.
> A pouchful of Pardons there, nor Provincial Letters,
> Though you be found in the fraternity of all the four orders,
> And have indulgences double-fold, if Do Well you help
> I set your Patents and your Pardons at one Pisa worth."[3]

Every abuse is severely lashed. His freedom, boldness, and earnestness sound like Wyclif, though we have not Wyclif's clear-cut doctrinal decisions. Langland takes for granted the body of Church doctrine, but he is constantly reaching beyond it in his effort to exalt the reason and conscience and the moral intuitions. The test of everything is its agreement with holiness and charity. He exalts the parliament rather than the hierarchy, and there is in many aspects of Langland's teaching a wholesomeness and modernness which make the study of his Vision a fascinating task. "The vehement and passionate England," says Jusserand, "that produced the great revolt of 1381 and

PIERS PLOWMAN'S VISION.

[1] Not Langley, as Pearson argues in a brilliant article in the North British Review, April, 1870. Skeat agrees with Jusserand in rejecting the form Langley.

[2] Jusserand's archæological information about Malvern and its priory is exceedingly interesting.

[3] Piers Plowman's Vision, ed. Wright, i, 150.

the heresy of Wyclif, that later on will give birth to Cavaliers and Puritans, is contained in essence in Langland's work ; we divine, we foresee ner." [1] The largeness of Langland's view, in spite of his hearty acceptance of the traditional teaching of the Church, is exemplified in his hope for the heathen. He trusts that all the Jews and Saracens may receive the Christ and "turne into the trewe feithe, for Cryste cleped us all—alle Sarasenes and Scismatikes—and Jewes." [2]

[1] Piers Plowman, p. 104.

[2] B. xiii, 209 ; xi, 114. There are editions of Piers Plowman by Wright, Lond., 1842, 2d ed., 1856, and by Skeat, Lond., 1867, '69, and '72, this last representing the three successive forms the poem assumed under the hand of the author. This monumental edition by Skeat is completed by a supplementary volume, the 4th, 1877, 2d ed., 1884, containing copious introductions, various readings, and notes. A more convenient edition of this was issued by the Clarendon Press in 1886, in 2 vols., the first giving the three parallel texts, the second containing ample introductions and commentaries. Portions of the middle or B text (about 1377), with introduction, notes, and glossary, was prepared for students by Skeat, in Clarendon Press series, Oxf., 1869, 2d ed., 1882—an admirable edition. Milman discusses at length the historical significance of Langland's work in his Latin Christianity, bk. xiv, ch. vii (vol. viii, pp. 372–384). Excellent estimates also in Marsh, Lectures on Origin and History of the English Language, N. Y., 1862, pp. 296 ff., and in Morley, Library of English Literature, Lond., 1878, vol. ii. Lechler, Wiclif, has an excellent section, pp. 70 ff., and appendix iii.

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CHAPTER II.

WYCLIF.

"Servant of God, well done! well hast thou fought
The better fight, who single hast maintained
Against revolted multitudes the cause
Of truth; in word mightier than they in arms;
And for the testimony of truth hast borne
Universal reproach, far worse to bear
Than violence; for it was all thy care
To stand approved in sight of God, though worlds
Judged thee perverse."[1]

"On the Feast of the Passion of St. Thomas of Canterbury, John Wyclif—that weapon of the devil, that enemy of the Church, that sower of confusion among unlearned people, that idol of heresy, that mirror of hypocrisy, that father of schism, that son of hatred, that carrier of lies—being seized with the dreadful judgment of God, was struck with palsy, and in that state continued to live till St. Sylvester's day, when he breathed out his malicious spirit into the abodes of darkness."[2]

This judgment of a contemporary chronicler well expresses the opinion of the reigning Church on the boldest and most uncompromising reformer of her corruptions and errors whom God raised up in the pre-Lutheran age. It must be confessed that it is not very far removed in accuracy and charity from the style of Roman Catholic historians of a modern and a more enlightened age in their dealing with those whom they regard as heresiarchs. In 1412—twenty-eight years after Wyclif's death—Archbishop Arundel wrote to Pope John XXIII asking him to order the bones of the heretic, "a most wretched and pestilent person of damnable memory, a son of the old serpent, and a precursor and child of antichrist,"[3] to be dug up and cast upon a dirt heap or into the fire. This eminently Christian request the council of Constance three years after reiterated,[4] although it was not carried out until 1427, when Fleming, Bishop of Lincoln, caused the body to be

[1] Milton, Paradise Lost, vi, 29 ff.
[2] Walsingham, Historia Anglicana, ed. Riley, ii, 119.
[3] Wilkins, Concilia, ii, 350.
[4] Labbe, Concilia, xii, 49.

exhumed, burned to ashes, and cast into the brook Swift. On this the famous comment of Thomas Fuller is well worth quoting: "Thus the brook has conveyed his ashes into Avon, Avon into Severn, Severn into the narrow seas, they into the main ocean. And thus the ashes of Wicliffe are the emblem of his doctrine, which now is dispersed all the world over."[1] This passage so strongly impressed Wordsworth that he versifies it in one of his sonnets:

"Once more the Church is seized with sudden fear,
And at her call is Wicliffe disinhumed:
Yea, his dry ashes are consumed
And flung into the brook that travels near;
Forthwith that ancient voice which streams can hear
Thus speaks (that voice which walks upon the wind,
Though seldom heard by human kind)—
'As thou these ashes, little brook, wilt bear
Into the Avon, Avon to the tide
Of Severn, Severn to the tide of narrow seas,
Into main ocean they, this deed accurst
An emblem yields to friends and enemies
How the bold teacher's doctrine, sanctified
By truth, shall spread, throughout the world dispersed.'"[2]

The wild ravings of Wyclif's bitter opponents may well be passed over. Men never indulge in vague abuse if they can allege definite breaches of the decalogue.[3] Most of the reformers have paid the penalty of their innovations by charges of many breaches, though false in nearly all cases. But against Wyclif no such charges are forthcoming. His intellectual and moral preeminence was unquestioned. Knighton speaks of him as "Doctor in theologia eminentissimus in diebus illis, in philosophia nulli reputabatur secundus, in scholasticis disciplinis incomparabilis."[4] His piety breathes in words like these: "O thou Everlasting Love! inflame my mind to love God that it burn not but to his callings. O Jesus! who shall give to me that I feel thee? Thou must now be felt and not seen. Enter into my heart and fill it with thy most clear sweetness;

WYCLIF'S LOFTY CHARACTER.

[1] Church Hist. of Britain, book iv, sec. 53, ed. Nichols, i, 493.

[2] Eccl. Sonnets, xvii. Wordsworth's poems are well worthy the study of the preacher. The best one-vol. edition is that of Morley, Lond. and N. Y., Macmillan, 1888. The great edition of Knight in 15 vols. is being revised and reissued, 1897–98.

[3] John Wiclif, in Church Quar. Rev., Lond., Oct., 1891, p. 116. This is a scholarly and able article.

[4] Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores, ed. Twysden, iii, col. 26–44.

make my mind to think deeply of thy sweet love, that I, forgetting all evils, all vain visions and scornful imaginations, thee only embracing, joying I may rejoice in my Lord Jesus." [1]

There was no uniformity in the spelling of English names in mediæval or even in later times. An accomplished Wyclif scholar, Dr. Rudolf Buddensieg, of Dresden, says that the name is spelled in fifty-three different ways; [2] and F. D. Matthew, another Wyclif specialist, speaks of thirty-three spellings. The choice is narrowed to four: (1) Wycliffe, the name of the village from which he takes his name, and therefore historically preferable; (2) Wycliff, as Pope Urban spells the name; (3) Wiclif, as he is called in the Royal Commission of July 26, 1374; (4) Wyclif, the form used by Shirley, the accomplished editor of the Fasciculi Zizaniorum, and the first biographer to place Wyclif in his true light by a study of the sources which recent times have unearthed. [3] German students call him Wiclif, and English scholars generally prefer Wyclif. [4]

John Wyclif was born between 1319 and 1324, at Wycliffe-on-Tees, near old Richmond, in Yorkshire. The first sure date in his career is 1361, when he was made Master of Balliol College, Oxford, a college founded by the Balliols, his neighbors at Barnard Castle. He had livings in the vicinity of Oxford, but these interrupted but little, if at all, his residence at the university. He proceeded to the doctor's degree between 1363 and 1366, and in 1365 was appointed Warden of Canterbury Hall, an institution then recently founded by Archbishop Islip, of Canterbury. In 1367 Islip's successor, Langham, expelled all the secular priests, of whom Wyclif was one, from Canterbury Hall, and substituted monks in their stead. This action Wyclif considered illegal, and appealed the matter to the pope, who, in 1370, decided in favor of the monks. Some Roman writers have charged Wyclif's opposition to Rome to this setback, but without reason. For first, Wyclif's writings reveal no personal animosity, and second, the decision against Wyclif was not made until 1370 or 1371, whereas his antipapal attitude had been taken as early as 1366.

WYCLIF'S CAREER.

The habit of attributing personal animosity, or chagrin, or disappointment, or slight, as a motive of the protests of reformers is a

[1] See Faulkner, The Work of Wiclif, in Reformed Quar. Rev., April, 1890, p. 229.

[2] London Christian World, June 26, 1884.

[3] See his Introd. to Fasciculi Zizaniorum, Lond., 1858.

[4] See Church Quar. Rev., Lond., xxxiii, 115, note.

common one with Roman Catholic writers. It seems impossible for them to appreciate a noble or conscientious impulse. Wodeford made the above charge against Wyclif in 1381, and though so bitter an enemy of the reformer as Thomas Netter of Walden did not repeat it, it is mentioned as an uncontroverted fact by the Roman Catholic Stevenson.[1] Netter's explanation of Wyclif's anti-papal attitude was his disappointment in not receiving a bishopric—a charge equally gratuitous. It should be stated that some scholars believe that the Wyclif who was Warden of Canterbury Hall was another Wycliffe, John Wyclyve, vicar of Mayfield, in Sussex, from 1361 to 1380. This is the opinion notably of Shirley,[2] and R. L. Poole.[3] Hook adopts this view as firmly established, for he says: "I assume it is a fact now admitted by all who have examined the subject that the Warden of Canterbury Hall is a distinct person from the great reformer."[4] But the positiveness of Hook is premature. There seems no sufficient reason for doubting the old tradition which identifies the reformer with the Warden of Canterbury. In fact, doubt on the subject might almost be considered to be set at rest by the discovery and editing by E. M. Thompson, of the British Museum, of the Chronicon Angliæ, an important detailed history of the close of Edward III's and the beginning of Richard II's reign, which was printed for the first time in the Rolls Series in 1874. In it occurs the following passage: "The Duke (John of Gaunt) had taken to his party a certain false theologian, a real fighter against God, who for many years in the schools in all his acts had opposed the Church, because he was justly deprived by the Archbishop of Canterbury of a certain benefice in the University of Oxford, of which he was unjustly the incumbent."[5] An investigator who has thoroughly ventilated this whole question with every other item of information concerning the reformer's connection with Oxford, agrees with Lechler in holding to the inconclusiveness of Shirley's reasoning and in maintaining the identity of our Wyclif with the Warden of Canterbury Hall.[6] Lechler is also supported in this by such experts as Burrows,[7]

[1] Truth about John Wiclif, Lond., 1885.

[2] Note to Fasciculi Zizaniorum, p. 526.

[3] Wycliffe and Movements for Reform, Lond. and N. Y., 1889, p. 68.

[4] Lives of Archbishops of Canterbury, iv, 158.

[5] See an able article, Wiclif and his Works, in Quar. Rev., Lond., April, 1889, pp. 507, 508.

[6] John Wyclif in Oxford, in Church Quar. Rev., Oct., 1877 (v, 119 ff.).

[7] Wiclif's Place in History, Lond., 1882, p. 54.

Buddensieg,[1] Lorimer,[2] and Matthew.[3] Wyclif's wardenship, resting, as it does, on the statements of two contemporary witnesses, Wodeford and the Monk of St. Albans, may be taken as established.

It is interesting to notice that it was a question of politics which first brought Wyclif out in opposition to the pope. In 1366 Pope Urban V demanded from Edward III the payment of the feudal tribute money due from England to the papal see—a thousand marks annually—with the arrears that had accumulated for thirty-three years.[4] Edward submitted the matter to Parliament, which replied in these words: "Forasmuch as neither King John nor any other king could bring that realm and kingdom in such thralldom and subjection but by common consent of Parliament, the which was not done; therefore that which he did was against his oath at his coronation, besides many other causes. If, therefore, the pope should attempt anything against the king, by process of other matters in deed, the king with all his subjects should with all their force and power resist him."[5]

In support of this position Wyclif wrote his first book, Determinatio de Dominio, in which he lays down the principle for which Dante had contended half a century before,[6] that the State and Church are two separate and distinct jurisdictions, that the pope has no authority in the State, and that no tribute can be exacted from the king to the pope. "Christ alone is the suzerain. The pope being fallible, yea, peccable, may be in mortal sin. It is better as of old to hold the realm immediately of Christ." In 1374 Wyclif was a member of the Royal Commission appointed to meet the papal nuncios at Bruges to negotiate a settlement of some dispute between England and the papacy. In this same year he was made rector of Lutterworth in Leicestershire.

CHURCH AND STATE.

In February, 1377, Wyclif was summoned to appear before convocation in London to answer various charges. This trial, before

[1] John Wiclif, Patriot and Reformer, Lond., 1884, p. 17.

[2] Appendix iv to Lechler, Wiclif, pp. 475, 476.

[3] Art. Wycliffe in Chambers' Encyc., last ed., x, 760.

[4] The vassalage of England to the pope was acknowledged by King John in 1213. He agreed to pay Innocent and his successors 1,000 marks a year, each mark being equal to 13*s.* 4*d.*, or about $3.33. Gardiner, Student's Hist. of England, p. 180. This tax was exceedingly distasteful to Englishmen as a sign of national humiliation, and since 1333—the year in which Edward III took the government into his own hands—it had not been paid.

[5] Cotton, Abridgment of Records, p. 102; Lewis, Life of Wycliffe, p. 19.

[6] See above, i, 894–895.

his case was touched at all, was brought to a disgraceful conclusion by a brawl between Wyclif's supporters and Courtenay, Bishop of London. The next attempt of this kind was made by Pope Gregory XI, who, having just terminated the Babylonian captivity of the Church by his return to Rome,[1] issued several bulls against this bold Englishman—three addressed to the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, one to the University of Oxford, and one to the king. It is certainly a significant fact—a prophecy of the end of the papal rule in England—that all this papal thunder came to nothing. Wyclif appeared before the archbishop at Lambeth Palace early in 1378, but the Princess of Wales sent a messenger forbidding the prelate to pass sentence upon him, and, besides, the court was cut short by an inroad of the citizens of London, and Wyclif retired in peace to his rectory. His contemporary, Walsingham, describes the fearful councilors: "Their speech became soft as oil, and with such fear were they struck that they seemed to be as a man that heareth not, in whose mouth are no reproofs."[2]

WYCLIF ON TRIAL.

The papal schism of 1378 was the occasion of a yet more radical attitude as a reformer. Meditation, study of the Scriptures, and practical knowledge of papal affairs, had brought Wyclif to a more and more distinctively Protestant position. He came to the conclusion that the Church could dispense with both popes. When he sees them cursing each other, fighting each other with blood and fire, he is filled with intense indignation. The Vienna manuscripts show us how gradually he came to his final decided views that both popes are "monsters, incarnate devils," that the "pope is the fountain and origin of all the wickedness in the Church, and that he is very antichrist."[3] This additional light and these deepening convictions bore Wyclif on in various fruitful activities.

His early high opinion of the order of the Franciscans as an approach to Christ's ideal was changed after 1378 to a profound detestation of the spirit and methods of all the Begging Friars.[4] This

[1] See above, i, 780.

[2] Hist. Anglicana, i, 345 ff.

[3] Supplement to the Trialogus.

[4] The old biographers of Wyclif, Anthony Wood, Lewis, and Le Bas, have made popular the notion that the reformer from the first—say from 1360—made the Mendicants an object of his attacks. The publication of Wyclif's works has dispelled this notion, and Lechler placed this part of his life in its proper relation, though Lechler himself errs in postponing his attack until his controversy over the Sacrament of the Altar in 1381.

detestation found expression in the epithet Caim, the mediæval way of spelling Cain, recalling the blood of the innocent bearing witness against the murderer. The word is formed from the initial letters of the four Mendicant orders, the Carmelites, Augustinians, Jacobites, or Dominicans,[1] and Minorites, or Franciscans. The latest Wyclif scholar admirably sums up this part of the subject: "Up to 1381 his attacks were mainly directed against practical abuses. He saw the papal court a mart for the sale of preferments and indulgences, crowds of 'Romerunners' draining England of bullion to fill the treasury of France, foreign ecclesiastics intruded into English benefices which they never visited. He saw on every side proofs of simony and worldliness of the higher clergy. His own bishop had openly bought the see of Lincoln. Prelates and abbots were absorbed in secular pursuits and the pleasures of the chase. He saw the 'religious possessioners' lay field to field and house to house, and starve the country district by filling rural cures with ignorant vicars who could not even read the Ten Commandments. He saw parish priests given over to the tavern, hunting, and gluttony, and so occupied in worldly avocations as to be rather bailiffs and reeves than 'ghostly fathers.'

INDICTMENT OF THE FRIARS.

"But the Mendicants, the inhabitants of 'Cain's Castle,' as Wyclif calls them, are the special objects of his indignation. His language against them knows no measure. Their ideal was also his; but their poverty was feigned. He detested them for the evasion of their vows, for the championship of the pope, for their teaching on the mass. He attacked them for their catchpenny sermons, in which they tickled the ears of the people with profane stories in order to gain larger collections; for their untruthfulness, which had made a friar's statement a proverb for a falsehood; for their gluttony, to satisfy which they built kitchens more splendid than the palaces of kings; for their clamorous and unscrupulous begging; for their claims to special holiness and special efficacy in prayer, as though one 'Familorum'[2] by a friar were better than a *paternoster;* for their easy absolution of sinners; for their letters of fraternization, by which the rich obtained the graces without the privation of poverty; for their imposition on the credulity of the simple by the sale of pardons, or by the exposition of relics, like the veil

[1] The Dominicans were called Jacobites from the fact that their first monastery in Paris stood near the gate of St. Jacques.

[2] Alluding to one of the prayers in the commemoration for the living, "Memento domine Famularum."

of Our Lady, or the swatch of the sail of St. Peter's Fishing Boat."[1]

These Letters of Fraternity were singular instruments of greed, enrolling rich men as a kind of associate members of the monastic orders, after which they were entitled to the benefits of all the works done throughout the order.[2] It is interesting to note what Wyclif himself says of them: "I am willing to say of these Letters in Latin what I have formerly said in English,[3] for it is important to know something of their history. If this be well understood, the simoniacal heresy of those selling them will be immediately manifest, for they do not issue such rules except in the expectation of realizing gain and of giving strength to their unlawful confederacy. Beyond doubt there is implied in this practice a fraudulent buying and selling; and it is equally certain that God must hate this abominable traffic.

LETTERS OF FRATERNITY.

"On many grounds it is evident that the friars selling these letters have fallen into a radical heresy, for they pretend expressly in them that the individuals to whom they grant them shall be made partakers of merits from themselves after death. But where can you find a more presumptuous blasphemy? For neither they themselves nor the men with whom they carry on this traffic can know whether they may not be condemned in hell. How blind, then, is their folly in making assertions on a subject on which they know so little! But they are, it seems, of such innate tendency to falsehood that they do not hesitate to assert, contrary to eternal judgment, that they can do things which in reality they cannot do. Again, if they promise to another man that after death he shall be a partaker of their merits, they manifestly imply both that the man himself will after death be worthy of such participation, and that they themselves at present merit future happiness; because if each party should be a foredoomed member of Satan,[4] then such a granting must be beyond the power of these friars.

"The friars, by the letters which they so assiduously display to the people, give plain indication that they say unto the people that they themselves are holy and grave men in the Church, and, what

[1] Art. John Wyclif, in Church Quar. Rev., Oct., 1891, pp. 131, 132. Buddensieg gives some pertinent quotations from Wyclif on the Friars in his John Wiclif, pp. 151–155.

[2] See Ducange, Gloss., *s. v.* Fraternitas, where the formula of admission is given.

[3] See Select English Works of John Wyclif, ed. T. Arnold, Oxf., 1869–72, i, 67, 380, iii, 420 ff.

[4] Wyclif was an Augustinian in his predestinarianism.

is more than the sounding of a trumpet before them, they send forth letters to confirm the impression of their sanctity, which men are to preserve constantly in their chests. Many simple people, however, confide as much in these frivolous letters as in an article of faith like that of the communion of saints, or salvation by Christ. Will, then, a man shrink from acts of licentiousness and fraud if he believe that soon after, by the aid of a little money bestowed on friars, an active absolution from the crime he has committed may be obtained? Accordingly this heresy is supposed to be the cause why the faith of the laity is found to be so wavering."[1]

This may be taken as an excellent illustration of Wyclif's dealing with one of the best cherished institutions of the Church.

WYCLIF'S WRITINGS.

Wyclif's later years were marked by the issuing of his theological tracts and writing his Latin books—forestalling the Reformation in the vigor, definiteness, and scripturalness of his views. He saw that the great need of the people was a knowledge of God's word. "Christians ought to travail day and night," says he, "upon the text of Holy Writ, especially upon the Gospel in their mother tongue. And yet men will not suffer it that the laity should know the Gospel and read it in their common life in humility and love. Covetous clerks of this world reply and say that laymen may soon err, and therefore they should not dispute of Christian faith. Alas! alas! what cruelty is this, to rob a whole realm of bodily food because a few fools may be gluttons and do harm to themselves and others by their food taken immoderately. As easily may a proud worldly priest err against the Gospel written in Latin as a simple layman err against the Gospel written in English. . . . What reason is this if a child fail in a lesson at the first day to suffer never children to come to lessons for this default? Who would ever become a scholar by this process? What antichrist is this who to the shame of Christian men dares to hinder the laity to learn this holy lesson which is so hard [strongly] commanded by God? Each man is bound to do so that he be saved, but each layman who shall be saved is a real priest made of God, and each man is bound to be a very priest."[2]

The thoroughly Protestant tone of these words is to be noted. The New Testament was translated first and by Wyclif, and completed about 1382; the Old Testament was translated by Nicholas

[1] See Buddensieg, as above, pp. 156–159.

[2] Pref. to Transl. of Gospel Harmony. See Forshall and Madden's ed. of the Wyclif Bible, and Lechler, p. 213.

Hereford, one of the leaders of the Wyclif party at the university, and by others. Both translations were from the Vulgate. The work of Hereford was suddenly interrupted by a citation to appear before a council in London, from which he appealed to the pope, and by him he was imprisoned for years. Wyclif multiplied copies of the translation both of the Bible as a whole and of parts, placed them in the hands of his preachers, and thus England was saved from the reign of ignorance and superstition which has cursed the Latin races of Europe. The Church tried in every way to destroy all copies of Wyclif's versions, but it utterly failed in this. Numerous manuscript copies exist in English libraries, and we infer that Wyclif's Bible was widely circulated. A thorough revision was undertaken by Wyclif's learned pupil and ministerial assistant, John Purvey, and completed about 1388. Wyclif's Bible and prose writings were the creators of our modern English. As Luther opened the period of the new High German, so Wyclif laid the foundations among the common people for the present English speech. Chaucer wrote more for the higher classes, but Wyclif spoke to the heart of the nation, and it is to his perspicuous, nervous, forceful, direct Middle English speech that we owe the fixing of our language in those general features which Shakespeare and the English Bible of 1611 have made eternal.[1]

WYCLIF'S BIBLE.

Wyclif's last days were spent at Lutterworth in writing and preaching those earnest sermons which thrill us to this day, and in

[1] It is not, says Shirley, "by his translation of the Bible, remarkable as that work is, that Wyclif can be judged as a writer. It is in his original tracts that the exquisite pathos, the keen, delicate irony, the manly passion of his short nervous sentences, fairly overmaster the weakness of the unformed language, and give us English which cannot be read without a feeling of its beauty to this hour" (Fascic. Zizan., p. xlvi). Writers on Wyclif and publishers of his Bible have often confounded the earlier version of Wyclif and Hereford with the revision of Purvey. Thus John Lewis, the first important biographer of Wyclif (1720), published the revision of Purvey as the original translation of Wyclif—The New Testament, translated out of the Latin Vulgate, by John Wiclif, about 1378 [should be 1382], Lond., 1731; and this was reprinted in 1810 by H. H. Barber and in 1841 by Bagster in his Hexapla. Adam Clarke was the first to publish the original version of Wyclif and Hereford—albeit only the Song of Songs—which he did in his Commentary from a manuscript in his own possession. The New Testament in this version was not published until Lea Wilson issued it in London in 1848. It was left to Rev. Josiah Forshall and Sir Frederick Madden to thoroughly investigate every fact relating to Wyclif's Bible, and to republish the original version and Purvey's revision in parallel columns, with an invaluable Introduction, Lond., 1850, 4 vols., large 4to.

the active duties of a parish priest. He was at last cited by Urban V to Rome to answer for his heresies, but growing infirmities compelled him to refer the pope to the citation of God, thus manifested, as forbidding him to go. An attack of paralysis carried him off on the last day of 1384.[1]

[1] Vaughan, Life and Opinions of Wycliffe, ii, 224, and John de Wycliffe, a Monograph, p. 468, to whom Wyclif literature owes a vast debt, says that Wyclif was engaged in administering the eucharist when seized. This is an innocent extension of the statement made by the oldest sources, Audiens missam in ecclesia sua de Lyttywort circa elevationem sacramenti altaris decidit percussus magna paralysi, according to Gascoigne, from the report of John Horn. See Lewis, Wiclif, p. 336; Lechler, p. 422. He was stricken while hearing the mass, not while officiating.

CHAPTER III.

WYCLIF'S ITINERANT PREACHERS.

Professor Shirley was the first to call attention to Wyclif's anticipation of Wesley's itinerancy—the resemblance between the "poor priests" and "Wesley's lay preachers such as they were while his strong hand was upon them."[1] Nothing illustrates better Wyclif's practical genius than his determination to sow England deep with evangelical principles by sending out priests and laymen —for he employed both—armed with copies of the gospels and epistles which he had just translated, and with his vigorous English tracts and pamphlets. They went forth in long garments of coarse woolen cloth, barefooted, with staff in hand, as pilgrims, wandering from village to village, town to town, preaching, teaching, warning, wherever they could find hearers—in church, churchyard, street, and market place. The Church authorities were deeply enraged by this itinerant propagandism of heresy, and Courtenay, Archbishop of Canterbury, calls attention "to certain unauthorized itinerant preachers, who set forth erroneous, yea, heretical assertions in public sermons, not only in churches, but also in public squares and other profane places, and they do this under the guise of great holiness, but without having obtained any episcopal or papal authorization."[2]

The sermons of Wyclif's preachers were simple presentations of Gospel facts and ethics, especially the latter, which they enforced with great vigor and plainness of speech. They were sent out by Wyclif from Oxford and Lutterworth, their special field of activity being Leicestershire, though they extended beyond that, and their time was in the last part of Wyclif's life, perhaps 1375–82. Wyclif wrote many tracts, both in English and Latin, in defense of them, one of which, De Graduationibus Scholasticis,

[1] Fasciculi Zizaniorum, Lond., 1858, p. xli. The first modern biographer of Wyclif, Lewis, hardly mentions the poor priests, but that enthusiastic Wyclifite, Robert Vaughan, does full justice to this aspect of the reformer's work. See his Life and Opinions of Wycliffe, 2d ed., rev., Lond., 1831, ii, 163 ff. Lechler is full and satisfactory here, as everywhere, 2d ed., Lond., 1884, 189 ff. Wesley himself never mentions Wyclif.

[2] Wilkins, Concilia, iii, 158.

is a defense of the right to employ men not graduates to preach the Gospel, which he proves from Scripture and the practice of the Church.[1]

In another of these tracts, Why Poor Priests Have No Benefices, he gives a scathing picture of the state of the Church. In order to obtain a pastoral charge a priest must usually buy his way—present to the prelate first fruits and other unlawful contributions, or he must combine with it some worldly office inconsistent with the life of a priest. Vicious and incompetent men, therefore, may obtain the care of many thousand souls; A SCATHING TRACT. "but if," says Wyclif, "there be any simple man who desireth to live well, or to teach truly the law of God, he shall be deemed a hypocrite, a new teacher, a heretic, and not suffered to come to any benefice. If in any little poor place he shall live a poor life he shall be so persecuted and slandered that he shall be put out by wills, extortions, frauds, or worldly violence, and imprisoned or burnt." Some lay patrons, "to cover their simony, will not take for themselves, but kerchiefs for the lady, or a palfrey, or a tun of wine. And when some lords would present a good man, then some ladies are the means of having a dancer presented, or a tripper on tapits, or a hunter, or a hawker, or a wild player of summer gambols." It is almost impossible, therefore, for poor priests to accept benefices without contracting the guilt of simony.

Another reason why poor priests cannot accept benefices is the fear of being compelled to misspend poor men's goods—misspending, that is, the income of the cure on ecclesiastics, patrons, rich entertainments, and the like. Wyclif here mentions a curious custom which shows the depth of infamy to which the Church had descended. "On each holy day these small curates shall commonly have letters from their ordinaries to summon and curse poor men [for not paying more into the coffers of the Church], and for naught except the covetousness of the clerks of antichrist; and if they refuse to summon and curse them, though they know not why they should, they shall be injured, and summoned from day to day, from one far place to a farther, or be accursed, or lose their benefice, or their profits." Wyclif reprobates in the strongest language these "cursed deceits."

But Wyclif's chief reason for the itinerant life for his helpers is that in this manner they can better "help their brethren heavenward, whether by teaching, praying, or example-giving. By this

[1] This tract is still in MS. in Vienna.

they most surely save themselves and help their brethren; and they are free to fly from one city to another when they are persecuted by the clerks of antichrist, as Christ biddeth, and the Gospel. And thus they may best without any challenging of men go and dwell among the people where they shall most profit, and for the time convenient, coming and going after the moving of the Holy Ghost, and not being hindered from doing what is best by the jurisdiction of sinful men. Also they follow Christ and the apostles more in taking voluntary alms of the people whom they teach, than in taking dymes and offerings by customs which sinful men have ordained in the time of grace."

Parish priests who were faithful to their trust are not condemned. "Nevertheless, they condemn not curates who do well their office, and dwell where they shall most profit, and teach truly and stably the law of God against false prophets and the accursed deceptions of the fiend. Christ, for his endless mercy, help his priests and common people to beware of antichrist's deceits, and to go even the right way to heaven. Amen, Jesus, for thy endless charity."[1]

PREACHING EXALTED.

It is the glory of Wyclif that he saw that the true work of the minister was preaching. When one of his preachers, William Thorp, was examined by Archbishop Arundel the accused itinerant made the following noble confession, fully worthy of Wesley when experiencing like persecution four hundred years later: "By the authority of the word of God, and also of many saints and doctors, I have been brought to the conviction that it is the office and duty of every priest faithfully, freely, and truly to preach God's word. Without doubt it behooves every priest, in determining to take orders, to do so chiefly with the object of preaching the word of God to the people to the best of his ability. We are accordingly bound by Christ's command to exercise ourselves in such wise as to fulfill this duty to the best of our knowledge and power. We believe that every priest is commanded by the word of God to make God's will known to the people by faithful labor, and to publish it to them in the spirit of love, where, when, and to whomsoever we may."[2]

It was formerly believed that Wyclif's poor priests were priests,

[1] See Vaughan, Life and Opinions of John de Wycliffe, illustrated principally from his unpublished MSS., ii, 184-139. Arnold, Wyclif's English Works, iii, p. xx, classes the tract, Why Poor Priests Have No Benefices, as one of the doubtful works of Wyclif, and does not print it.

[2] Foxe, Acts and Monuments, iii, 260; Lechler, p. 194.

but Lechler and Buddensieg have both proved by an examination of the Vienna manuscripts that later in the history of this itinerancy laymen were also employed.[1] In one place Wyclif insists that a simple unlearned preacher (*ydiota*) can do far more good for the building up of the Church than "many graduates in schools and colleges," because he scatters the seed of the law of Christ more humbly and copiously both in word and deed, and in a sermon the reformer lays down the scriptural and Protestant doctrine that for a ministry in the Church the divine call and commission are perfectly sufficient, that God himself installs, even though there has been no imposition of hands by the bishop.[2]

Wyclif is an illustration of the oft-proved fact that whenever a reformer goes back of church tradition to Scripture, whenever he emphasizes the spiritual and ethical over against the formal and ceremonial, he is bound to return to a nonprelatic theory of the ministry. It is the greatness of Wyclif that in the fourteenth century he clearly grasped this principle, and acted on it in his effort to evangelize England by preaching. In the sixteenth century, with the flood of new light which came in with the printed Bible, it is not strange if the reformers returned to the original constitution of the Church; but the clear and satisfying insistence on a Christian theory of the ministry two hundred years before is a proof of the strength, boldness, and accuracy of Wyclif's mind in its simple and unaided studies of the truth.

DEPRECIATION OF WYCLIF.

For this reason certain scholars depreciate Wyclif's work.[3] They resent his spiritual views of the ministry and his destructive attitude, and also deny his originality. Indeed, noble men did protest against the abuses of mediæval times, but there was not one who in his protests sought also to lay again the foundations of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone, and in a large and practical way to build for Christ and country. In Wyclif's emphasis on preaching and on the study of Scripture, and in his effort to use these for popular evangelization, he is entirely unique in the

[1] Lechler, p. 195; Buddensieg, Wiclif, p. 65.

[2] Videtur ergo, quod ad esse talis ministerii ecclesiæ requiritur auctoritas acceptationis divinæ, et per consequens potestas ac notitia data a Deo ad tale ministerium peragendum, quibus habitis, licit Episcopus secundum traditiones suas non imposuit illi manus, Deus per se instituit. Sermons for Saints' Days, No. 8, fol. 17, col. i; Lechler, p. 196.

[3] See art. Cardinal Repyngdon and the Followers of Wycliffe, in Church Quar. Rev., Oct., 1884, especially pp. 60–63.

Middle Ages. His itinerancy was to work within ecclesiastical limits so far as possible, and Shirley states that it was at first employed under Episcopal sanction,[1] but where the work was needed and consent was withheld the work of God must not thereby be hindered.[2]

[1] Fasc. Zizan., p. xl.

[2] See also Wiclif and his Works, in Quar. Rev., Lond., clxviii, 526, 527 (April, 1889).

CHAPTER IV.

WYCLIF AS A PROTESTANT.

It was formerly thought that Wyclif reached his full position at once. But the truth is that there was a gradualness in his theological history which makes him less a portent but more a reasonable teacher.[1] Take, for instance, his attitude toward the pope. Down to 1378 he recognized the papacy as a useful and, within certain limits, as a divine institution. He allowed it a spiritual supremacy in the Church, but only when it was true to its spiritual ideals. It has no civil jurisdiction nor any right to levy taxes on the State. The greatness of the pope stands in humility, poverty, and readiness to serve; when he becomes degenerate and secularized he becomes an arch heretic, and must be put down. But even in its spiritual province it is not necessary to salvation, nor has it unconditioned plenary power, and, moreover, its claims thereto may rightfully be investigated.[2] WYCLIF ON THE PAPACY.

Even in this early stage Wyclif had reached the point allowed by Melanchthon, that the pope might be recognized as the head of the Church by human right, but not by divine right. The infallibility of the pope and of the Church he stoutly denied. Before 1378 Wyclif's position was exactly like that of the Gallicans and the present ultra High Churchmen of England. It is a singular instance of historic evolution that the only representatives of the moderate Romanism of the pre-Vatican times are now to be found in the Church of England.

The next stage of Wyclif's antipapal progress was brought about by the schism of 1378, when Urban VI and Clement VII were cursing each other and using every other weapon of hostility. He now declares that the Church would be much better off without either, and professes himself independent of both popes.[3] But this neutral position could not be long maintained. Wyclif must either retreat or advance. Lechler expresses this admirably: "It was

[1] See Lechler, chap. viii, sec. 11.

[2] See the two earliest and two of the most important of his Latin treatises —De Civili Dominio, and De Veritate Scripturæ Sacræ, the latter written in 1378.

[3] See his De Ecclesia, written in the latter part of 1378, and his Cruciata, probably written soon after.

inevitable from the nature of the case that an ever-sharpening antagonism, and a warfare against papacy, growing continually more uncompromising, should develop itself. And to this the controversy concerning the Lord's Supper, in which Wyclif began to engage in the year 1382, essentially contributed. The more violently he was calumniated and attacked by the friends of the papacy on account of his criticism of the doctrine of transubstantiation, all the more did the papacy itself appear to him to be a limb of antichrist. To this period of his life—1382 to 1384—belong all the strong assaults upon the Church which have been heretofore known to the world from his Trialogues and several popular writings in English. But these attacks become better understood both psychologically and pragmatically only when we think of them as a climax gradually realized. All the usurpations of the papacy hitherto censured and opposed by Wyclif were now seen by him for the first time in the light of a corruption of Christianity of the widest extent and immeasurably deep, for which he could find no more appropriate name than antichristianism. The systematic spoliation of the national Churches, the haughty pride, the worldly character of the papal government, the claim to hierarchical domination over the whole world—all these features of the degenerate papacy were attacked by Wyclif after this date as well as before, but were now for the first time seen by him in their connection with what was the worst feature of all—with an assumption of divine attributes and rights which seemed to him to stamp the pope as antichrist."[1] Wyclif saw that such absolutism was the very kernel of the papacy, and inasmuch as the pope could not be content with the pastoral care of souls, but must seek worldly greatness and dignity, and rests his claim on the blasphemous assumption that he is vicegerent of Christ on earth, Wyclif boldly contended that the very office itself is of the wicked one, and did not hesitate to use the well-known words of Paul (2 Thess. ii, 3) as characterizing this great apostasy of the man of sin. The veneration given to the pope is blasphemy all the more detestable since by it divine honor is given to a limb of Lucifer, who because of his wickedness is a more abominable idol than a painted block.[2]

THE PAPAL SCHISM.

As to the doctrine of the Church in general Wyclif reached a stanchly Protestant position. He abolished the unscriptural

[1] Lechler, pp. 316, 317.

[2] See all this set forth at length in his last writings—the Trialogus, the Supplementum Trialogi, the De Blasphemia, the De Apostasia, the Latin Sermons, the De Christo et suo Adversario Antichristo, and others.

distinction between the clergy and laity which is at the bottom of the Catholic claim—both Roman and Anglican. The noble word of Wyclif was worthy to be written in gold as the perpetual charter of Protestantism—Omnem Christianum opportet esse theologum. "Every Christian," he says, "ought to be a theologian, because it is necessary for every Christian to understand the faith of the Church, either by an inspired knowledge or a knowledge humanly acquired; for otherwise he could not be faithful, since faith is the highest theology."[1] He holds that while the clergy may go astray in both doctrine and life, the laity may remain faithful; and in case the former should err from the way, the laity have a right to withhold from them their earthly goods, in other words, to repudiate them. Wyclif nowhere uses the words, "priesthood of all believers," but he cordially accepted the idea, and thus parted completely from the Catholic conception. A Christian layman stands before God infinitely higher than a priest or bishop, if the latter is only Christian in name.

WYCLIF ON THE CHURCH.

Nearly one hundred and fifty years before Luther, Wyclif restored the apostolic theory of the ministry. The hierarchical gradation, which the Anglican Church has retained from the Roman, he entirely repudiated. As early as 1377 Gregory XI mentions his belief in the parity of the ministry as one of his nineteen heretical tenets. "Every priest," says Wyclif, "has the power of ordaining and of administering all the sacraments."[2] He says, again: "I assert boldly, first, that in the primitive Church from the time of Paul two orders of clergy sufficed, namely, the priest and the deacon. I say, second, that in the time of the apostle the presbyter and the bishop were the same. See 1 Tim. iii, and Tit. i."[3] This ought not to have been considered very heretical, as the canon law contained the same idea and the quotation from Jerome in which he speaks of the original identity of bishops and presbyters.[4]

It is, however, a singular illustration of the state of historical knowledge in the fourteenth century that Wyclif traces the development of the episcopate as a separate order, and all the hierarch-

[1] De Veritate Scripturæ Sacræ, xxiv.

[2] Hoc ergo catholice credi debet, quod quilibet sacerdos rite ordinatus habet potestatem sufficientem qualibet sacramenta conferendi. . . . absolvendi, nec aliter potest papa absolvere. Nam quantum ad potestatem ordinis omnes sacerdotes sunt pares.—De Dominio, i, 38.

[3] Trialogus, iv, 15. He says also in the Supplementum Trialogi vi, ut olim omnes sacerdotes vocati fuerunt episcopi.

[4] See Decreti, Pars i, Distinct. 95, c. 5, and Jerome's Com. on the Epistle to Titus i, 5. See Lechler, p. 311.

ical assumptions of the papacy as well, of course, as the temporal possessions of the pope, to the pretended Donation of Constantine to Silvester I. "Superbia Cæsarea," he says, "imperial pride has brought in these orders and grades."[1] Nowhere, perhaps, do the originality and penetration of Wyclif's genius shine out more than in his spiritual conception of the Church, and in his anticipation of the modern restoration of the ecclesiology of Christ.

HIGH CHURCH CRITICISM.

High Church scholars—and nearly all Episcopal scholars are now High Church—depreciate greatly Wyclif's work on account of his Protestantism. One of these in an able article on Wyclif says: "Wyclif anticipated most of the abuses by which the extreme fanaticism of the Puritans was subsequently characterized. [The effort of the Puritans to reform the Church on a scriptural basis is called fanaticism.] In the first place, he rightly insisted on the supremacy and sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures. But he held them to be supreme not only in matters of faith and revealed truth, but in political affairs and in rites and ceremonies. [This is misleading. He held that no rites and ceremonies were of divine obligation except such as were deduced from Scripture.] In the second place, he entirely mistook the nature of the Church. He regarded the institution as consisting only of holy persons who were predestined to salvation, and held that her sacraments were vitiated by the imperfections of her ministers. [This is incorrect. Wyclif held that ungodly men ought not to minister in the Church, but he never taught that the efficacy of the sacrament to the recipient depended upon the holiness of the priest. On the contrary, he asserted plainly more than once that an unworthy minister can administer the sacraments validly to the spiritual health of the faithful recipient, but to condemnation to himself.[2] He maintained that God himself worked in the sacrament, and was not dependent therefore on the character of the minister. "Thes Antichrist's sophistris schulden knowe well that a cursed man doth fully the sacramentis, though it be to his dampnynge, for they ben not autoris of thes sacramentis, but God kepeth that dygnyte to himself."[3] Lechler has fully elucidated this.[4]] In the third place, he recognized only the two orders of priests and deacons in the Church, and held that episcopal ordination was unnecessary for the ministry. A predestinarian in religion, a presbyterian in Church government,

[1] Trialogus, iv, 15. He says again: Tertia introducta est secundum ordinationem Cæsaream præsidentia episcoporum.—Saints' Days Sermons, No. 46.

[2] See Trial., iv, 10, 12; De Eccl., xix; De Verit. Script. Sac., xii.

[3] Wyclif's Select English Works, iii, 27.

[4] Chap. viii, sec. 12.

almost a Zwinglian in his latest views of the eucharist, he was the progenitor of the extremes of the Puritans. By his one-sided insistence on the supremacy of the Scripture he fostered the unreasoning detestation of the cross in baptism or of the ring in marriage, ignored the functions of the Church to decree rights and ceremonies, denied the value of apostolic tradition, and let loose upon the interpretation of the Bible the caprice of human ingenuity. By this misconception of the nature and constitution of the Church he sacrificed historical continuity, founded the principles on which the reign of the 'saints' was established, distorted the true view of the efficiency of the sacraments, and opened the door to the multiplication of sects."[1] This is a good indication of the differences between so-called Catholicism and Protestantism.

In his idea of Church and State Wyclif is also thoroughly Protestant. The spiritual and temporal sovereignties are kept asunder. One has no right to interfere with the other. Each is responsible to God. The pope has no authority in the civil realm. "To rule temporal possessions," says Wyclif, "after a civil manner, to conquer kingdoms and exact tributes, appertain to earthly lordships, not to the pope; so that if he pass by and set aside the office of spiritual rule, and entangle himself in those other concerns, his work is not only superfluous, but also contrary to Holy Scripture."[2]

WYCLIF ON POLITICS.

Wyclif, in fact, looks forward to an ideal in which civil polity and law will be no longer necessary in the Church. "The law of the Gospel," he says, "is sufficient by itself, without the civil law or that called canonical, for the perfect rule of the Church militant."[3] As to lordship itself, it is founded on grace. "The meek shall inherit the earth." Righteousness is the only test of valid property holdings. On the one hand this invalidates the claim of the pope and bishops to their immense estates, and on the other it puts in jeopardy the property of any man and all men, and absolves the people from allegiance to a wicked ruler. But this principle Wyclif did not push to an extreme. It was an ideal only—"in the perfect state," he said, "all things would be in common."[4] In the meantime men must obey their rulers.

It has often been asserted that Wyclif's principles here were

[1] Art. John Wyclif, in Church Quar. Rev., Lond., Oct., 1891, p. 135.

[2] De Civili Dominio, i, 11. R. L. Poole in his invaluable Illustrations of the Hist. of Med. Thought, Lond., 1884, chap. x, has given a full exposition of Wyclif's views under the head of Church and State.

[3] De Civili Dominio, cap. 17.

[4] *Ibid.*, cap. 30.

revolutionary, that he taught insubordination and anarchy. Nothing could be farther from the truth. He repeatedly inculcated obedience to rulers and masters. "If thou art a laborer," he says, "live in meekness, and truly and willingly, so thy master, if he be a heathen man, by thy meekness, willing and true service may not have a grudge against thee, nor slander thy God, nor thy Christian profession;" and much more to the same effect. Every man ought to live in quietness and obedience, in love and equity, according to the estate in which Providence has placed him.[1] Wyclif had to meet this misrepresentation in his own day. "Some men that are not of charity slander poor priests [his itinerants] with this error, that servants or tenants may lawfully withhold rent and service from their lords, when lords be openly wicked in their living." His earnest scriptural character—he appealed himself to 1 Pet. ii, 18, and Rom. xiii, 1–7—should save him from any charge of this kind. Wyclif's great service in relation to the doctrine of Church and State was in holding that the Church should keep to its spiritual functions purely, that "property has its duties as well as its rights, that property is responsibility—responsibility to the suzerain of the universe to use it well for God's glory and the good of men—and that when wasted in evil ways God has a right to resume control."[2]

When we consider his attitude toward the Bible the completeness with which Wyclif grasped the fundamental idea of Protestantism is apparent. In this respect nothing was lacking. "The Holy Scripture is the faultless, most true, most perfect, and most holy law of God, which it is the duty of all men to learn, to know, to defend, and to observe, inasmuch as they are bound to serve the Lord in accordance with it, under the promise of an eternal reward. . . . The Holy Scripture is the one word of God, also the whole law of Christ is one perfect word proceeding from the mouth of God; it is therefore not permitted to sever the Holy Scripture, but to allege it in its integrity according to the sense of the author. If God's word is the life of the world, every word of God is the life of the human soul; how may any antichrist, for dread of God, take it away from us that be Christian men, and thus suffer the people to die of hunger in heresy and blasphemy of men's laws, that corrupteth and slayeth the soul? . . . It is impossible that any

[1] See his tract, A Short Rule of Life for Each Man in General, for Priests, Lords, and Laborers in Special.

[2] See Burrows's Wiclif's Place in History, p. 16; John Wicliffe: His Life and Work, in Blackwood's Edinb. Magazine, Dec., 1884, pp. 750, 751.

word or deed of the Christian should be of equal authority with Holy Scripture."[1]

Wyclif accepted unreservedly the principle of the sole and sufficient authority of the Holy Scripture as the only rule of faith and practice, thus anticipating the Reformation in announcing the formal principle of Protestantism. This gave him among his contemporaries the title of Doctor Evangelicus, as embodying the distinctive trait of his teaching and character, just as Adam Marsh was called Doctor Illustris, Alexander of Hales Doctor Irrefragabilis, Albertus Magnus Doctor Universalis, Henricus de Gandavo Doctor Solemnis, Bradwardine Doctor Profundus, Bacon Doctor Mirabilis, Duns Scotus Doctor Subtilis, and Thomas Aquinas Doctor Angelicus. He declared his faith in the plenary inspiration of Holy Scripture, which he identifies with the Incarnate Word, rejected the apocryphal writings by which the Church supported her doctrines, and stigmatized those who read the decretals as fools. Wyclif's opponents charged him with borrowing the opinions of Occam in regard to the Bible; but this he denied, saying that his views on this matter were taken from Scripture and the writings of the fathers. In this he was correct. Occam's appeal is to the Bible and Church-teaching combined, and it does not occur to him that the doctrines of the Church should first be independently judged to find out whether they are in accordance with Scripture, and thence received or rejected.[2] But Wyclif with a bound swept away all other supports and appealed to the word and the word alone.

WYCLIF'S VIEW OF SCRIPTURE.

In the reaction from Ullmann's excessive emphasis on the evangelical elements of the pre-Reformation reformers,[3] Karl Müller has gone to the other extreme in denying them any evangelical conception whatever.[4] He says that the teaching of Wyclif and Hus, that Church membership depends on keeping God's law and not on the recognition of the hierarchy, and that this law is in the Bible and not in the hierarchy, does not leave the medi-

[1] See De Veritate Scrip. Sac., Trialogus, De Civili Dominio, and De Ecclesia, passim.

[2] See Lechler on this, chap. viii, sec. 2, whose treatment of Wyclif's attitude to the Bible is exhaustive and admirable.

[3] In his well-known book, Reformers before the Reformation, in German, 1842, 2d ed., 1866; in English, Edinb., 1843, 4th ed., 1874.

[4] In his Bericht über den gegenwärtigen Stand der Forschung auf dem Gebiet der vorreformationschen Zeit, in Vorträge der theol. Konferenz zu Giessen, 1887.

æval ground, because the Church as a means of grace with clergy and sacraments is still recognized and honored.[1] But Protestantism constantly recognizes Church and sacraments as a means of grace, only insisting with Wyclif that everything must be true to the norm, the word. If otherwise it is not Protestantism, but Rationalism and the new Unitarianism. There is a degree of truth, however, in Müller's thought that Wyclif's doctrine of dominion is congenial with mediæval ideas: all mankind form a great complex life under God as supreme feudal lord, from whom every man receives in fee his worldly possessions; and they may rightly be lost by a breach of vassal obligations.

MÜLLER ON WYCLIF.

But so much is conceded to the minimizing judgment of Karl Müller concerning Wyclif's Protestantism as to say that it is not to be expected that he should have attained to the fullness of the evangelical assurance of faith. He swept away all notions of merit and of works of supererogation. He denied utterly the idea of a treasure house of merits held in heaven to the credit of the pope—an idea which played such an important part in the Middle Ages and on which the doctrine of indulgences was founded. He held to the necessity of repentance and conversion, and his ideas on both were quite satisfactory; but he does not grasp the simplicity and freedom of faith as taught by Paul and received by Luther and given its rightful place and power by Wesley. With Wyclif faith is still too much a belief with the intellect and not enough a trust of the heart. In his doctrine of faith as a belief of the Gospel Wyclif still stood on mediæval ground. Every man is the product of his age; and however far Wyclif went beyond it in many of his ideas it was perhaps absolutely impossible for him to arrive at the material principle of Protestantism—that principle which makes it what it is, which forms its matter or substance, the doctrine of justification by faith. And it was this failure which marks the gap between Wyclif and Luther. But it was not until two hundred years after Luther that this doctrine was made a principle of evangelism.

THE LIMIT OF WYCLIF'S ADVANCE.

[1] H. M. Scott, in Current Disc. in Theol., vi, 229.

CHAPTER V.

WYCLIF AS A DEFENDANT IN HERESY TRIALS.

PERHAPS the central doctrine of the Roman system in mediæval times, that around which the fight was hottest, was the doctrine of the Lord's Supper. It was Wyclif's point of departure from the creed of his fathers, and the rallying point of his enemies against him. In 1378, when Wyclif wrote his De Dominio Civili, he seemed to have no misgivings as to the current teaching on this subject, but in 1381 he had definitely abandoned the Church doctrine. In his Trialogus he says: "I maintain that among all the heresies which have ever appeared in the Church there was never one which was more cunningly smuggled in by hypocrites than this, or which in more ways deceives the people; for it plunders them, leads them astray into idolatry, denies the teaching of Scripture, and by this unbelief provokes the Truth himself oftentimes to anger."[1]

WYCLIF'S TEACHING ON THE LORD'S SUPPER.

Wyclif argues powerfully and at length on this subject, and his refutation of the Roman doctrine of the Supper still stands as a strong and unimpeachable utterance—a mediæval document which still speaks to modern truth-seekers. "It is impossible," says Lechler, "not to be impressed with the intellectual labor, the conscientiousness, and the force of will, all equally extraordinary, which Wyclif applied to the solution of this problem. His attack on the dogma of transubstantiation was so concentrated and delivered with so much force, and from so many sides, that the scholastic conception was shaken to its very foundations."[2] Wyclif's own doctrine was that Christ is present in the Lord's Supper effectually, as he is in his kingdom everywhere, spiritually, as dwelling in the souls of the faithful, and sacramentally, as dwelling after the prayer of consecration in a peculiar manner in the bread and wine. The body of Christ is partaken of only in a spiritual manner. It appears, therefore, that Wyclif's only error was in postulating a real—even if spiritual—presence of Christ in the elements, as the soul is present in the body—to use his own illustration—rather than teaching that Christ is present only in the heart of the

[1] Trial., iv, c. 2. [2] Wiclif and his Precursors, p. 359.

believer, and that by the sacramental signs received in a believing and spiritually discerning way that presence of the whole humanity and divinity of the Lord becomes a power to the nourishment of the soul in God. Wyclif's doctrine was more Protestant than Luther's, inasmuch as Luther taught that Christ is present corporeally in the elements and is corporeally received by both the worthy and unworthy, whereas Wyclif taught that Christ is present in the elements only spiritually—his body remaining in heaven—and is received spiritually by the spiritually minded, and not at all by the unworthy.[1]

William Courtenay, Archbishop of Canterbury, summoned a synod to sift Wyclif, to meet in the Grey Friars Convent, London, May 17, 1382. This is the famous Earthquake Council, so called because it was interrupted by an earthquake, which the doctors present interpreted as a protest of heaven against them, but which Courtenay, with dauntless faith, said was a favorable omen—the earth throwing off her noxious vapors, which is a call to the Church also to purify herself. The council selected twenty-four articles from Wyclif's writings, of which ten were condemned as heretical and the other fourteen as erroneous. The archbishop then sent Stokes, a Carmelite, with a commission to clear Oxford of this heresy. It is not necessary to go into this quarrel between Canterbury and Oxford at length.[2] It is sufficient to say that after many discouraging rebuffs the Church succeeded in silencing the Wyclif scholars at Oxford and driving them out. With that she drove out the spirit of learning, and Oxford was dead for a hundred years. With calmness unconquerable in its trust in God, Wyclif addressed a petition to the king and Parliament, praying their assent to the main articles contained in his writings and proved both by Scripture and reason to be the Christian faith; that all persons under vows may have liberty to follow the law of Christ; that tithes may be bestowed according to their proper use, for the maintenance of the poor; that Christ's own doctrine concerning the eucharist be publicly taught; that neither the king nor the kingdom obey any see or prelate farther than their obedience be grounded in Scripture; that no money be sent out of the realm to the court of Rome unless proved by Scripture to be due; that no bishop or minister should be enslaved to a secular

THE EARTHQUAKE COUNCIL.

[1] See Lechler, chap. viii, sec. 12.

[2] The history is given in full in Milman, Lechler, and others, in histories of Oxford, and in the art. on Repyngdon and the Wicklifites at Oxford, in Church Quar. Rev., Oct., 1884, pp. 59 ff.

office; that no cardinal or foreigner hold preferment in England; and that no one should be imprisoned on account of excommunication.[1]

This is one of the most notable public papers in English constitutional history. It showed the progressiveness of Wyclif's mind that he should thus have anticipated the course of the English Reformation by this great appeal to the king and Parliament as judges equally with the prelates of the state of religion in the realm.

It is commonly supposed that Wyclif was summoned to appear before Pope Urban VI, in 1383 or 1384, and that the so-called "Letter to Urban VI" was a reply to such citation. But Lechler, for sufficient reasons, doubts the citation, and shows conclusively that the "Letter" is not a letter, but a sermon or tract. It is one of the last of Wyclif's utterances, and expresses his final opinion that Christ is the only test of discipleship and that the pope is antichrist when he departs from Christ. "No man should sue the pope nor any saint in heaven, but inasmuch as he sues Christ." "The moreness of Christ's vicar is not measured by worldly moreness, but by this, that this vicar sues more Christ by virtuous living; for thus teacheth the Gospel, that this is the sentence of Christ." "If I might travel in mine own person I would with good will go to the pope. But God has needed me to the contrary, and taught me more obedience to God than to men. And I suppose of our pope that he will not be antichrist and reverse Christ in his working the contrary of Christ's will; for if he summon against reason, by him or by any of his, and pursue this unskillful summoning, he is an open antichrist."[2]

LETTER TO URBAN VI.

With this declaration and with a final statement of his place in history in the words of his greatest biographer we may leave Wyclif: "In the collective history of the Church of Christ Wiclif marks an epoch, on the ground that he was the earliest personal embodiment of the evangelical reformer. Before him, it is true, many ideas of reform and many efforts in the direction of it crop up here and there which even led to conflicts of opinion and collisions of parties and the formation of whole reformed societies. But Wiclif is the first important historical personage who devotes himself to the work of Church reform with the entire power of a master mind, and with the full force of will and joyful self-sacrifice of a man in Christ. To that work he devoted the labors of a life, in obedience

[1] This petition is found in Select Works of Wiclif, ed. by Arnold, iii, 507 ff.

[2] This letter is found in Wiclif's Latin works, Fasc. Zizan., 341, and also in Select English Works, iii, 504. See discussion in Lechler, pp. 415 ff.

to the earnest pressure of conscience, and in confident trust his labor was not in vain in the Lord. He did not conceal from himself that the labors of evangelical men would in the first instance be opposed and persecuted and driven back; but he consoled himself with the assurance that the ultimate issue would be a renovation of the Church upon the apostolic model. It was only after Wiclif that the living embodiments of the spirit of Church reform, a Huss, a Savonarola, and others, appeared upon the field—a succession which issued at length in the Reformation of the sixteenth century." [1]

[1] Lechler, Wiclif, pp. 437, 438.

CHAPTER VI.

FROM WYCLIF TO CRANMER.

From the death of Wyclif to the overthrow of the papal supremacy in England was one hundred and forty-eight years. The time was not ripe for the radical scriptural reform which Wyclif inaugurated, nor was it ripe even under Henry VIII. The Puritans, and not the Anglicans, are the true successors of Wyclif and the Lollards. But it must not be supposed that in that century and a half the work of Wyclif and his preachers proved fruitless, that nothing remained. The work of the English Reformation, defective and fragmentary as it was, could not have been accomplished so early if the Lollards had never made their brave and noble protests. After telling the apparently successful measures to crush the Lollards, Froude says: "Thus perished Wiclif's labor—not wholly, because his tradition of the Bible still remained a rare treasure: a seed of future life which would spring again under happier circumstances. But the sect which he organized, the special doctrine which he set himself to teach, after a brief blaze of success, sank into darkness; and no trace remained of Lollardy except the bleak memory of contempt and hatred with which the heretics of the fourteenth century were remembered by the English people long after the actual Reformation had become the law of the land."[1]

FROUDE'S ESTIMATE OF WYCLIF.

This is a hasty judgment. Creighton, though he does not speak so emphatically, follows Stubbs[2] in making the movement both transitory and political.[3] On the other hand, it can be shown that, although Henry VIII's Reformation was essentially political, the Lollard movement was only incidentally so, and that in its influence and results it persisted until its work was taken up in the sixteenth century.

It must be confessed, however, that Wyclif's preachers were not the stuff of which martyrs are made. Fierce persecutions drove them to recant, and Hereford, who assisted Wyclif efficiently in the

[1] Hist. of England, ii, 35.
[2] Constitutional Hist. of England, iii, 353.
[3] The Papacy during the Reformation, i, 306, 307.

translation of the Bible, fled from England. Later the persecutions relaxed, and the movement spread with great rapidity. One of the old chroniclers says that one half of the inhabitants of England were Lollards,[1] as the reformers were called. They preached and distributed tracts and Bibles. Knighton says: "When an itinerant arrived at the residence of some knight the latter immediately with great willingness set about calling the country people to some appointed place or church in order to hear the sermon. Even if they did not care about going they did not dare to stay away or object. For the knight was always at the preacher's side and with sword and shield, ready to protect him should anyone dare to oppose in any way his person or his doctrine. This teaching was at the beginning full of sweetness and devotion; but toward the end it broke out into jealousy and calumny. Nobody, they said, was upright and pleasing to God who did not hold the word of God as they preached it; for thus in all their preaching did they hold up God's laws."

THE LOLLARDS.

In churches and cemeteries, in gardens, private houses, by the wayside, did these preachers set forth the new Gospel. The Bible in Wyclif's translation would be read aloud, or a tract by Wyclif or Hereford explaining the sacred text. The auditors would even be taught how to read, and many in these gatherings were enabled for the first time to read the Scriptures for themselves. Knighton complains that the Bible "became more accessible to laymen and to women able to read than it had heretofore been to the most intelligent and learned of the clergy."[2]

A notable event in this history was the presentation to Parliament in 1395 of a Lollard document embodying a scheme of their doctrinal and practical reforms. These "Conclusions" were briefly as follows:

THE "CONCLUSIONS."

[1] The derivation of this word is disputed. It probably came from *lolium*, tares, or old German *lollen*, *lullen*, to hum, to whine, to lull; probably a satirical description of their tones. Creighton makes the word equal to canters. Whitaker, in his edition of Piers Plowman, p. 154, derives it from *loller*, old English for one who lolls about, a vagabond, and was applied both to the wandering friars and to Wyclif's preachers. For full discussion see Lechler, pp. 439, 440, note; Worman, in McClintock and Strong, *s. v.*; Century Dict., *s. v.* For the number of Lollards see Knighton, col. 2644: Mediam partem populi aut majorem partem sectæ suæ acquisiverunt; col. 2666: secta illa in maximo honore illis diebus habebatur, et in tantum multiplicata fuit quod vix duos videres in via, quin alter eorum discipulus Wyclif fuerit. Walsingam also, ii, 188, under year 1389: Lollardi . . . in errorem suum plurimos seduxerunt.

[2] See Lechler, p. 445.

1. Since the Church of England has begun to dote on temporalities after her stepmother of Rome, faith, hope, and charity have fled, and pride, with her dolorous genealogy of mortal sins, has usurped their place.

2. The customary priesthood which began in Rome, and claims more than angelic authority, is not the priesthood which Christ ordained to his apostles.

3. The priestly law of celibacy is the source of grave and shameful evils.

4. The pretended miracle of the sacrament of the bread leads almost all men into idolatry. Would to God that they believed what the "Evangelical Doctor" says in his *Trialogus*, that the bread of the altar is "habitualiter" the body of Christ!

5. Exorcisms and benedictions, wrought on wine, bread, water, oil, salt, wax, incense, as upon altar stones and church walls, and on robes, miters, crosses, staves, belong to the arts of necromancy rather than to a sound theology.

6. King and bishop in one person, prelate and secular judge, pastor and worldly functionaries, is a union adverse to the true interests of the kingdom. "No man can serve two masters."

7. The offering of prayers in our Church for the souls of the dead is a false foundation of charity.

8. Pilgrimages, prayers, and oblations made to blind crosses or "roods," and to deaf images of wood or stone, are nearly related to idolatry and far from true charity.

9. Auricular confession, declared to be necessary to a man's salvation, exalts the pride of priests and gives them opportunity of secret conferences leading to much evil. They say that they have the keys to heaven and hell, that they can bless or excommunicate, bind or loose at their pleasure, insomuch that for a small reward, or for twelve pence, they will sell the blessing of heaven by charter and claim of warranty sealed by the common seal.

10. Manslaughter, by war or unpretended law of justice for any temporal cause without a spiritual revelation, is expressly contrary to the New Testament, which is a law of grace and full of mercy. For Christ teaches to love our enemies.

11. Vows of chastity taken in our Church by women, who are by nature frail and imperfect, is the occasion of great and horrible sins.

12. The multitude of unnecessary arts practiced in our kingdom nourishes much sin in waste luxury and showy apparel. It seems to us that the trade of goldsmiths, of armorers, and all arts not necessary to men according to the apostolic rule, should be suppressed for the increase of virtue.[1]

The Conclusions close thus: "Wherefore we earnestly desire and beseech God for his great goodness' sake, that he will wholly reform our Church, now altogether out of frame, unto the perfection of her first beginning and original."

[1] We have followed here Lechler's summary, pp. 447, 448. There are two manuscripts of this great document, one in the British Museum, and the other in the Bodleian Library. The Latin text may be found in Lewis, Hist. of John Wiclif, pp. 337; Wilkins, Concilia, iii, 221; and Shirley, Fasc. Ziz., p. 360. Foxe gives an English transl., iii, 203 (Pratt and Stoughton), iii, 203–206 (Cattley).

It will be seen from this that the only points which could be construed as politically odious in the Lollard contentions were their protests against wars for conquest and greed, and against arts such as the goldsmith's, which ministered to pride and extravagance.

With the coming in of the House of Lancaster, 1399, a change which the prelates favored, toleration of the Lollards ceased. The fires of persecution were at once kindled. That very year an act was passed giving bishops power to arrest all persons reported as heretics, require them to clear themselves of the charge, and, if they failed, punish them with imprisonment.[1] This was followed in 1401 with the infamous Act, De Hæretico Comburendo, which, after providing for the rooting out of heresy went on to say that in case the accused would not recant, or, having recanted, returned to his errors, "he should be left according to the holy canons to the secular courts," and the sheriff or bailiffs should take such a person or persons, and "before the people, in a high place, cause them to be burned, that such punishment may strike fear to the minds of others, whereby no such wicked doctrine and heretical and erroneous opinions, nor their authors and favorers in the said realm and dominion, against the Catholic faith, Christian law, and determination of the Holy Church be sustained (which God forbid) or in any wise suffered."[2]

THE FIRE ACT.

Almost immediately, perhaps even before the Fire Act became law, William Sawtre, by royal writ, on February 26, 1401, was delivered to be burned. We quote the very words in which the unfortunate Lollard was handed over to the flames. After saying that the Archbishop of Canterbury, his bishops and clergy, have found Sawtre guilty of heresy, have degraded him from his ministry and have "decreed that the same William be left to the secular court, and have actually left him according to the laws and canonical sanctions enacted in that behalf, and Holy Mother Church has nothing further to do in the premises," the writ proceeds, "we therefore—zealous for justice and a cherisher of the Catholic faith, willing to maintain

[1] Letters patent against the Lollards had been issued in 1382 and again in 1384, in which the bishops were given power to arrest all heretics and keep them in prison "until they repent of the wickedness of their errors and heresies." See one of these letters, that of 1384, in full in Gee and Hardy, Documents Illustrative of English Church History, Lond. and N. Y., 1896, pp. 110–112.

[2] See Statutes of the Realm, ii, 120; Gee and Hardy, pp. 133–137. This act remained in force until it was repealed by Henry VIII, in 1534. It was revived by Mary in 1554, and finally repealed by Elizabeth in 1559.

and defend Holy Church and the rights and liberties of the same, and to extirpate radically such heresies and errors from our kingdom of England, as much as in us lies, and to punish with condign chastisement heretics so convicted, and considering that such heretics convicted and condemned in the form aforesaid ought to be burned in the flames, according to law divine and human, and the canonical institutes, customary on that behalf—as straitly as we are able, firmly enjoining, command you that the aforesaid William, being in your custody, be committed to the fire in any public and open place within the liberty of the city aforesaid [London], by reason of the premises, and that you cause him to be actually burnt in the same fire, in detestation of such crime, and to the manifest example of other Christians; and this you shall in no wise omit under instant peril. Witness ourself at Westminster the 26th day of February [1401]."[1]

Sawtre, a London priest, was burned in March. Purvey, who had been arrested, was so frightened that he recanted, though he afterward returned to the Protestant party. Badby, a tailor, was burned at Smithfield in 1410. Resby was burned in Scotland in 1407. William Thorpe, one of the itinerant preachers, after repeated examinations, a record of which was kept and later published by William Tyndale, was put to death, but how is not known. In his will he says: "To witness to the truth of my conviction, I am ready in humility and joy to suffer my poor body to be persecuted where God wills, and by whom, and when, and for how long a time, and to endure whatever punishment and death that he sees fit, to the honor of his name, and to the building up of the Church."[2]

The most eminent among these pre-Reformation Protestants was Sir John Oldcastle—"the good Lord Cobham," as the people called him. Oldcastle was one of the most brilliant soldiers of his time, and after a distinguished military career became thoroughly converted, joined the Lollards, and used all his means to spread the Gospel. He employed scribes to copy Wyclif's translation, and supported many itinerant

OLDCASTLE.

[1] Gee and Hardy, pp. 138, 139.

[2] The Examination of William Thorpe became one of the most popular books in the early Reformation period in England. It was prohibited, with others, by royal proclamation, 1530, the State Church not liking its earnest evangelical tone. It is reprinted entire in that valuable thesaurus of documents, Foxe's Acts and Monuments, iii, 250–282 (Eds. Pratt and Stoughton, and Cattley).

preachers. Archbishop Arundel preferred charges against him to the king, Henry V, who would not give him over until he had himself tried to bring him back to the Church's faith. Oldcastle's reply breathed the true Protestant spirit—loyalty to authorities, but with the conscience subject only to God: "You, most worthy prince, I am always prompt and willing to obey, forasmuch as I know you a Christian king and the appointed minister of God, bearing the sword to the punishment of evildoers and for the safeguard of them that be virtuous. Unto you, next my eternal God, owe I my whole obedience, and submit thereunto, as I have done ever, all that I have, either of fortune or nature, ready at all times to fulfill whatsoever ye shall in the Lord command me. But, as touching the pope and his spirituality, I owe them neither suit nor service, forasmuch as I know him by the Scriptures to be the great Antichrist, the son of perdition, the open adversary of God, and the abomination standing in the holy place."[1]

COBHAM'S DEATH.

Then followed the examination by the spiritual authorities, 1413, and the sentence: "We judge, declare, and condemn Sir John Oldcastle, knight and Lord Cobham, for a most pernicious and detestable heretic, convicted upon the same, and refusing utterly to obey the Church again, committing him here henceforth as a condemned heretic to the secular jurisdiction, power, and judgment, to do him thereupon to death."[2] After Archbishop Arundel had read this bill of condemnation Oldcastle said, "with a most cheerful countenance:" "Though ye judge my body, which is but a wretched thing, yet am I sure and certain that ye can do no harm to my soul, no more than could Satan to the soul of Job. He that created that will of his infinite mercy and promise save it. I have therein no manner of doubt. And, as concerning those articles before rehearsed, I will stand to them to the very death, by the grace of my eternal God." After this Cobham escaped from prison and lived for three years in Wales. Unfortunately some false reports about a meeting of Lollards in January, 1414, at St. Giles Fields, London, where a few gathered probably to hear preaching, implicated Lollardy, in the minds of the authorities, with treason, and a new statute was immediately passed in Parliament making it the duty of the civil officers to "root out all manner of heresies and errors commonly called Lollardies," thus branding Oldcastle and every evangelical man as a traitor. It was under the false implication of this horribly unjust statute that Oldcastle was captured and hung by three chains over

[1] Foxe, iii, 322. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 336.

a slow fire and thus roasted to death, in London, on December 25, 1417.

The mode of that shockingly cruel death, and the heroism and saintly spirit with which Oldcastle met it, made a lasting impression on the English mind, and helped to exalt the noble victim in the popular imagination as the chief of the English martyrs. The picture of Oldcastle and his martyrdom in rude woodcuts may still be seen in the cottages "which contain," says Creasy, "naught else except the barest necessaries of life, and the Bible."[1]

The persecution against the Lollards raged more or less fiercely until 1431, when the French wars and the long dreary struggle between York and Lancaster turned the mind of the nation to other channels, and henceforth, as Lechler says, the Lollards have no history save the "record of earnest, obscure men, mostly poor, often illiterate, who yet prized the teachings of Holy Scripture, silently testifying against the corruptions of the professed Church of Christ, and so preparing the mind and heart of the people to welcome the Reformation of the sixteenth century."[2] That they did persist from 1431 to the Reformation we have unmistakable evidence.

In 1449 appeared one of the most remarkable books of the fifteenth century, The Repressor of overmuch Blaming the Clergy, by Bishop Reginald Pecock, of Chichester. In this book he not

[1] Creasy, Hist. of England, ii, 395. Hume made popular the assertion of historians that Oldcastle was, or was said to be, along with other Lollards, engaged in treasonable designs. See Hume, chap. 19. Later historians, like Stubbs, Constitutional Hist. of England, iii, 80; Milman, Latin Christianity, vii, 423–425; Robertson, Hist. of Chr. Church, new ed., vii, 300, 301, content themselves with placing this unfounded tradition on the slender evidence, "it is said." There is no valid evidence for this, although it is again repeated by Creighton, Papacy during the Reformation, i, 306. It is abundantly refuted by Foxe, iii, 348 ff., Brougham, Hist. of England under the House of Lancaster, pp. 81, 82, and by Latimer in an able article on the Lollards in the Presbyterian Quarterly, Richmond, Va., April, 1888, pp. 10 ff. On Oldcastle see also Gilpin, Life of Lord Cobham, in Lives of Wiclif and the Most Eminent of his Successors, N. Y., 1814, pp. 91 ff.; Gaspey, Life and Times of Good Lord Cobham, Lond., 1844, 2 vols.; Lechler, Johann von Wiclif, buch iii, c. ii, iii. Halliwell-Phillips, on the Character of Sir John Falstaff, Lond., 1841, and J. Gairdner, on the Historical Elements in Shakespeare's Falstaff, in Gairdner and Spedding, Studies in English Hist, pp. 55 ff., have shown that the original of Falstaff in Henry IV is Sir John Oldcastle, strange as it may at first thought seem, blended, however, with Sir John Falstaff, whose life is narrated by Gairdner in the essay above. See also Creasy, Hist. of Eng., ii, 392.

[2] Lechler, Wiclif, ed. Lorimer, p. 460.

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only replied definitely and in order to objections of the Lollards, but he did this in such a broad and rationalistic spirit, setting up the "dawn of reason" as supreme, criticising the fathers, doubting the apostolic origin of the Apostles' Creed, questioning the Descensus and other things, that the Church refused such an advocate, degraded him from his position, and made him recant his objectionable ideas—which he did not hesitate to do.[1] In spite of the efforts of the Church party to destroy Wyclif's Bible there still exist thirty manuscripts made between 1430 and 1440, and twenty manuscripts made between 1440 and 1450. In 1485, at the close of the War of the Roses, a number of persons in the see of Corven and Lichfield were arraigned for Lollard doctrines, and nine years later a woman was burned at Smithfield as a disciple of Wyclif.[2] In 1494 thirty persons—the "Lollards of Kyle"—were brought by the Archbishop of Glasgow before James IV, of Scotland, and his council for similar charges, and these opinions were at that time spreading rapidly throughout the kingdom, especially in the western districts of Kyle, Corrick, and Cunningham.[3]

PERSISTENCE OF THE LOLLARDS.

Before Henry VIII's passion for Anne Boleyn precipitated the English Reformation there is abundant evidence that the Lollard testimony was still bearing fruit. At Amersham, in Buckinghamshire, sixty persons were in 1506 condemned as Lollards. Their chief teacher, William Tylsworth, was burned, his own daughter being compelled to light the fire, while his entire flock bore fagots in token of their deserving the same fate. In the diocese of Lincoln the work of persecution went on during the whole of the early part of the sixteenth century. In 1518 Thomas Man, who is said to have turned many people in various parts of England to his doctrine, suffered at Smithfield. In 1521 the Bishop of Lincoln records the names of several hundred people who were charged with heresy, and these were people who could not have been influenced by Luther's protest, of which only the learned were then informed, but were parts of that yeomanry which have ever been the strength and glory of England and the bulwark of her Protes-

[1] Best ed. of this remarkable book by Babington, Lond., 1860, 2 vols. It is the subject of an interesting study by James Gairdner in Fortnightly Rev., Aug., 1865, reprinted with revisions and enlargements in Gairdner and Spedding, Studies in English History, Edinb., 1881, pp. 19 ff.

[2] Foxe, iv, 133–135.

[3] Knox, Hist. of Reformation in Scotland, book i, ad init.; Hetherington, Hist. of the Church of Scotland, chap. ii.

tantism.[1] These were the men who in various parts of England hailed Tyndale's translation of the Bible with welcome and delight, and these were the men who, with their reverence for the Scriptures and their determination to go back to that source for their doctrine and polity, found as inhospitable a place in Henry's State Church as they had in the old fold, and thus became the fathers of the Puritans and the modern evangelical Church.

[1] For the Lollard persecutions of the sixteenth century see Foxe, iv, 123, 124, 208–214, 219–246. The best account of the influence of the Lollards in the English Reformation, which, though deep and real, has often been overlooked or even denied by historians, is found in Latimer, The Lollards, in (Southern) Presbyterian Quar., April, 1888.

CHAPTER VII.

THE DOGMATIC PRELUDE IN BOHEMIA—A WYCLIF POSTLUDE.

THERE are few more striking events in Church history than the transplanting of Wyclif—the transference of his influence in its chief power from England to Bohemia.

There had been earnest reformers in Bohemia before John Hus, but not one who did not stand within the ecclesiastical system. They were moral reformers, and not theological. They protested against clerical concubinage and a multitude of abuses—some shocking enough, but they did not seek a revival of apostolic doctrine.

MATHIAS OF JANOW.

Perhaps the one who came nearest to this was Mathias of Janow (died 1394), who in his exaltation of the Scriptures strikes a Protestant note. "In my writings," he says, "I have made most use of the Bible and its actual manuscripts, and but little of the sayings of the doctors, both because the Bible occurs to me promptly and abundantly for writing on every matter of consideration and every subject, and because out of it and through its most divine verities, which are clear and self-evident, all opinions are more solidly confirmed, are founded with greater acuteness, and are meditated on more usefully; and because it is that I have loved from my youth up, and have named my beloved friend and spouse, yea, the mother of beauteous affection and knowledge and fear and holy hope. And as soon as I found the blessed Augustine, in his book De Doctrina Christiana, and Jerome, saying that the study of the texts of the most Holy Bible is in the beginning and the end most necessary and useful to one desiring to attain to knowledge of theological truth, and is and ought to be the fundamental thing to every well-instructed Christian, ere long my mind became attached to the Bible in perpetual love. I confess that from my youth it has not departed from me, even unto old age, neither in my path nor in my home, nor when I was busy, nor when I was at leisure; and in every doubt of mind, in every question I always found in and through the Bible satisfactory and lucid explanation and consolation for my soul, and in all my trouble, persecution, and sadness I always fled for refuge to the Bible. . . . When I

saw very many always carrying with them the relics and bones of divers saints I chose for myself the Bible as the companion of my travel, to be ever at my side in readiness for my defense and continual consolation in adversity."[1]

A man who could have written this ought to have been a Bohemian Luther. Mathias was opposed to image worship, invocation of saints, and veneration of relics, and was a strenuous advocate of the frequent reception of the Lord's Supper. But this hopeful promise never budded into fruition. When called upon by the authorities he recanted everything that seemed to express criticism of the ruling Church.[2] Neander made a profound study of Janow's manuscripts, and of the author he was a great admirer. He devotes large space to him in the last volume of his Church History, and went so far as to say before the Berlin Academy of Sciences in 1847 that the writings of Mathias of Janow reveal a reaction in the evangelical interest independently of Wyclif and previous to Hus, a reaction "based upon the principle of the German Reformation, reference to Christ alone, and his word in Holy Scripture." Would that Mathias had justified Neander's enthusiasm in his favor. But no, Mathias had too deep reverence for the Roman Church. His splendid protests were all recalled.

Thomas of Stitny (died about 1400) did a noble work in behalf of popular education and morality.[3]

John of Husinec, or John Hus, as he was wont to call himself after 1396, was born in 1369. His parents were poor, and, like Luther, he had to sing for his education. He fitted himself for the priesthood, having in view, according to his own word, the comfortable life led by the clergy. He graduated Bachelor of Arts at the University of Prague (founded in 1348) in 1393, was later Bachelor of Divinity, and in 1396 became Master of Arts. He passed through no such spiritual history as Luther, but nevertheless his spiritual life seemed to have deepened, and thus he became gradually prepared to profit by the writings of Wyclif. He

HUS.

[1] See this and other extracts from his writings in Wratislaw, John Hus, Lond., 1882, pp. 61–74.

[2] This recantation is in full in Palacky, Documenta, Prague, 1869, p. 699, and Wratislaw, Hus, pp. 66, 67. Palacky's book contains all the documents, Latin and Bohemian, relating to Hus and the religious controversies between 1403–18.

[3] See Palacky, Gesch. von Böhmen, iii, 188; Loserth, Hus, pp. 42, 43; Wratislaw, The Literature of Bohemia in the Fourteenth Century, Lond., 1878, pp. 122–165. We owe a debt to Wratislaw for translating various important Bohemian works into English.

received priest's orders in 1400, and two years afterward became the preacher at the Bethlehem Chapel, Prague, where the terms of foundation required him to preach in Czech on all Sundays and holy days.[1] He had already become familiar with Wyclif's philosophical writings while at the university, and now he set himself to a study of his theology.

How Wyclif's writings came into Bohemia is not difficult to say. There was a constant intercourse between Bohemia and England, and especially after the marriage, in 1382, of Anne of Luxemburg, sister of the King of Bohemia, to Richard II of England. Many Bohemian students were at the University of Oxford. Jerome of Prague was one of those who carried Wyclif's works with him. He said at the council of Constance that he went to England out of a desire for learning; and because he heard that Wyclif was a man of deep learning and great ability he had written out Wyclif's Dialogue and Trialogue, and had brought them to Prague. This might have been in 1401. Even Hus's contemporaries recognized what has been demonstrated anew by Loserth, that the Bohemian drew his inspiration from the Englishman. Thus Ludolph of Sagen says: "The terrible deeds, repugnant to the faith, to truth and equity, justice, religion and Church, took their start from the books of Wyclif." Andrew of Brod, a fellow-laborer of Hus, tells his brethren: "Ye may speak as ye list on the grievous irregularities of the clergy; only be silent about the errors and books of Wyclif, of which ye are the protectors. . . . Even from ancient times have Konrad (of Waldhausen), Milics, Stekna, and very many others, preached against the clergy, without any of them being placed under an interdict."[2] The Carthusian prior, Stephen of Dolein, near Olmutz, who raves furiously against Hus, traces all the trouble back to Wyclif. So also Kurz of Zwola laments: "The Bohemians have become heretics because they adhere to the arch heretic, John Wyclif."[3] In an academical address delivered in 1409 Hus quotes the "prating of the clerical order" to the effect that "here in the city are countless heretics, folk call them Wyclifists," and he then adds: "As for myself I confess before you here that I have read and studied the works of the magister, John Wyclif, and I readily acknowledge that I have

ENGLAND AND BOHEMIA.

[1] It used to be thought that Bethlehem Chapel, founded in 1391, was the first church where the people of Prague ever heard preaching in their mother tongue. But this is now disproved. See Berger, Johannes Hus und König Sigismund, Augsb., 1871, s. 71; Loserth, Wiclif and Hus, Lond., 1884, p. 69.

[2] Palacky, Monumenta, p. 520.

[3] Loserth, pp. 78, 79.

learned from them much that is good. Truly not everything that I have found in this or that doctor is on that account of the same weight with me as the Gospel; for only to Holy Scripture will I maintain this reverential obedience. Why then should we not read Wyclif's books also, in which are written down countless sacred truths?"

Hus exhorts the students diligently to peruse the works of Wyclif. In the minds of the old Church party an appeal to Scripture was at once recognized as the mark of a Wyclifite. "And if anyone," says Hus in one of his sermons, "says that they are nevertheless able to bring forward Holy Scripture in support of their dogmas, these men at once cry out, 'just look at the Wyclifite, who will not listen to Holy Church.' For they look upon themselves and their unscriptural ordinances as the Holy Church."[1] In the numerous street songs, letters, documents, and registers of that time whenever mention is made of the heretics it is always as Wyclifites, the designation Husites being of late occurrence and then generally in combination with Wyclifite.[2] There is not the least doubt that Hus's contemporaries considered his movement as Wyclifism, as it really was, and that from its very rise in 1403.[3]

HUS AND WYCLIF.

Wyclif, really had a great fascination for Hus. "I am drawn to him," he says, "by the reputation which he has, and that not with the bad, but with the good priests, with the University of Oxford, and with the people in general—albeit not with the base, avaricious, haughty, and luxurious prelates and priests. I am drawn to him by his writings, by which he seeks to bring back all men to the law of Christ, and especially so with the clergy, to the end that they may dismiss the splendor and glory of the world, and with the apostles live after the life of Christ. I am drawn by the love which he has for the law of Christ, in that he maintains the truth thereof, namely, that his law cannot in the smallest point be false." In a sermon preached in 1405 Hus made use of Wyclif's words, and his discourse is penetrated with Wyclif's thoughts. He brought forward the doctrine of predestination,

[1] See Loserth, p. 82.

[2] In Palacky's Documenta Magistri Johannis Hus, we meet with the appellation Wyclifites in twenty-three letters and documents, while that of Husite occurs only in the later added superscription to some State papers. See this and further evidence given *in extenso* by Loserth, pp. 83 ff.

[3] Lechler, Johann von Wiclif, p. 169, acknowledged this, though he places the influence too late. Wyclifism appears as the hinge of the whole movement from its start in 1403, as Loserth has abundantly shown. Loserth, p. 87, note.

which was a pivotal feature of Wyclif's system; and this was not without significance, because it made the salvation of man depend, not upon the will of the pope, or of the Church, or the observance of ecclesiastical decrees, but upon the will of God.

We cannot go into the details of Hus's life in the brief time which elapsed between his embracing Wyclifism and his martyrdom. Two currents are visible—the churchly energy against the reform and the increasing popularity of the new doctrines. A papal bull of 1409 prohibited Wyclif's writings, and on July 16, 1410, two hundred volumes were burned. The Archbishop of Prague declared Wyclif a heretic. On the other hand, the university, of which Hus was made rector, favored Wyclifism; the people denounced the archbishop in the streets; Hus became bolder in his pulpit of the Bethlehem Chapel, and his congregations increased to vast size.

HUS EXECUTED.

On March 15, 1411, he was excommunicated by the archbishop, and the city laid under an interdict, but both sentences were disregarded. At that juncture the preaching of a crusade against Naples and of indulgences brought about a public disputation on June 7, 1412, where it was declared that neither pope nor bishop should draw the sword, and that money could not buy an indulgence, but that true repentance was the only condition of forgiveness. The pope does not know who are the elect, who only can be saved; and the doctrine that he cannot err is blasphemous. The people made a bonfire of the papal bulls in front of the archbishop's palace. Then the king played his part. He executed three young men who declared indulgences a humbug, and requested Hus to withdraw from the city, which he did in December, 1412, passing his exile near Prague, preaching to vast concourses of people, and writing his book, De Ecclesia, which is, however, only a reproduction of Wyclif's book on the same subject. Then followed his citation before the council of Constance, his arrival there on November 3, 1414, his imprisonment on a trumped-up charge, his repeated examination for heresy, his denial of false interpretations put upon his writings, his attempt to explain them so as to come as near as he conscientiously could to the standpoint of the Church, his refusal to recant, and his condemnation—his books to be burned and he himself also to be burned as a heretic on July 6, 1415, a sentence which was executed that same day.

The scenes of that martyrdom, as related in full by Gillett from ancient records,[1] is one of the most dramatic in history. St. Paul

[1] Life and Times of John Hus, Bost., 1861, vol. ii, pp. 61–74.

himself did not go to his death with greater heroism, nor in a spirit of more loyal self-dedication to Jesus Christ, nor show a more devout and Christian spirit than did this brave and noble Bohemian, who in the full vigor of manhood joyfully gave up his life as a witness to the truth as he understood it. He was a man of tender and sensitive nature, not designed for heroic deed. But with that tenderness there was a moral firmness, a fear of God, and a conscientiousness of purpose which set John Hus apart as one of the noblest of that army of martyrs which the Church of Christ must hold in everlasting love.

What were the principles for which Hus gave up his life? Was he really a heretic according to the teaching of the Church of his time? Lechler claims that, according to the canons of the Church of that time, Hus's death was murder pure and simple. But how can this be when, even if he denied holding to Wyclif's doctrine of the Lord's Supper, he held, according to Lechler, that reform must be based on conscience and Scripture alone, and not upon ecclesiastical authority? As soon as we appeal to Scripture and conscience as against the Roman Church we are on Protestant ground. Again, Lechler says that Hus regarded the Scriptures as infallible authority and supreme arbiter, and that he regarded the Church as the company of the elect, without reference to ecclesiastical tests. He also held to communion in both kinds.

HUS'S POSITION.

It seems, therefore, that Lechler speaks hastily in saying that from their standpoint the Church party had no right to proceed against Hus. Gillett agrees with Lechler in regard to Hus's orthodoxy. With regard to transubstantiation and the Trinity he held with the Church. With regard to confession, worship of images, intercession of saints, purgatory, and tradition, his replies showed that he differed but slightly from the French theologians. As to the unworthiness of the priest invalidating the sacrament his final conclusion was in harmony with the Church, that God works even through unworthy hands. With regard to indulgences he does not deny any prerogative given by God to the pope, only that the indulgence is worthless when given for unworthy purposes.

Gillett ascribes the death of Hus to the anger of the clerical party against him on the following grounds: (1) His determined opposition to worldly rule and riches for the clergy. He believed, moreover, that the State should resume possession of ecclesiastical property when it had been perverted from its uses. This made him many enemies. (2) The theologians of the University of Paris opposed him on the ground of his realism in philosophy, and the

English deputation hated him for his defense of Wyclif. The Germans regarded him as almost a personal enemy, charging him with being the principal agent in the expulsion of the German students from the University of Prague—an expulsion which took place in 1408, and which led to the formation of the University of Leipzig. Almost every element in the council, therefore, was opposed to him. (3) His appeal from the council and the pope to Christ. This was a denial of the infallibility of the council and of the pope, and so of the Church as speaking through these. He demanded again and again that he should be set right and instructed by Holy Scripture. To Christ and the Bible only would he submit. This was the difficulty.

Here was Hus's great offense. Sigismund, the emperor, and the council determined that the infallibility of an ecumenical council should not thus be denied.[1] "Obedience and submission were the only terms on which his life would be spared. These conditions Hus rejected, and his own doom was sealed. He went to the stake with a clear conscience, forcing the very flames to emblazon before the world in fiery letters his reverence for the word of God. Had his life been spared we can readily believe that new light would have dawned upon him, and that Luther would have been preceded in his career by a man who combined some of the noblest qualities of the martyr spirit with a firmness and decision fully equal to his own."[2]

HUS'S OFFENSE.

The Bohemian revolt became a dogmatic preparation for the Reformation. In his De Ecclesia Hus defines his position with precision. The Catholic Church is the collective body (universitas) of all those predestined to salvation. Christ is the head, who gives to the members, that is, the predestined, motion and sanction. No position, election of men, nor dignity constitutes anyone a member of the Catholic Church, but only God's

HUS ON THE CHURCH.

[1] In the final reading before the council of the indictments against him this one is mentioned: that Magister John Hus had appealed to God, and that such an appeal was condemned as an error. When Hus heard this he replied with a loud voice: "O Lord God! Lo, this council now condemns thy actions and law as an error! who, when thou wast aggrieved and oppressed by thine enemies, committedst thy cause to God thy Father, the most righteous of judges, giving herein an example to us poor wretches, when aggrieved in whatever way, to have recourse to thee, the most righteous of bishops, humbly asking thine aid." And he added: "And I affirm that there is no safer appeal than that to the Lord Jesus Christ, who is not bent by bribery nor deceived by false witness, but assigns his deserts to each."—Wratislaw, John Hus, p. 326.

[2] Gillett, Life and Times of John Hus, ii, 79.

predestination. "The Holy Catholic Church," says Hus, "is also called Apostolic or Roman Church; whereas it does not follow that every pope, who is truly such, and the college of Roman cardinals constitute the entire Catholic Church. For the Holy Apostolic Church is that which has never departed from the true faith of Christ and his apostles, and which cannot err therein; but that popes have is proved by ecclesiastical history.

"But the Roman Church, the Church which has its seat in Rome, was from the beginning a partial Church, the society of all Christians living under the obedience of the Bishop of Rome, as the churches of Jerusalem and Antioch were the societies of Christians living under the bishops of Jerusalem and Antioch. In the first instance the Church flourished at Jerusalem, then to a greater extent at Antioch; nevertheless, the Catholic Church took its name from Rome for three reasons: (1) Because Christ knew that instead of unbelieving Jews, pagan nations living under the dominion of Rome, would be instructed in his holy faith; (2) Because a larger number of martyrs triumphed in that city than in any other in the world; (3) Likewise, that it might be known that neither locality nor antiquity, but steadfast faith is the foundation of the Church of Christ. And thus the Roman Church and the Catholic Church are one only in name, and Christ always remains the one head of the Church, the only true pope. According to the nature of the Catholic Church the pope and bishop of Rome is not and cannot be its head; it is possible he may not even be a member of it; but he is the vicar or representative of Peter in the government of the Church militant, if he follows the morals of Peter; if not he is rather the representative of Judas."[1]

Essentially, therefore, Hus brushed aside the Roman Church and exalted Christ in its place. "Let us hear Christ," he says in one of his Bohemian works, "for we cannot have a better guide or teacher, nor any other foundation or a purer mirror. Therefore after him let us go, to him let us listen, and on him let us place faith, hope, love, and all good works, on him as into a mirror let us gaze and to him let us approach with all our might. He saith, I am the way, the truth, and the life. The way in example, wherein if a man goes he erreth not; the truth in promise, for what he hath promised that he will fulfill; and the life in recompense, for he will give himself to be enjoyed in everlasting bliss.

[1] See copious extracts in Wratislaw, Hus, chap. xi. In Loserth, Wiclif and Hus, pp. 190 ff., large parts of Wiclif, De Ecclesia, and Hus, De Ecclesia, in the original Latin, are placed side by side for comparison.

He is also the way because he leads to salvation; he is the truth because he shines on the understanding of the faithful; and he is the life everlasting, in which all the elect will live in bliss forever. In that life and by that way and truth I desire to go myself and to draw others."[1]

Wratislaw, who thoroughly studied both the Bohemian and Latin writings of Hus, well says that the reformer gave up his life for three things: the necessity of a reform in the life and manners of the clergy, the supremacy of conscience, and the supremacy of Christ and the Scriptures.[2] And, being dead, John Hus yet speaketh.

[1] O Svato upectoi, "Of Traffic in Holy Things," at end, Wratislaw, pp. 359, 360.

[2] Wratislaw, Hus, p. 335.

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CHAPTER VIII.

HUS AND THE COUNCIL OF CONSTANCE.

FOUR points remain to be noticed in regard to Hus and the council of Constance: The dependence of Hus upon Wyclif; The violation of Hus's safe-conduct; The decision of the council in regard to papal infallibility; and Jerome of Prague.

Three medallions in the university library, Prague, set forth the relation as understood by many between Wyclif and the Reformation. The highest medallion shows Wyclif striking sparks from a stone, the next Hus setting fire to coals, and the third Luther waving on high a flaming torch. Loserth has expressed the judgment of all careful modern historians in declaring the dependence of Hus on Wyclif, and has shown how his great treatise, De Ecclesia, and also other of his books, are largely taken word for word from Wyclif. Some scholars, however, have resented the inference drawn from this fact by Loserth "that it was the works of Wyclif which first called forth that deep religious movement in Bohemia," and that Hus owes his theological knowledge, as Loserth expresses it, "almost exclusively to the Englishman from whose writings he has, by diligent study, derived it."[1] Loserth's view must be modified by the following considerations:

WYCLIF AND HUS.

The whole previous history had been a preparation of Hus. Bohemia had never been as hearty in her allegiance to the Roman Church as the other European countries. She had been evangelized, not by Rome, but by two Greek monks, who had given her the open Bible translated in the mother tongue, a simple ritual and hymns and sermons in the vernacular. Rome had, indeed, at length wrested them from her, but it was only after a fierce struggle. In the century preceding Hus Germany had been encroaching more and more upon the Bohemians, giving them her judges, bishops, and priests. Waldhausen, Milics, Stitny, and Janow had denounced the corruption of the priests and the pope, who were foreigners. The Bohemian reform movement "appealed to the intense nationality of the peo-

BOHEMIAN REFORM MOVEMENT.

[1] Loserth, Wiclif and Hus, pp. xvi, 77.

ple. It demanded the restoration of the national language in the pulpit and ritual; of the cup to the laity in the Lord's Supper; insisted on the equality of all the clergy; and in other matters appealed directly to the dominant spirit of liberty and independence. It prepared the nation thoroughly for the recognition of Hus's doctrines. If it had not been thus prepared it is certain that the mere introduction of Wyclif's writings would have had as little effect in Bohemia as it had, for example, in Germany, where they were also well known but had no direct results."[1] It is unreasonable to believe that the burning protests of Mathias of Janow and Milics, so much in sympathy with Hus's thought, had no influence upon him.

Hus had a strong and acute mind, was a man of original power, of large intelligence and wide reading, and it is improbable that he should have been the slavish imitator of Wyclif. Besides, he differed widely from Wyclif, as in still clinging to transubstantiation, and in his general disinclination to depart as far as the English reformer did from the old landmarks.

Hus's Bohemian predecessors must have influenced him deeply, especially Janow and Stitny. Thus, when Loserth quotes Wyclif to show that Hus's Latin treatise on the Lord's Prayer is a copy, it is readily seen that that treatise is a more perfect copy of Stitny's Bohemian exposition of the *Paternoster*. In Hus's Bohemian works he appears as by no means a mere copyist of Wyclif, but writes on fresh and independent lines.[2]

There is much truth in both Loserth and his critics. It is incontestably proven that Hus often followed Wyclif word for word, and that his general doctrinal system was derived from him. But it must be conceded that he did this as an independent investigator, taking Wyclif simply because he gave the sharpest, clearest, and best theological statements. Hus said himself, "I hold to the true opinions of Wyclif, not because he says them, but because Scripture or infallible reason teaches them." Lechler is no doubt true when he says that Hus accepted nothing without hard work and study, independent verification, and often severe inner struggles.[3]

HUS IN THE FOOTSTEPS OF WYCLIF.

In regard to the violation of Sigismund's safe-conduct the facts are these: The Emperor Sigismund gave Hus a safe-conduct dated October 18, 1414, allowing him to "pass, halt, stay, and return freely." Hus interpreted this paper, according to the represen-

[1] Hark, Loserth's Wiclif and Hus, in Andover Rev., ii, 229, 230.
[2] Review of Loserth, in Church Quar. Rev., Lond., Oct., 1884, p. 241.
[3] In Gesch. der Reformation, ii, 265.
[8]

tation of those commissioned from the emperor, as not only giving him a safe-conduct on his way to Constance, but also as procuring him a free and safe public hearing in the council, and a safe journey back to Bohemia. Such is Hus's own statement in a letter written after June 5, 1415.[1] The king's promise was violated in the imprisonment of Hus at Constance; in the restraint put upon him when before the council, where he was treated as guilty from the first; and in the emperor allowing him to be delivered over to be burned. An eyewitness of the council says that when Hus was condemned he turned his eyes on Sigismund, who blushed—a blush that Charles V remembered at Worms when urged to arrest Luther, and declared that he would not repeat the perfidy of Sigismund. The chief sting in the sin of the emperor, and one which rankled deep in the hearts of the Bohemians, was not so much its bad faith, but the fact that he allowed Hus to go to Constance under his protection, and then after he was there urged the prelates to put him to death. "Reverend Fathers!" said the king, "you heard that out of the many things which are in his books, and which he has admitted, and which have been sufficiently proved against him, any one would have been sufficient for his condemnation. If, therefore, he will not recant and abjure and make statements contrary to those errors, let him be burnt, or do with him as you best know according to your laws. And be sure, whatever promise he makes you as to a wish to recant, not to believe him; nor would I believe him, because he would go to Bohemia, and would disseminate more errors, and the last end would be worse than the first."[2]

HUS AND KING SIGISMUND.

Roman Catholic and even some Protestant historians have sought to palliate this damnable blot on the fame of Sigismund and the council by saying that the safe-conduct was available only in case of acquittal. But, first: no such terms are stated in the document. Hefele says that this is implied,[3] that Hus was going before a judicial body to be tried, and that in the nature of the case the emperor could not protect him against the sentence of that body if unfavorable. Hus, however, declared over and over again that he went before the council as a preacher or witness

[1] See Wratislaw, Hus, pp. 217, 229.

[2] This speech was delivered privately to some members of the council who were about the king, and was overheard by some Bohemian lords. It cost the emperor the crown of Bohemia. See Wratislaw, Hus, p. 304.

[3] Geschichte der Concils von Constanz, Freib. im B., 1869.

rather than as a culprit, to show forth the evangelical and orthodox character of his teachings, and to give the council an opportunity to prove, if they could, that those teachings were false. SIGISMUND'S PERFIDY. Second: Hus understood the safe-conduct as absolute and not conditional. Third: so did the Bohemians, who were thoroughly exasperated by the treatment of Hus. Fourth: the council seems to have known how the case stood, for it passed a resolution exonerating Sigismund, and virtually declaring that faith need not be kept with heretics. The decree says that a safe-conduct issued by princes to heretics can in no wise hinder the conviction and punishment of such persons, no matter how solemn the promise of protection; "nor is the promiser, when he has done what in him lies, any further obliged in consequence of his engagement."[1] This plainly declares that the Church is bound by no consideration of honor or respect for pledges when dealing with those erring from the faith.[2] The violation of the solemn pledge of safety given to Hus adds another to the sins of those who had part in that horrible tragedy.

The decree concerning the infallibility of a general council and the subordination of the pope to it was passed in the fourth and fifth sessions, 1415. It declared that when a general council is "legitimately assembled in the Holy Spirit it has its authority immediately from God, and everyone, the pope included, is bound to obey it in what pertains to the faith and extirpation of schism."[3] The council said also that disobedience to its behests, come from whatever quarter it may, even from the pope, would meet with condign punishment. This exaltation of a council over a pope, directly contrary to the decision of the Vatican council, has proved an awkward fact to the infallibilists, and they have tried in various ways to break its force or minimize its importance. Hefele, in the

[1] Nec sic promittorem, cum alias fecerit quod in ipso est, ex hoc in aliquo remansisse obligatum.—Van der Hardt, iv, 521.

[2] Another decree was passed saying in so many words that no faith should be kept with heretics, but as there is some doubt as to its authenticity, being found in only one codex, it is not insisted on here. The undisputed decree is sufficient for the purpose. See full treatment in Fisher, Discussions in History and Theology, pp. 113 ff.

[3] Et primo declarat, quod ipsa in Spiritu Sancto legitime congregata, generale concilium faciens, et ecclesiam catholicam militatem repræsentans, potestatem a Christo immediate habet, cui quilibet, cujuscumque status, vel dignitatis, etiamsi papalis, existat, obedire tenetur in his, qua pertinent ad fidem et exstirpationem dicti schismatis, ac generalem reformationem ecclesiæ Dei in capite et in membris.—Van der Hardt, iv, 72; Gieseler, iii, v, 1; sec. 131, n. 8.

seventh volume of his Conciliengeschichte, brings forward the two considerations, that the pope, Martin V, did not give his sanction to the decree, and the decree was not of faith. It is only, however, on the modern theory of the official infallibility of a pope as such that these objections, if well taken, would help the curialists. But they are not well taken. For Martin V did explicitly ratify and confirm what the council had done as a council, as opposed to *nationaliter*, or what was done in the separate nations.[1] The decrees of the fourth and fifth sessions were adopted as by the council. Further, it certainly pertains to the faith to know in what relation to the faith and government of the Church a general council stands, and if the decree of the Vatican council affirming that that relation is subordinate is of faith, is not the decree of the Constance council affirming that that relation is supreme also of faith?

Besides, the bull of Martin V against the Husites holds aloft the decisions of the council as a test of orthodoxy. He who is suspected of heresy must declare, says Martin, whether he believes what the holy council of Constance, representing the universal Church, has sanctioned and sanctions in favor *fidei* and for the salvation of souls is binding on all Christians, and also what the synod has condemned as contrary to the faith must be held by all to deserve reprobation. Later the council of Basle ratified for itself this famous decree of 1415, and Pope Eugenius IV confirmed it. The Roman Catholic Alzog confesses that the decree is dogmatic, and says: "The fault of the council of Constance was this, that it set forth as a dogmatic sentence, valid for all time, that which was in a manner justified by the necessities of the occasion."[2]

One of the blots on the fame of the Roman Catholic Church is the determined effort it has made to crush every literary trace of reform movements or protests. This was so successful in Austria,

[1] The ratification of "our most holy lord," the pope, is expressed thus: Quibus sic factis sanctissimus dominus noster dixit respondendo ad prædicta, quod omnia et singula determinata, conclusa et decreta in materiis fidei per præsens concilium conciliariter, tenere et inviolabiliter observare volebat, et numquam contravenire quoque modo. Ipsa sic conciliariter facta approbat et ratificat, et non aliter, nec alio modo. See Mansi, tom. xxvii, sess. 45.

[2] Kirchengeschichte, sec. 271. See some excellent remarks by Sheldon, Hist. of the Chr. Church, ii, 361 ff.; Fisher, Discussions in History and Theology, pp. 105 ff.; Döllinger, The Pope and the Council, chap. iii, sec. 23. On the flight of Pope John XXIII from the council, March 21, 1415, Gerson, one of the leading spirits of the council, preached a sermon in the name of the French ambassadors and the University of Paris, in which he affirmed the absolute supremacy of the council. See Gerson, Opp. ed. Du Pin, tom. ii, pt. ii, 201 ff.

Hungary, and Bohemia that it has been almost impossible to obtain any original documents in those countries, so that, as Wratislaw says, "neither original historical research nor correction of errors was possible."[1] In fact, until 1848 the censorship of the press was in force, so that even if impartial writing had been allowed it could not have reached the public. Fortunately a manuscript in the Bohemian tongue was discovered in the library of the gymnasium of Freiburg, Saxony, and was published at Prague in 1878 under the careful editorship of Jaroslaw Goll—almost the only native document extant which gives an account of the arrest, trial, and martyrdom of Jerome of Prague. In the general destruction of Bohemian literature only two copies of this book have survived. From this and the celebrated letter of Poggio Bracciolini[2] we are now able to give the account of Jerome's life, character, and martyrdom.

CONCEALMENT OF LITERARY TRACES OF REFORM.

Jerome was born in Prague about 1379 of a well-to-do but not noble family.[3] He was educated at Prague, graduating bachelor of arts in 1398, and then began a series of travels and residences at various universities, visiting England and Palestine, obtaining his master's degree at the Sorbonne, in Paris, all of which helped to make him one of the most wide-awake, acute, intelligent men of his time. He had read Wyclif's writings, was a friend of Hus, and his naturally open, generous intellect brought him more or less into sympathy with these great masters. He especially indorsed with all his heart Hus's protests against immorality of the priesthood, and, gifted with remarkable powers of discussion and debate, he soon found himself entering with immense energy into the arena which the indulgences and other scandals had opened in Bohemia. He was arrested and tried in Vienna as a Wyclifite, but escaped.

JEROME OF PRAGUE.

In 1412 Jerome appeared in Prague again, and denounced the indulgence-traffic with more zeal than ever—that abominable religious commercialism exciting in some of the noblest spirits of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the same indignation and moral revulsion that the African slave trade did in the minds of the English philanthropists three centuries later. While Hus was on trial

[1] Hus, p. 376.

[2] Freely cited by Neander, v, 378 ff., and in full by Gilpin, Lives, pp. 255 ff. In original in Von der Hardt, Magn. Oecum. Constant. Concil., Leipz., 1700, 6 vols., vol. iii, pp. 69 ff.

[3] The old opinion that he was of a noble family, and that his real name was Faulfisch, is now abandoned.

at Constance the generosity of this cultured young layman induced him to go thither, "as he had himself urged Hus to go to the council, and even promised to follow him thither, that they might both publicly prove their orthodoxy and purify the reputation of their country." Jerome asked Sigismund for a safe-conduct that he might appear publicly before the council and defend his orthodoxy. Not securing this he retired, having publicly placarded the fact of his request that he might openly vindicate himself and his friend before the council. On April 17, 1415, the council issued a citation against him, summoning him before them, promising him protection from violence, but not from the law. But even this promise was violated, as he was arrested, loaded with chains, and brought to Constance. He was subjected to various rude hectorings and onslaughts at the council, rather than to judicial examination. Finally, in weakness and illness on account of the brutality of his imprisonment, he was induced to make a recantation of all errors in September, 1415.

But this did not satisfy the enemies of reform. Sigismund, as we have seen, had urged them to make an end of both Hus and Jerome.[1] Jerome soon returned to a nobler mind, and asked for a public hearing. In May, 1416, one hundred and seven accusations were laid before the council, which Jerome answered with marvelous incisiveness and readiness, silencing his adversaries, and asserting his orthodoxy in the most telling manner. Then the old Bohemian manuscript goes on to say: "And when no hold could be obtained either therein or in aught else, nor anything had worthy of condemnation—for he replied calmly to all and brought them to silence—then, and not till then, did he ask and obtain a quiet hearing, and spoke before them till past noon of various learning and the writings of philosophers and the Scriptures, of God's law and the doctors, and that very deeply and masterly, so that all had whereat to marvel, citing by name various philosophers, apostles, prophets, and martyrs, how they had for the truth's sake been, without guilt, persecuted, condemned, held for disturbers of peace, convicted as blasphemers of God, and had therefore been sentenced to death and murdered in various ways. 'Forsooth,' said Jerome, 'if it is unrighteous when that is done by foreigners or natives to an ordinary person, it is a greater unrighteousness when one priest suffers from another, and the greatest unrighteousness when a priest is given up to death by a council of priests from malice and hatred.' . . . Afterward he applied himself to speaking of Magister

[1] See Wratislaw, Hus, p. 305, where the king's words are quoted.

John Hus, whom he had known from his youth, how he was a man neither licentious, nor covetous, nor a drunkard, nor defiled with other open sins, but that he was humble, honorable, sober, diligent in teaching and reading, a righteous, faithful, and holy preacher, and whatsoever Magister John Hus and Magister John Wyclif had preached against the wickedness, pride, malice, ruffianism, and avarice of the priesthood, all this he held and would hold unto death. As regards the other articles of the Christian faith he held and believed them all according to the Holy Catholic Church of Christ, assenting to no error or heresy." [1]

This taking back of his former recantation in regard to Hus and Wyclif sealed his doom. He was led back to prison heavily chained; two days were given him to consider; then he was taken to the church again for the final scene in this judicial farce. He was asked if he would abide by his first recantation and cease praising Hus and Wyclif. "I take to witness the Lord, my God," he replied, "and declare before you that I hold naught heretical and naught erroneous, but that I hold and believe all the articles of the Christian faith, as the Holy Catholic Church holds and believes. But to the condemnation of the good magisters aforesaid, whom ye have unrighteously and maliciously condemned, because they taught and wrote of your disorderly life to your reproof and correction, I will not assent, although I am therefore to be now sentenced by you to death. God's will be done! but I will not act against my conscience; for I know in what they have written against the disorders and unrighteousness of the priesthood they have set down the truth."

JEROME'S FINAL FIRMNESS.

After many revilings Jerome finally replied as follows: "Ye wish to condemn me wrongfully and miserably, without any certain charge. I leave you as a legacy after my death a sting and gnawing to pierce your consciences, and I cite you to appear before the Most High and Righteous Judge, the Lord God Almighty, to answer me before him at the end of a hundred years." They then pronounced sentence of death upon him. On May 30, 1416, they led him out chanting the creed and singing hymns to the same place where over nine months before they had burned Hus. They stripped him almost naked, bound him with chains to the stake, when he sang the Easter hymn, *Salve, festa dies!* [2] finishing with the Catholic creed. Then he raised his voice to the people, saying in German: "Dear people, know that I believe as I have just

[1] See copious extracts from this contemporary book in Wratislaw, pp. 397 ff.

[2] See a free translation of this hymn in Methodist Hymnal, No. 231.

chanted. Likewise as to other articles of the faith I believe as every Christian ought to believe. But I am now dying because I would not assent to the priestly council's sentence and condemnation of Magister John Hus as just and rightful; for I knew the magister from my youth up, that he was an honorable and noble man, and a preacher of the faith of God's law and of the Gospel of Jesus Christ."

The executioners, says the old Bohemian chronicler, having now surrounded him with wood up to the crown of the head behind and up to the breast in front, and placed the garments on the logs, were about to light the fire behind his back, that he might not see it. "Come here," said he, "and light the fire in my sight; if I had feared it I should never have come to this place." He then chanted with a loud voice, "Into thy hands, Lord God, I commit my soul." After this, when the violence of the fire caught him, he cried out in the Bohemian tongue: "Lord God Almighty, have mercy on me! Forgive me my many sins! For thou knowest that I have loved thy holy truth!" When the flames struck him he prayed within himself a good while, until, thus doing, he died.

JEROME'S EXECUTION.

Thus passed away the most brilliant layman of his day—orator, scholar, wit, nor surpassed in moral enthusiasm and devotion to what he considered the faith of Christ. And wherefore did he die? Was he a Protestant martyr? Only indirectly. It does not appear that on any important part of the recognized creed of his time he departed from the belief of the Church. He sympathized thoroughly with Wyclif's reforming movement, but this sympathy was rather for the apostolic zeal and purity and moral renovation for which that movement stood than for its dogmatic aspects. Wherein Wyclif varied essentially from the faith of the Church Jerome did not follow him. Rather he died as a moral reformer—the victim of an appalling injustice, even when judged by the standard of that age—by a council which represented the very best and most progressive elements in the Roman Catholic Church.

As a recent Bohemian Church historian says: "Hus was put to death because, although willing enough to submit to the instruction, correction, and definition of the council, he steadfastly refused to recant doctrines and opinions which he had never held and which he abhorred; Jerome because he refused to acknowledge that the burning of Hus was just and righteous. Hus was the symbol of a dawn of a moral and religious, Jerome that of a moral and intel-

lectual insurrection against the corruptions and disorders of the clergy in what was perhaps the most corrupt and wicked age that ecclesiastical body has ever known."[1] The martyrdom of Jerome of Prague by the reforming council of Constance was an evidence of how irreformable the Church was, that the hurt was in the heart—it could not be healed.

The traveler to-day leaves the city of Constance by a shaded walk leading into an open field. At the end of the walk he finds a huge boulder overgrown with ivy and periwinkle and inclosed by an iron fence. This is the spot where John Hus and Jerome of Prague gave up their lives.[2]

[1] Wratislaw, Hus, pp. 407, 408.

[2] Gregor, The Story of Bohemia, Cin. and New York, 1895, p. 172.

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CHAPTER IX.

SAVONAROLA—THE MORAL PRELUDE.

THE moral corruptions of the papacy, which were one of the causes of the Protestant revolution, met a reformer of heroic mold, who in the intensity of his revulsion against papal enormities and the absolute sincerity of his convictions was a man after Luther's own heart, and was hailed by him as a kindred spirit and a prophet sent from God. Luther saw, too, that the mortal hatred of the popes toward Savonarola sprang from the same feeling as that which would gladly have repeated in his own case the tragedy of 1498. "This man was put to death," says Luther, in the preface to some of Savonarola's meditations which he republished, "solely for having desired that some one should come to purify the slough of Rome. It was the antichrist's [pope's] hope that all remembrance of this great man should perish under a load of malediction, but thou seest that it still lives and that his memory is blessed. Jesus Christ proclaims him a saint through our lips, even though popes and papists should burst with rage." Savonarola anticipated Luther and was really a "reformer before the Reformation." But the full historical position of the Italian can never be understood except in connection with those larger currents which would soon issue in the new age.

Girolamo Savonarola was born in Ferrara, September 21, 1452—the third of seven children. The father was a hanger-on at court and a dabbler in books, and rather a worthless man who squandered the fortune left him by the grandfather, who was an eminent physician, as eminent in piety as in science.

SAVONAROLA'S PARENTAGE AND EDUCATION.

The mother was a woman of lofty and noble character, and Savonarola owed to the mother many of the characteristics which achieved his renown. His parents desired him to study medicine, and for that purpose placed him under the care of his learned grandfather. In those days the scholastic philosophy was considered an indispensable introduction to every study, and soon Savonarola was deep in Thomas Aquinas. But he became so enamored of Aquinas that he could hardly be drawn to more practical studies.

In fact, after the death of the distinguished grandfather, Girolamo became absorbed in religious studies and exegesis, and the pagan life of the city with its pleasures, its turmoils, its murders, impressed him so profoundly that he became sad and dejected, and the cry, *Heu fuge crudeles terras, fuge litus avarum,* often issued from his lips. He gave himself up to the study of the Scriptures and of Aquinas, cultivating music and poetry for recreation, but all the time observing with keen eye the wickedness of the world about him, and wondering what he could do to abate that flood of woe. In 1492 he describes all Italy when in his poem, Canzone de Ruina Mundi, he tells what he saw in Ferrara:

"Vedendo sotto sopra tutto il mondo,
Ed esser spenta al fondo
Ogni virtude ed ogni bel costume,
Non trovo un vivo lume
Ne pur chi di suoi vizii si' vergogni.

. . . . . .

Felice ormai chi vive di rapina
E chi dell' altrui sangue piu si pasce;
Chi vedoe spoglia e i suoi pupilli in fasce,
E chi di povri corre alla ruina.
Quell' anima è gentile a peregrina
Che per fraude e per forza fa piu acquisto;
Chi sprezza il ciel con Cristo,
E sempre pensa altrui cacciare al fondo,
Colui onora il mondo."[1]

With the sound ringing in his ears of the revelries of the upper rooms of the castle of Ferrara and the groans of the prisoners in the dungeons beneath, he would often flee to the church to pray that God would save that world that seemed to be given over to mad frivolities on the one hand and to cruelties on the other.

[1] Seeing the whole world overset; all virtue and goodness disappeared; nowhere a shining light; no one taking shame for his sins. . . . Happy now is he that lives by rapine and feeds on others' blood, who despoils widows and infants trusted to his care, who hastens the ruin of the poor! Gentle and beautiful of soul is he who wins most by fraud and violence: he who scorns heaven and Christ, and ever seeks to trample on his fellows. He shall win honor in the world.—Villari, Life and Times of Savonarola, new and rewritten ed., Lond., 1890, i, 12. An edition of the Poesie di Jeronimo Savonarola was published in Florence, 1847, and another from autograph copies edited by Capponi and Guasti in 1862. Villari's is the greatest authority on Savonarola, and his book is one of the richest and noblest biographies ever written. He spent a lifetime in the study of all the sources, many of which he himself discovered. His view of Savonarola, while sympathetic, is impartial and just.

Savonarola determined to flee the world and become a monk, and his admiration of St. Thomas Aquinas led him to seek the Dominican order. While his parents were absent from home attending the festival of St. George he fled to Bologna, and was received into the Dominican convent there, 1475. Nothing could exceed the diligence and devotion with which he applied himself to the monastic life—his self-sacrifice, his obedience, his fervor in prayer. He was soon made teacher of the novices. But the walls of the convent did not keep back those painful thoughts which the wickedness of the world, and especially the wickedness of the Church, brought to his mind.

When Savonarola entered the monastic life Francesco della Rovere (Sixtus IV) was ruling the Church, and he was sufficiently faithful to the bad traditions of his predecessor, Paul II. "It was publicly asserted that the election of the new pope had been carried by simony, and Rome echoed with the names of those who had sold their votes and obtained preferments in exchange. The scandalous lust of Sixtus was literally unbounded; the lavishness of his expenditure only equaled by his unquenchable thirst for gold; and so greatly was he blinded by his passions that he shrank from no infamy to accomplish his wicked aims, and no act was too scandalous for him to commit."[1] Innocent VIII kept his vow of chastity by begetting sixteen children and exploited the Church for their enrichment. Alexander VI (Rodrigo Lanzol, a Borgia by adoption), succeeded him in 1492. Having purchased his office by wholesale bribery he continued to magnify it by the most appalling debaucheries; his adultery with Julia Farnese, the wife of one of his nephews, and with his own daughter-in-law, the wife of Jofré, being simply incidents in a career devoted with calculating reflection to the pursuit of hellish ambitions, social, financial, and political. His intrigues and ambitions for his children involved the destruction of thousands of human beings. A recent Roman Catholic writer has well called him a "monster."[2] It was in a corrupt age, when a corrupt Church was ruled by corrupt popes, that Savonarola's lot was cast, and the condition of both Church and world filled him with grief and horror. Savonarola resolved that if God would ever permit him to strike iniquity in high places he would strike it hard. In one of his poems, written in 1475, he sees the wings of the spreading ecclesiastical imperialism brooding like a mighty vulture over the world, having its seat in

[1] Villari, i, 24.

[2] Father Ryder, in The Tablet, Lond., May 21, 1898, p. 814.

Rome, which he calls, "una fallace, superba meretrice" (a false, proud harlot), and he cries out,

"Deh, per Dio, Dona
Se romper si patria quelle grandi ali."

(O God, O Lady, that I might break those spreading wings!) This wish came to him over and over again in this early time, "O God, that those spreading wings could be crushed, those imps of perdition." Savonarola's self-dedication as a preacher of righteousness and a reformer of the Church was no ambition of his later priorate, but was the profound impulse of his whole being, which bore him on almost unconsciously from his earliest manhood, or as soon as he came to brood over the awful iniquities of the time.

In 1481 Savonarola was transferred to the monastery in Florence (St. Mark's), and in 1491 was elected prior. In this city he spent all the rest of his short life, broken occasionally by preaching tours and visits to neighboring convents. The work which he tried to do in Florence lay in three directions, the reformation of manners, the restoration of civil liberty, and the reformation of the Church. A word as to each of these.

REFORMATION OF MANNERS.

The morals of Florence under the Medici were sunk to the lowest. Lorenzo the Magnificent, who has been held up as a model sovereign by Roscoe and others who excuse everything to one who patronizes art and literature, went about systematically to corrupt the people. For instance, he composed ballads, to be sung in carnival masquerades, of so indecent a character that they would be regarded with disgust by even the lowest rabble of Italy; and these ballads were sung through the streets by the young nobles of Florence in disguises suited to their parts. The Florentines who were not personally and actively debased were sunk in cynicism, lethargy, despising all enthusiasm for noble principles and religious ideas. It was the aim of Savonarola to stem the tide of worldliness and vice, and call the people to righteousness. His method was preaching.

Perhaps no man in the history of the Church ever wrought greater effects by his preaching than the prior of St. Mark's. His sermons were biblical—the preacher was saturated with the Bible. He had meditated so long over the Scriptures, especially over the prophets and Revelation—portions of which seemed to have been written with special reference to his degenerate days—that their messages had become part of himself, and he stood forth in the power and spirit of Elijah and John the Baptist. The Old Testa-

ment became to him the most living book in the world, as though its flaming denunciations of wrath were written especially for the Florentines of 1491. Again, his sermons were keyed to the times; they reflected a background of contemporary life and events, and were directed to contemporary needs. In this respect they greatly resembled the sermons of Chrysostom—with whom in other respects Savonarola had points of contact—of Wesley, and of Beecher. Those who constantly urge preachers to stick to the "simple Gospel," as the phrase is, must look aghast at Savonarola, whose sermons were full of references to contemporary events, and were directed to the whole range of men's needs.

SAVONAROLA AS PREACHER.

But the chief power, perhaps, of Savonarola was his intense conviction, his profound apprehension of God, his vivid sense of eternity, and his overwhelming belief in the judgments to come. He resembled Paul in his thorough belief in his divine mission, in his sensitiveness toward sin, and in his sympathy with God's holiness; and from all this there resulted in both a terrific realism in their interpretation of the divine wrath. Add to all this the fact that Savonarola, like Paul, was subject to visions, and believed himself to receive from supernatural beings supernatural knowledge, and we can well understand how in an age which, with all its lust, cynicism, and practical infidelity, was excessively superstitious, the sermons of the black-robed friar, whose dark gray eyes were so bright that, as one of his contemporary biographers says,[1] they seemed literally to give forth flashes of red fire—those eyes which had looked on angels and beheld his Lord in rapt visions, made an impression paralleled only by the sermons of Whitefield.

As the result of his preaching Florence became for a time a changed city. Its carnivals, balls, and festivities were abolished; its masquerades and unholy diversions ceased; the people sought the Lord with tears; they exalted Christ as king; they thronged the churches; and the city of Florence became to all outward view more nearly a city of God than has been the case with any other city in all history. "The people of Florence," says a contemporary writer, "have become fools for the love of Christ."

An event in connection with the moral renovation has subjected Savonarola to much criticism. To take the place of certain children's and young people's carnivals, which were attended with much moral and even physical injury, a fight with stones being a closing scene, Savonarola inaugurated a sacred festival; and to give the young people some work to do for their city asked them to

[1] Fra Benedetto, in Vulnera Diligentis.

gather all masks, theatrical costumes, indecent pictures and books and other vanities, and make a bonfire of them. This was done in 1497, the last year but one of his life. Perrens,[1] Milman,[2] and other authorities, have condemned Savonarola for this as an act of fanatical vandalism. There may have been some articles of real value offered on this pile, but of this we have no certain evidence. On the other hand, we know that nearly all, if not all, of the things burned were vanities in fact—the implements of that pagan culture which had driven decency, not to speak of morality, out of Florence. Again, no contemporary or old writers refer to this act as reflecting on Savonarola, nor was it brought forward against him in his trial. In the awakened conscience of the time it seemed to be taken as a matter of course.

Besides, so far from Savonarola being an enemy of art, he was an encourager of it. Himself a poet, he drew artists about him, and numbered among them his choicest friends. Not only so, but when the library of the Medici, which had become the property of the State, was in danger of being dispersed on account of financial straits, the convent of St. Mark's bought it for the city, and thus secured all this magnificent collection, which was the richest then extant in the Greek and Latin classics. And this took place in the same year which witnessed the "burning of the vanities." Even if some things indifferent were sacrificed among the indecencies which were burned in the desperate effort to save as by fire the putrid civilization which pagan princes and a pagan Church had bequeathed to Florence, we need not be surprised when we remember that within this century a book against divine revelation was burned in the hall of a college in Oxford University.[3]

We now come to the restoration of civil liberty. We cannot go into the details of that fascinating history of the fall of the Medici,[4]

[1] Jérome Savonarole sa vie, ses prédications, ses écrits. 2 vols. Paris, 1853.

[2] Savonarola, Erasmus, and other Essays. Lond., 1870.

[3] See Clark, Life of Savonarola, Chicago, 1890, p. 268. This life, written by the professor of philosophy at Trinity College, Toronto, is by far the best short history of the friar. See also Villari, ii, 132–140.

[4] Over against the adulation of Roscoe, in his Life of Lorenzo the Magnificent, Sismondi states the fact when he says: "It is not as a statesman that Lorenzo de Medici can pretend to glory. He was a bad citizen of Florence, as well as a bad Italian. He degraded the character of the Florentines, destroyed their energy, ravished from them their liberty, and soon farther exposed them to the loss of their independence."—History of the Italian Republics, p. 225. Roscoe is equally judicial in his description of Savonarola as the Florentines' "golden calf" and the "wretched priest who expiated by his death his follies and his crimes."

the restoration of Florentine liberties under Savonarola in a constitution of remarkable liberality—a work which he did not assume himself, but which was urged upon him by the city—and the long struggles to keep that constitution from being subverted by enemies within the State and without. Never before or since has a preacher by the sheer force of his preaching and personality been for so long a time the one power which made the moral regeneration and political stability of a people. He alone gave them religion and freedom, and from the overthrow of the Medici in 1494 to his own death in 1498, he stood as the only guarantee of the continuance of a free State. It was a desperate struggle against fearful odds, and it is no wonder that his physical powers gave way under it, and that he often wished for release. His martyrdom at the early age of forty-five only anticipated what would have been at any rate an early death. He was the great preacher-statesman of history, his best successors being New England clergy—men like Hooker, who founded a more enduring Republic on another Arno.[1]

POLITICAL INFLUENCE OF SAVONAROLA.

As to the reformation of the Church, although Savonarola was willing to grant due homage to the reigning pope, at the bottom he believed that according to common law his election, being obtained by simony, was invalid. He also believed that such a life of monstrous wickedness as Rodrigo Borgia was living proceeded from a heart essentially infidel, and that for both reasons Borgia should be dethroned. He therefore determined to call the princes to summon a council, where he would prove all his allegations against Alexander VI, and he believed that under his stirring appeals such a council would proceed to the moral reformation of the whole Church. By the decrees of the council of Constance the pope was bound to convoke a general council every ten years, and in case of neglecting so to do the princes were authorized to do it. King Charles VIII of France was strongly in favor of a new council, and when in Rome had been advised by eighteen cardinals to seize the Borgia's person in order to proceed to the election of a worthier pope.[2] But indecision of character was

ATTEMPT TO REFORM THE CHURCH.

[1] Calvin is at once suggested as the Protestant counterpart of Savonarola. There are interesting points of likeness, but (1) Calvin did not establish a republican government in Geneva—he found it there—but only its theocratic features ; (2) Calvin was himself as President of the Consistory one of the chief legislators for the city, whereas Savonarola's power was moral only and not legal ; (3) Calvin had distrust of popular government, Savonarola believed in it.

[2] Villari, ii, 291, new ed.

Charles's bane. Savonarola had written in 1498 elaborate letters to the great princes of Christendom urging the calling of a council, and had the matter all arranged. But a cruel fate was against him; his plans were revealed to the pope, for in the Catholic Church of the fifteenth century the saint must burn and the adulterer and murderer live.

His biographers have told in detail the sad history of the last month or two of the friar's life. His enemies were all those Florentines who desired the subversion of the popular liberty and the partisans of the Medici; all those who were dissatisfied with the moral *régime*, and longed for the old license, and they were many and fierce; all the princes of Italy; and Pope Alexander VI, who had been moving heaven and earth for a long time to accomplish Savonarola's ruin. Fortunately for the pope the ruling party in Florence were now bitterly opposed to Savonarola. The charges against him related to his doctrine, his politics, and his prophecies. Even under the fearful examination of torture which he underwent over and over again nothing blameworthy was found in him, except that with his mind wandering in the delirium of anguish he could not maintain an entirely consistent attitude toward his prophecies. In fact, even at his best Savonarola had never worked out a final theory to explain them. Villari has shown that his examiners went to the diabolical length of engaging a notary deliberately to falsify his replies, but that even so the records reveal nothing worthy of death.

Two of Savonarola's disciples, Fra Domenica and Fra Silvestro, were condemned with him, and punished with him by hanging and by burning in the square before the palace at ten o'clock on May 23, 1498. After repeated attempts by torture to get the holy and humble Fra Domenica to compromise his master, this heroic monk finally wrote down this as his last and solemn witness: "God's will be done. I have never perceived, nor had the least occasion to suspect that my father, Fra Jeronimo, was a deceiver or that he acted falsely in any wise; on the contrary, I have ever held him to be a thoroughly upright and most extraordinary man. And having a great reverence for him I hoped by his means to receive peace from God and be enabled thereby to do some good to the souls of men; and holding him to be a man of God, I obeyed him as my superior, with all single-mindedness and zeal. . . . To my brethren and to a few laymen I have sometimes declared from the pulpit that were I to detect the least error or deceit in Fra Jeronimo I would openly reveal and proclaim it. And assuredly he him-

self has more than once testified that I was ready to do this, and I would do it now if I knew of any duplicity in him. But none has ever come to my knowledge. *Finis. In simplicitate cordis mea lætus obtuli universa.*"[1] And the verdict of the simple-hearted monk is the verdict of history.

A question or two yet remains to be answered: First, as to Savonarola's prophecies. There were moments when, as Villari says, "rapt in a species of ecstasy, he seemed to have real revelations of the future. If he chanced to fall into this state in the solitude of his cell he would be visited by a long series of visions, and maintain his vigil night after night, until at last overcome by sleep his weary body found rest. But if he fell into this state while in the pulpit his excitement surpassed all bound. Words failed to describe it; he was, as it were, swept onward by a might beyond his own, and carried his audience with him. Men and women of every age and condition, workmen, poets, and philosophers, would burst into passionate tears, while the Church reechoed with their sobs. The reporter taking notes of the sermon was obliged to write, 'At this I was overcome by weeping and could not go on.' Savonarola sometimes sank exhausted in his seat, and was occasionally confined to his bed for several days after."[2] SAVONAROLA'S VISIONS.

His predictions were not confined to generalities, or to such obvious deductions as the calamities which must inevitably befall a Church and people steeped in iniquity. He predicted the invasion of the French and the fall of the Medici, and sketched with graphic detail the woes that were to befall Italy. He predicted a great religious awakening, to be preceded by the scourging of the Church. "The Church shall be renovated," he said, "but must first be scourged, and that speedily." All these predictions came true. He was equally confident of the ultimate conversion of all unbelievers and the bringing of all men under one shepherd, Christ. What is remarkable is that keen-witted historians and men of the world of his own time considered his prophetic character beyond question. Philip de Commines says of him: "He foretold the coming of the king when no one else thought of it; he afterward wrote and told me in my own ears things which no one believed, and which nevertheless were all fulfilled. No one could have suggested them to

[1] See doc. xxvii, in app. to Italian ed. of Villari, new ed. As to the fidelity of George Eliot to the facts of history in her portraiture of Savonarola in her great and noble story, Romola, see J. Jessop Teague, Savonarola in History and Fiction, in Westminster Rev., Feb., 1892, vol. 137, pp. 123 ff.

[2] Villari, i, 309, 310.

him, for they were known to none."[1] Nardi and other contemporaries are equally emphatic. Even Machiavelli, who could not appreciate Savonarola's religious genius, was nevertheless profoundly impressed by it, and never denied his gift of prophecy. "Of such a man," he says, "one can only speak with reverence. His life, his doctrines, and the subjects he treated were sufficient to inspire his adherents with faith."[2] Guicciardini warmly extols him, and says that some of his prophecies were fulfilled.[3] How can we account for this? May we not believe that in response to the simplicity and earnestness of his faith, and to his agonizing prayers, Savonarola received divine illumination, so that at times his naturally acute intellect and foresight were quickened to preternatural sharpness of vision? Of modern scholars Rudelbach held that on account of his evangelical faith Savonarola became the unconscious prophet of the Reformation;[4] Meier minimizes his prophetic gift, and makes it simply an attempt to divine the future by the light of the Scriptures;[5] and Döllinger claims that Savonarola's prophecies were partly the result of his natural insight and rare penetration, which amounted to a gift of divination; were in part the conclusions which he drew from the course of Jewish history as applied to the Christian Church, and in part the interpretation of visions which he had had.[6] Döllinger elsewhere[7] calls attention to the fact, which also needs to be explained, that the friar was himself at first terrified by the impulse to prophesy which gradually overpowered him and controlled his thinking and acting. Professor Clark acknowledges that Savonarola did in the most remarkable manner forecast the future, sometimes by penetrating insight into men and things, and sometimes by a spiritual intuition or revelation. "How far men may be, in an exalted spiritual condition, made aware of the secrets of the invisible world we cannot tell. Those who think most deeply on such questions will probably be the most backward to pronounce dogmatically on the subject. What the boundary line may be which separates a state of spiritual elevation from a state of ecstasy, which divides our ordinary experience of heavenly things

SAVONAROLA'S PROPHETIC VISION.

[1] Memoirs. [2] Discorsi sulla prima Deca, I, chap. xi.

[3] Storia Florentina, xvii.

[4] Hieronymus Savonarola und seine Zeit, Hamb., 1835.

[5] Girolamo Savonarola, aus grossen Theils handschriftlichen Quellen dargestellt, Berl., 1836.

[6] Fables and Prophecies of the Middle Ages, ed. by H. B. Smith, N. Y., 1872, pp. 415–418. [7] *Ibid.*, p. 333.

from a direct intuition of the spiritual world, no wise man will attempt to determine."[1] Rule, who seems to write with a squint at Edward Irving, goes into the question of Christian prophecy at length and comes to the conclusion that Savonarola's predictions were the result of study, devotion and prayer, and that his visions were not visions at all, but allegories or stories, and would be so regarded by his audience; although later in regard to the revelations Rule came to think that the friar played on the credulity of his hearers as a kind of "rhetorical artifice"—a conclusion absolutely impossible to those who understand Savonarola's character.[2] Villari claims that Savonarola's visions were perfectly real to him, and that his predictions were the result of his own marvelous powers of soul.[3]

It remains to consider Savonarola's doctrine and position as a reformer. More careful study of his writings has corrected the old view, which regarded him as a pre-Reformation reformer in the doctrinal sense. Even so far back as 1855, Rule, who examined the friar's works from a stanchly Protestant standpoint, had given up that old view, and Villari has shown it to be quite untenable. Nothing is more certain than that Savonarola stood squarely on the foundations of mediævalism, for example, as to the virtues of the monastic life, as to mariolatry, as to the intercession of saints and angels, as to transubstantiation, which he defends at length in his Triumph of the Cross,[4] as to the efficiency of the sacraments in conferring grace, and as to the unity of the Church in the pope of Rome, who inherits from St. Peter. He in fact directly "combats heretics, who," he says, "although they confess the same Jesus Christ and the same Gospel as we, are plunged in a thousand errors," and all because they have cut themselves off from Peter.[5] In one of his sermons, in order to silence opposition, he declares his faith: "I have examined carefully my ways as to faith, and I declare that as regards faith my ways are wholly pure. For I have ever believed and do believe all that is believed by the Holy Roman Church, and have ever submitted and do submit myself to her. . . . I have written to Rome that if peradventure I may have preached or written anything heretical I am willing to amend me and to retract my words here in public. I am ever

SAVONAROLA'S DOCTRINES.

[1] Savonarola, new ed., 1890, pp. 201, 202.

[2] Savonarola, with the events in the reign of Alexander VI, Lond., 1855, pp. 23 ff.

[3] Savonarola, new ed., rewritten, i, 306 ff.

[4] Book Third, chap. xv.

[5] Triumph of the Cross, iv, 6.

prepared to yield obedience to the Roman Church, and declare that whosoever doth not obey her shall be damned. . . . I declare and confirm that the Catholic Church will surely endure to the day of judgment; . . . and inasmuch as there are divers opinions as to the real definition of this Catholic Church I rely only on Christ and on the decision of the Church of Rome." [1]

Savonarola declared the same over and over again. However much his enemies may have tried to report him for heresy by twisting his words, his contemporaries believed him thoroughly orthodox, and the papal commissioners gave him absolution at the last, and even allowed him to administer the eucharist to his brother monks condemned. Eminent Catholic saints like St. Philip Neri and St. Francis of Paula have hailed him also as a saint, and the question of his canonization has been long pending in Rome.

But Savonarola must not be judged by post-Vatican Romanism or by the standards of an age when the popes are respectable, at least in piety and learning. He deliberately and continually disobeyed the pope, whom he himself acknowledged as for the time the head of the Church. When the pope summoned him to Rome, 1495, when he prohibited his preaching, 1495, and later when he commanded the union of St. Mark's convent with the Lombard Congregation, when he commanded the union of St. Mark's with the new Tusco-Roman Congregation, 1496, when he was excommunicated, 1497, still he preached, still he refused Alexander the keeping of his conscience, still he appealed from him to Christ. Savonarola had indeed a theory with which to defend himself, or two theories—one he had received from Aquinas, the other from the council of Constance. Aquinas said that when the pope gives a command plainly contrary to Scripture and charity he is no longer as to that command pope, and ought not to be obeyed. The council of Constance restricted infallibility to a general council.

SAVONAROLA AND THE POPE.

With these two weapons in his hands Savonarola was saying and doing things scandalous to a modern Catholic. Did Savonarola abuse his liberty? Did Aquinas mean that so ordinary a command as that a suspected priest should appear at Rome should be disregarded? Evidently not. In fact, the friar was constantly receding to Protestant ground in reserving to himself the right of private judgment in regard to papal commands. The unity of the Church could never endure with such large concessions to freedom. But, more deeply, Savonarola held to the old Gallican but now

[1] Sermon of Feb. 17, 1496.

Protestant view that the pope may err even in solemn definitions which he gives out as pope. "I take it for granted that there is no man who is not liable to error. Thou art mad to say that a pope cannot err, when there have been so many wicked popes who have erred. . . . If it were true that no pope could ever err, might we then do even as they do in order to gain salvation? Thou wouldst reply that a pope may err as a man but not as a pope; but I tell thee that the pope may err, even in his judgments and sentences. Go! read how many decrees have been made by one pope and revoked by the next, and how many opinions held by some popes are contradicted by those of other pontiffs."[1] Villari says he does not refer to dogma;[2] he does not refer specifically to dogma, but he does not exclude it. He refers to all the solemn judgments which the pope gives as pope, and says that even as pope he may err, thus repudiating entirely the distinction which the doctors drew in regard to moral commands. The truth is that Savonarola was a zealous pre-Tridentine Catholic, whose catholicity was so Christian that in his practical attitude as a man and a minister of Christ he was constantly approaching to Protestantism.

[1] Sermon of 18th of February, 1497.

[2] Vol. ii, p. 252, n. 2.

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CHAPTER X.

INTELLECTUAL PREPARATION—GERMAN HUMANISM.

The Reformation was not less an intellectual than a religious revolt. To understand it we must take account of the awakening of intellect in the later Middle Ages. The humanistic studies of Germany stand in the front rank as a phenomenon of the age. The Germans first came in direct personal contact with the men of the new learning at the councils of Constance and Basel, 1414, 1431,[1] where the graceful speaking, good style, and Latin and Greek quotations of the Italian debaters made an impression on the men of the north. The founding of German universities, eight in twenty years, 1456–76, in addition to seven already existing; the wandering of scholars and students from one land to another; the invention of printing about 1450, and especially the remarkable development of education as seen in the founding of city schools which began in the middle of the fifteenth century and bore such fruitage that under Hegius there were two thousand scholars in the high school of Deventer and nine hundred at Shlettstadt—all this helped to bring in the better days.

Fortunately the Humanists, especially in Germany, where the Renaissance did not descend to such depths of immorality as in Italy, united a moral enthusiasm with their literary loves and activities.

Happily, too, the University of Erfurt, where Luther studied, 1501–07, was one of the chief centers of this purer light.[2] Here John of Wesel, to be distinguished from his great namesake, for several years (1445 ff.) held forth against indulgences, fasting, and other abuses. A band of humanistic teachers succeeded him at Erfurt. An interesting character was Conrad Muth, or Mudt (Mutianus), who had studied at Erfurt, and then gone, as the custom was, to Italy, where he was made doctor of laws at Bologna, and became acquainted with many Italian Humanists. He then

[1] See above, i, 784–786.

[2] "It was perhaps something more than an accident that Erfurt was the university of Martin Luther. It is melancholy to notice that the university of the great reformer's younger days should have been destroyed by the government of a Protestant country in 1816."—Rashdall, Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages, ii, 246, 247.

settled at Gotha, near Erfurt, receiving as his pupils the most brilliant young men of the university, and filling them with his zeal for truth and learning. He had many stimulating views even if they were not all true. To him was proposed the question, "If Christ alone is the way, the truth, and the life, how was it with those who lived so many years before his birth? Had they no part in truth and salvation?" "The true answer," he said, is this: "The religion of Christ did not begin when he became a man, but is as old as the world, as his birth from the Father. For what is the real Christ, the Son of God, other than as Paul says, the wisdom of God, which did not dwell with the Jews alone in their little Syrian country, but also with the Greeks, the Romans, the Germans." He held that some of the Bible authors hid many of their secrets in parables, and that just as Apuleius and Æsop wrote fables, so in similar form did biblical books like Job and Jonah convey instruction. He repudiated dependence on many Church institutions, called the Lenten food fools' food and the begging friars cowl-wearing monsters, rejected confession and masses for the dead, and regarded time spent in saying mass as lost time. The theologians, he said, bid us hope in order to deceive us; while we are waiting for the heaven that they promise they take possession of all our earthly goods.

CONRAD MUTH.

In his later days Mutian returned to deeper sympathy with the Church and religion. The strenuous measures of the Reformers and the Peasants' war alarmed this quiet man of the study, especially as his revenues were cut off so that he died in poverty on May 30, 1526. His principal success was in being the center of a club of Erfurt students whom his wonderfully free and suggestive teaching prepared for valiant service for literature and reform. "These youths learned from Mutian an earnest desire for the spread of classical literature, a hatred for the pedantry of the scholastic method, and a keen, critical spirit which felt little reverence for the past." His influence was something like that of Niebuhr at Bonn and Arnold at Rugby. Over the door of his house, which stood behind the cathedral at Gotha, were the words,

BEATA TRANQUILLITAS,

and when the door was open another inscription met the eye of the visitor,

BONIS CUNCTA PATEANT.

Shortly before his death he wrote down as his confession of faith: *Multa scit rusticus, quæ philosophus ignorat; Christus vero pro*

nobis mortuus est, qui est vita nostra, quod certissime credo.[1] All the members of Mutian's band except one joined the Reformation.[2]

Similar to Mutian's influence at Erfurt on its intellectual side was Rudolf Agricola's at Heidelberg. Educated at the University of Louvain, he too went to Italy and studied Greek at Ferrara under Theodore Gaza. He succeeded Wessel at Heidelberg, where his cultivated taste, his wide learning, and his enthusiasm for the classics, did much for the new learning. He was a man of large accomplishments, could compose German songs as well as Horatian odes, play the harp, and build an organ for the town of Groningen. He is noted as an educational reformer, though without much reason, as his treatise on education, De Formando Studio, contains little in the way of suggestion except that he asks carefulness in reading, cultivation of the memory, and assiduous practice. He died in 1485 at the early age of forty-three.[3] He was a pupil of Alexander Hegius (1433–98), the great teacher of the school of Deventer, who made his town the center of enlightenment for all north Germany. This tireless scholar—holding his candle in his hand that its fall might awaken him in case he should fall asleep in his nightly studies—was as diligent in piety as in the pursuit of knowledge. His word was: All learning is harmful which is gained at the expense of piety.

AGRICOLA.

Another student at Deventer, Nicholas of Cusa (1401–64), was one of the great lights of the new learning. At first he was the champion of the rights of the Church as against the pope, and presented at the council of Basel one of the strongest arguments ever written on that side in his book, De Concordantia Catholica. He proves the authority of a general council over a pope, that papal authority is not tied up to the Roman see, that the Donation of Constantine is spurious, as are also the False Decretals, and he insists on the reformation of the Church in Germany. This last he carried out in his own diocese as far as he could when he was made bishop of Brixen, in the Tyrol, in 1459. He was a profound thinker, inclining, however, toward pantheism,

NICHOLAS OF CUSA.

[1] The countryman knows many things of which the philosopher is ignorant; Christ truly died for us, he who is our life, as I most firmly believe.

[2] See Strauss, Ulrich von Hutten, pp. 22–27, 366, 367; Creighton, Hist. of Papacy during Reformation, v, 25–28; Krause, Der Briefwechsel des Mutianus Rufus, 1885; Kampfschulte, Die Universität Erfurt in ihrem Verhältnisse zu dem Humanismus und der Reformation, Tréves, 1858, i, 74.

[3] Creighton, v, 6–7; Tresling, Vita et merita Rudolphi Agricolæ, Gron., 1836; Geiger, in Allgemeine deutsche Biographie, i, 151–156.

and he anticipated Mansel in his doctrine of the relativity of all knowledge. He was an excellent mathematician, proposed improvements for the Julian calendar, and discovered the movement of the earth on its axis. He was the forerunner of Copernicus and the father of Giordano Bruno. Nicholas's mind grew later into deeper sympathy with monarchical government, and he abandoned his views as to the power of councils.

JOHN WESSEL.

John Wessel, of Groningen, a pupil of the school of the Brothers of the Common Life at Zwolle, was rather a religious reformer than a Humanist. He was educated at several universities, called to Heidelberg, where his fresh views alarmed the authorities, and he was transferred to the chair of philosophy. Not liking the restraint, he retired to Mount St. Agnes, near Zwolle, where he discussed all questions of theology and reform with the canons and monks, and composed numerous treatises—treatises which the mendicant friars after his death hunted for relentlessly and, if found, destroyed. The nearness of this noble scholar and saint to the Protestant standpoint has caused a large literature to grow up around his name, beginning with Luther's publication of some of his works, with a preface, in which he says: "If I had read his works before, my enemies might have thought that Luther had borrowed everything from Wessel, so great is the agreement between our spirits. I feel my joy and my strength increase, I have no doubt I have taught aright, when I find that one who wrote at a different time, in another clime, and with a different meaning, agrees so entirely in my view, and expresses it almost in the same words."[1] He deserves to be ranked with Wyclif as one of the very few theological "reformers before the Reformation," as he departed from the whole mediæval scheme of salvation with a daring vision and an evangelical faith worthy of all praise. Popes and councils may err and have erred; justification rests on God's free grace; the supreme authority is the Bible, and if there is a secondary authority it rests with the theological professor rather than with priest or prelate; the ministry has no inherent or sacerdotal power whatever, the virtue of the office depending upon the character or piety. He rejected the mediæval idea of the Church, the sacraments, the mass, purgatory, and indulgences, and stands forth as

[1] Pref. to 3d ed. of Wessel's Farrago Rerum Theologicarum, Basel, 1522. This contains treatises on Providence, the Incarnation, the Power of the Church, the Sacrament of Penance, the Communion of Saints, and Purgatory. Wessel is sometimes called Gansfort, from an estate in Westphalia, the original seat of the family. He was born at Groningen.

one of those prophets of God who saw the light arise in darkness and bore witness to that light.

A famous conflict which revealed the turning of the tide was that which centers around Reuchlin (1455–1523). He was a German scholar who, equally at home in Latin and Greek, turned his attention to Hebrew, and through the help of Jewish scholars became a pioneer in exact and critical knowledge of the Old Testament language and literature. He was the first to treat the Old Testament text, not as an allegorist and theologian, but as a philologist and scholar. He went behind patristic exegesis, and for the first time in history we read little sentences like these, which are really indicative of a new age: "Our text reads so, but the meaning of the Hebrew is otherwise;" "We must more rightly translate;" "I do not know how our version has dreamed such a rendering." He deplored the "innumerable defects" of the Vulgate, prayed that God might give him time to correct them all, and said that truth must be sought above all things.[1] Reuchlin was in a modest way the founder of biblical criticism. He saw the need of accurate scholarship in correcting occasional textual discrepancies. But he was not allowed to pursue the even tenor of his way.

REUCHLIN.

A converted Jew at Cologne, John Pfefferkorn, in his zeal for the conversion of his brethren could not be content with the weapons of persuasion, but sought drastic measures. He said the Jews should be forbidden to practice usury, should be compelled to listen to sermons, and be made to surrender their Hebrew books. Through the help of the Dominicans he obtained in 1509 a decree from the emperor commanding the Jews to deliver up all books written against Christianity or contrary to their own law. The universities of Mainz, Cologne, Erfurt and Heidelberg and Reuchlin and some others were mentioned as counselors and advisers in the work. The next year Reuchlin published his opinion—a notable document, because in its sanity and large-mindedness it is in advance of the continental opinion at the present day and might well be recommended to the Jew baiters in France who, over the Dreyfus-Zola affair of 1898, proclaimed a Jewish St. Bartholomew's Day. He said that only two Jewish books came under condemnation as written avowedly against Christianity, and that all the other literature of the race should be spared. This literature had been tolerated for fourteen centuries—why should it now be suppressed? "The Jews were German citizens, and as such were under the protection of the State. If they erred in their belief they

PFEFFERKORN.

[1] See Geiger, Johann Reuchlin, pp. 108 ff.; Creighton, *l. c.*, p. 30.

were subject to the judgment of God. Persecution would not alter their opinions; if their books were confiscated in Germany they would import them from other countries. The conversion of the Jews would best be achieved by a friendly bearing toward them, and by a careful study of their literature, from which learned men might gather their opinions and in time discover the arguments which would be useful in dealing with their obstinacy."[1]

The reactionaries now turned upon Reuchlin himself, and for five years this earnest scholar and true child of the Church, so far as the fundamental doctrines of the Catholic Church were concerned, was in danger of the stake. It was as a controversy between intelligence and ignorance, between criticism and obscurantism, and involved men like von Hutten and Erasmus, and out of the heat of it as sparks from a fire were thrown off the Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum—anonymous fly-sheets in which the ignorance, dullness, and corruption of monks and clergy were satirized with biting sarcasm and plenty of wit, good, bad, and indifferent.[2] The commission that finally disposed of the charges against Reuchlin acquitted him completely, and the troubles of which he was the center were forgotten in the more serious business the Church soon found on her hands.

Splendid work was performed by Ulrich von Hutten, the Fran-

[1] See Reuchlin's Augenspiegel, 1511. Creighton gives an excellent summary of this controversy, vol. v, chap. ii.

[2] The first edition of Epis. Obsc. Vir., 1515, contained 41 letters. A second and third edition, enlarged, soon followed. In 1517 a new series appeared, numbering 62 letters. Full information will be found in Eduard Böcking, Ulrichi Hutteni operum supplementum, Leipz., 1864–70, 2 vols., containing the Epistles and various answers. As to authorship Crotus Rubianus and von Hutten were the principal hands, with help from Buschius. There is a German translation by Binder, Briefe von Dunkelmännern, Stuttg., 1876. A selection of letters in Latin and German is given by Votsch in his admirable brochure, Ulrich von Hutten nach seinem Leben und seinen Schriften, Hanover, 1890. See Strauss, Ulrich von Hutten, pp. 176 ff.; Geiger, Reuchlin, and the same author's Renaissance und Humanism in Italien und Deutschland, pp. 510 ff.; a learned article in Edinb. Rev., 1831; Univ. of Pennsylvania's Original Sources of European Hist., vol. ii, No. 6, pp. 2–4. On Reuchlin see also Lives by Mayerhoff, Berl., 1830; Lamey, Pforzheim, 1855; Geiger, Leipz., 1871; Barham, Lond., n. d. (based upon Mayerhoff, with valuable app.); Pattison, Ess., 2 vols., Oxf. and Lond., 1889. An excellent brief treatment of the whole subject is Ford, Beginnings of Humanism in Germany, in Meth. Rev., N. Y., 1898, pp. 41 ff., and the fine book of Van Dyke, Age of the Renascence, N. Y., 1897, pp. 307, 308.

conian knight (1488–1523). He threw himself with passionate ardor into the moral reformation and intellectual revival for which the new learning stood, not leaving any more than the other Humanists the dogmatic foundation of the Church, though he was thoroughly in sympathy with Luther's movement so far as it meant emancipation from Rome. In the midst of his career, while he was being hunted for his life by the minions of Rome, he sent forth this stirring appeal to the German nobles: "It is no private matter, no quarrel of my own, no personal business. How scornfully would they triumph if this enterprise concerned myself! Still they persecute and seek to ruin me, and want to use your power as an instrument. But I trust first in my own conscience, and next in your fairness. I have borne testimony to the truth in outspoken writings. I wished to serve you from duty, and the fatherland from affection. On well-sustained proofs I have combated the papal imposture, and have sought to frustrate their attacks on your authority and the common liberties. Should I be punished for this?" ULRICH VON HUTTEN.

The whole catalogue of papal sins is then enumerated, and Charles is warned against their increase, if they are not checked. "But what shall we do with the monks? What can we do but abolish the whole set to the great advantage of Christendom? Is this to sink Peter's boat, and, as the sacrilegious Romans say, to rend the seamless coat of Christ? Is it not rather to purify, to advance, to increase the Church by bringing other nations into it by the reform of morals, and the removal of evil examples? Would to God that you [the princes, and especially the Elector of Saxony] had the will to do this as well as the power, or that I had the power as well as the will. But if I cannot move you, or kindle a flame to consume these things, I will do what I can alone. I will do nothing unworthy a brave knight; so long as I retain my senses I will never swerve from my purpose, but I shall pity you for falling away from your purpose (if you do fall away). I shall ever be free, for I fear not death. And it shall never be said of Hutten that he served a foreign king, let him be ever so great and mighty, to say nothing of the pope. But now I desert the cities because I cannot desert the truth, and keep myself concealed of my own free will because I can no longer be free among men; yet I contemn the danger that surrounds me. I can die, but a slave I cannot be. Neither can I see Germany enslaved. But I think the day will come when I shall come forth from this hiding place, appeal to German truth and faith, and, it may be, exclaim to

a great concourse of people, 'Is there no one who will dare to die with Hutten for the common liberties?'"[1]

It is only when we remember such voices as these that we can understand why Luther and the German Reformation were not crushed.

[1] Strauss, Ulrich von Hutten, pp. 225–227. A large literature has grown up around Hutten. See Bibliography, above p. 91. See also Lond. Quar. Rev. (Wesleyan Meth.), April, 1867, pp. 65–87, and von Hutten "in the light of recent investigation" in Yale Rev., May, 1894. The great skeptic David Friedrich Strauss found Hutten a congenial character (1) in his Germanism, so to speak; (2) in his iconoclasm against religious institutions; (3) in his interest in literature and politics. His valuable life of Hutten was written to revive the spirit of nationalism and secularism in Germany, a real Tract for the Times. The interesting collection of "judgments of contemporaries" is given in Votsch's monograph on Hutten, pp. 72, 73. His plea is given in full in Meniers, Leben Ulrichs von Hutten, pp. 468 ff.

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CHAPTER XI.

ERASMUS.

Erasmus was the incarnation of Humanism. Its love of learning, its enthusiasm for Greek, its impatience with the corruptions of the Church and with monkish stupidity, ignorance, and vileness, its hesitation with regard to doctrinal reform—all the characteristics of Humanism were summed up in Erasmus. We shall speak of his life, then of his work as a moral reformer, after that of his work for learning and the New Testament, and lastly of his attitude toward the Reformation.

Erasmus was born in Rotterdam, October 28, 1465,[1] the son of Gerard and Margaret. His father's name, from *gieren*, "to desire," was for the son Latinized into Desiderius, and Græcized afterward according to the custom of the time into Erasmus, just as Reuchlin became Capnio, and Schwartzerde Melanchthon. He was sent to the famous school at Deventer. His property being squandered, or partially squandered, by his guardians, he was at length, after infinite cajoling and persuading and threatening, initiated into the monastic life. He afterward got a permission from the pope to leave the monastery as private secretary for the bishop of Cambray. In 1492 he was permitted to pursue studies in Paris, where he received pupils in Greek. One of his pupils, Lord Montjoy, invited him to England, whither he went, probably in 1498. His chief residence was Oxford, where he had Linacre as his teacher in Greek, and the noble Colet, who inspired him with just views as to the interpretation of Scripture and the value of scholastic philosophy, and who had a beneficial influence on his whole character. No man ever changed his residence more often than Erasmus. He visited England five times; he went back to Paris; he lived in Louvain and other places in Belgium and Holland; he stopped for a time in Turin, Bologna, Venice, and Rome; but after the Catholics made it too hot for him in Louvain, he lived in Protestant Basel from 1521 to 1529, when he withdrew

SKETCH OF LIFE OF ERASMUS.

[1] The date of his birth is variously given, 1466, 1467, 1469. 1465 is favored by the statement of Rhenanus that Erasmus died in his seventieth year, as by his own statement (Ep. 207, Feb. 26, 1516), "I have entered my fifty-first year."

to Freiburg until 1535. Returning to Basel he died on July 12, 1536. After 1514 all his writings were published by Froben in Basel. Erasmus was of delicate health, often ill, sometimes suffering excruciating pain, but preserved amid his checkered and stormy career by perennial cheerfulness.

No one ever lashed ecclesiastical corruption more cuttingly and severely than Erasmus. The monks came in, perhaps, for the larger share of this, because he knew more of them. His case was not exceptional, at least in regard to the methods used to bring people under monastic vows. "The kidnaping of boys and girls who had either money, or rank, or talent, was a common method of recruiting among the religious orders of the fifteenth century. It is alluded to and sharply condemned by a statute of Henry IV, passed by the English Parliament. Erasmus appeals in a letter to the papal secretary's personal knowledge. The Pharisees, he says, compass sea and land to sweep in proselytes. They hang about princes' courts and rich men's houses. They haunt schools and colleges, playing on the credulity of children and their friends, and entangling them in meshes from which when they are once caught there is no escape."

HIS SHARP PEN.

Erasmus does not mince his words. "The world," he says, "is full of these tricksters. When they hear of a lad of promise with wealthy parents they lay traps for him unknown to his relations. In reality they are no better than so many thieves, but they color their acts under the name of piety. They talk to the child himself of the workings of the Holy Spirit, of vocations which parents must not interfere with, of the wiles of the devil, as if the devil was never to be found inside a monastery. This truth comes out at last, but only when the case is past mending. The ears of all mankind are tingling with the cries of the wretched captives!"[1] Erasmus tells of the Collationary fathers, a "community who had nests all over Christendom, and made their living by netting proselytes for the religious orders. Their business was to catch superior lads, threaten them, frighten them, beat them, crush their spirits, tame them, as the process was called, and break them in for the cloister. They were generally very successful. They did this work so well that the Franciscans and the Dominicans admitted that without their help their orders would die out."

In one of his Colloquies Erasmus gives this advice to a girl bent on taking the veil. "You are now a free woman about to

[1] Erasm. Epis., app. 442; Froude, Life and Letters of Erasmus, Lond. and N. Y., 1894, pp. 5, 6.

make yourself voluntarily a slave. The clemency of the Christian religion has in great measure cast out of the world the old bondage, saving only some obscure footsteps in a few places. But there is nowadays found out under pretense of religion a new sort of servitude, as they now live indeed in many monasteries. You must do nothing there but by a rule, and then all that you lose they get. If you offer to step but one step out of the door you're lugged back again just like a criminal that had poisoned her father. And to make the slavery yet more evident, they change the habit your parents gave you, and after the manner of those slaves in old time, bought and sold in the market, they change the very name given you in baptism. . . . If a military servant casts off the garment his master gave him, is he not looked upon to have renounced his master? And do we applaud him that takes upon him a habit that Christ the Master of us all never gave him? He is punished more severely for changing it again than if he had a hundred times thrown away the livery of his lord and emperor, which is the innocence of his mind." The girl replies that it is said to be a meritorious work —entering a nunnery. "That is pharisaical doctrine. St. Paul teacheth us otherwise, and will not have him that is called free make himself a servant, but rather endeavor that he may be more free. And this makes the servitude the worse, that you serve many masters, and they most commonly fools, too, and debauchees; and besides that they are uncertain, being every now and then new."[1]

ERASMUS ON NUNS AND MONKS.

It would appear from this that Erasmus was opposed to the very idea of the monastic life as immoral servitude, but he is not to be interpreted so strictly. "We military gospelers," says a monk in another Colloquy, "propound to ourselves four things: To take care of our stomachs; that nothing be wanting below; to have wherewith to live on; and lastly, to do what we list."[2] Erasmus compares favorably the serious discourse to be heard at the tables of leading laymen in England with the ribaldry of the monastic refectories.

Erasmus says that the monks teach obedience so as to hide that there is any obedience due to God. "Kings are to obey the pope. Priests are to obey their bishops. Monks are to obey their abbots. Oaths are exacted that want of submission may be punished as a perjury. It may happen, and it often does happen, that an abbot is a fool or a drunkard. He issues an order to the brotherhood in

[1] Johnson's Bailey's Colloquies of Erasmus, Lond., 1878, 2 vols., i, 233.

[2] *Ibid.*, ii, 176.

the name of holy obedience. And what will such an order be? An order to observe chastity, to be sober, to tell no lies? No. It will be that a brother is not to learn Greek; he is not to seek to instruct himself. He may be a sot; he may go with prostitutes; he may be full of hatred and malice; he may never look inside the Scriptures. No matter. He has not broken any oath; he is an excellent member of the community, while if he disobeys such a command as this from an insolent superior there is the stake or dungeon for him instantly."[1] Erasmus says: "The New Testament knows nothing of monastic vows. Christ says the Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath; and when such institutions do more harm than good there ought to be easier means of escaping them than are now provided. The Pharisees of the Church will break the Sabbath for an ox or an ass, but will not relax an inch of their rule to save a perishing soul. There are monasteries where there is no discipline, and compared with which brothels are both more sober and more chaste. There are others where religion is nothing but ritual, and these are worse than the first, for the Spirit of God is not in them, and they are inflated with self-righteousness. There are those, again, where the brethren are so sick of the imposture that they keep it up only to deceive the vulgar. The houses are rare, indeed, where the rule is seriously observed, and even in these few, if you look to the bottom, you will find small sincerity. . . . Young men are fooled and cheated into joining these orders. Once in the toils they are broken in and trained into Pharisees. They may repent, but the superiors will not let them go, lest they should betray the orgies they have witnessed. They crush them down with scourge and penance, the secular arm,[2] chanceries, and dungeons. Nor is this the worst. Cardinal Matteo said at a public dinner before a large audience, naming place and persons, that the Dominicans had buried a young man alive whose father demanded his son's release. A Polish noble who had fallen asleep in a church saw two Franciscans buried alive; yet these wretches call themselves the representatives of Benedict and Basil and Jerome. A monk may be drunk every day; he may go with loose women secretly or openly (*qui scortatur clam et palam, nihil enim addam obscœnius*); he may waste the Church's money on vicious pleasures. He may be a quack or charlatan, and all the while be an excellent brother, and

[1] Ep. 85; Froude, p. 68.

[2] The civil authorities often returned deserters to their monasteries in chains.

fit to be made an abbot; while one who for the best reasons lays aside his frock is hooted at as an apostate. Surely the true apostate is he who goes into sensuality, pomp, vanity, the lusts of the flesh, the sins which he renounced at his baptism. All of us would think him a worse man than the other if the commonness of such characters did not hide their deformity. Monks of abandoned lives notoriously swarm over Christendom."[1]

No Protestant ever uttered more burning words, and yet Erasmus did not finally renounce the monastic principle. In this same letter he says: "I do not condemn the regular orders as such. If there are persons for whom the rule is salutary the vow may stand."

Erasmus ridiculed invocation of the saints, reverence for relics, pretended miracles, and prayers to the Virgin Mary. He makes Mary thank one who had much obliged her, "in that you have so strenuously followed Luther and convinced the world that it is a thing altogether needless to invoke saints. For before this I was wearied out of my life with the wicked importunities of mortals."[2] The reformer has no patience with fasting, Church rules concerning festivals and meats, the haste to baptize children—"dipping children scarce well got out of the dark caverns of the mother's womb all over in cold water, which has stood a long time in a stony font," damnation of unbaptized children, and emphasis on places, garments, meats, fasts, and the like.[3] "From whence it came to pass that whereas faith and charity constitute the Christian religion they are both extinguished by these superstitions."[4] But in the immediate context the statement is made that there is "no salvation out of the pale of the Church, and that whosoever does not own the authority of the Church is out of the pale of the Church."[5]

There was scarcely any superstition or abuse in the Roman Church that Erasmus did not denounce, but behind the superstition there was truth, and he denounced as heartily those who would ruthlessly do away with all the old ceremonies and rites and observances.

The great service of Erasmus to the Church was his work for

[1] Ep. 442, 2d series; Froude, pp. 174, 175.

[2] Colloquies, ii, 5.

[3] See the whole Colloquy.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 53.

[5] The Colloquies were published in their revised and enlarged form in 1524, and so may be taken as representing the mature views of the author. There is an edition by V. S. Clark, Convivia et Colloquiis Familiaribus Selecta, Bost., 1895. See the Nation, May 16, 1895, p. 389. In the Praise of Folly, *Encomium Moriæ*, 1511, Erasmus satirizes the monks and ecclesiastics, their penance and debauchery, and the futilities and vanities of contemporary theology.

sacred scholarship, and for this he deserves as great honor as Luther on his higher ground. This work lay in two directions: first, for the Church fathers; second, for the Bible. He was convinced that if the Church would go back to the sane and Christian teaching of the ancient fathers the mediæval superstitions and excesses and scholastic vanities would disappear and be forgotten. And so this pale and sickly scholar set himself to work with heroic determination and constancy to republish the fathers in correct texts and worthy form. In 1516 his edition of Jerome began, completed in nine folio volumes, 1520. He considered Jerome the greatest of the Latin theologians, and yet he said his writings have been left in the worst condition; no intelligible meaning can be had from them. He compared the manuscripts and corrected and restored the text. The work was dedicated to Leo X, who not only accepted it but tried in various ways to further Erasmus's literary projects.[1] Erasmus also published editions of Hilary, 1523; Irenæus, 1526; Ambrose, 1527; Augustine, 1528 ("I am now bringing out St. Augustine's works, corrected and annotated");[2] Epiphanius, 1529; Chrysostom, 1530, and Origen, 1531. Evidently Erasmus loved the Greek theologians, as we may suppose. "Origen opens out new fountains of thought and furnishes a complete key to theology."[3]

SCHOLARLY WORK OF ERASMUS.

But it was his work for the Bible for which Erasmus must be held in everlasting renown. In 1505 he edited Valla's Annotations on the New Testament—a pioneer work for biblical criticism, for Valla insisted on a knowledge of the Greek text and of grammatical principles as necessary to a true interpretation. In 1524 he published paraphrases and comments on the epistles and gospels, in which he substituted a living and real understanding of the Scriptures for the mechanical or allegorical explanation of the scholastics. These paraphrases were welcomed by all the better spirits of the time, and they were so much esteemed in England that in 1547 it was made the duty of every parish church to possess a copy of the English translation, and they were read in the churches both in England and on the continent.[4]

A PIONEER IN BIBLICAL CRITICISM.

[1] It is needless to say that, although edited by fine critical scholarship, Erasmus's Jerome contained spurious writings, and has long since been superseded, notably by the magnificent work of the learned Dominican of Verona, Vallarsi, Ven., 1734–42, fol.; 1766–72, 4to. [2] Ep. 530. [3] Ep. 102.

[4] This translation was made by Udall, Coverdale, and the English reformers, and published in London, 1548, 2 vols., fol.; 2d ed., 1551.

It was the cordial attitude of England toward him while Erasmus was suffering the stings and arrows of enemies whom his tracts and biblical writings had embittered that led him to look back with longing on happy Albion. "O splendid England, home and citadel of virtue and learning. . . . No land in all the world is like England. In no country would I love better to spend my days. Intellect and honesty thrive in England under the prince's favor. In England there is no masked sanctimoniousness, and the empty bubble of educated ignorance is driven out or put to silence. In this place [Louvain] I am torn by envenomed teeth. Preachers go about screaming lies about me among idiots as foolish as themselves."[1]

NEW TESTAMENT OF ERASMUS.

But the chief work of Erasmus was his edition of the Greek Testament, 1516. The New Testament as a whole, even in the Latin Vulgate, was a sealed book in the Middle Ages. Scholars and theologians studied it in their cloisters, but the great majority of the priests and all the laity knew of it only in the extracts in the breviary, and even these extracts in a superficial and dead way. It was the aim of Erasmus to restore the New Testament to the world as the apostles left it, and by a new Latin translation side by side with the Greek text, and by notes, to let the light of truth in on that monstrous mediævalism which had obscured the light and crushed the consciences of men. As edition succeeded edition these notes became longer and bolder. Take this as a specimen. He is remarking on the scribes and Pharisees of Matthew xxiii: "You may find a bishop here and there who teaches the Gospel, though life and teaching have small agreement. But what shall we say of those who destroy the Gospel itself, and make laws at their will, tyrannize over the laity, and measure right and wrong by rules constructed by themselves? Of those who entangle their flocks in the meshes of crafty canons, who sit not in the seat of the Gospel, but in the seat of Caiaphas and Simon Magus—prelates of evil, who bring disgrace and discredit on their worthier brethren?"

It was not Erasmus's aim to deny any fundamental doctrine of the Church, but in the most direct and caustic manner he attacked the methods of the scholastic philosophy and the abuses and corruptions of the clergy and monks, high and low. No racier notes were ever written on the Bible.[2] It was the application of the Bible to contemporary life with a vengeance. And what gave these notes their sting was the fact that Pope Leo X became the patron

[1] Ep. 241.

[2] See a selection in Froude, Erasmus, pp. 121–126.

of the work, and so gave his quasi-sanction to all that Erasmus said. The publication of Erasmus's Greek Testament was the most important event in the pre-Reformation period. It had a potent influence upon all future history. Its chief significance was in throwing aside the sacred text of centuries and appealing to the original; and in that it marked a new era in the history of mankind.[1]

A great deal has been written on Erasmus's relation to Luther and the Reformation, and like all liberals and moderates the retir-

[1] Erasmus's Greek Testament, like most of his works, was published by Froben in Basel. It was preceded in preparation by the Complutensian Polyglot of Cardinal Ximenes de Cisneros, 1514–17, though not in publication, as the Greek text of Ximenes was not *published* until 1521 or 1522. From the elaborate and learned article by the late Ezra Abbot we quote as follows: "Erasmus used as the basis of his text in the gospels an inferior Basel MS. of the fifteenth century, and one of the thirteenth or fourteenth century in the Acts and epistles. With these he collated more or less carefully one other MS. of the gospels, two in the Acts and catholic epistles, and three in the Pauline epistles. The oldest of these (cod. 1, tenth century) has a good text of the gospels, but Erasmus made very little use of it; the others are comparatively modern and poor. For the Revelation he had only a single MS. of the twelfth century, wanting the last six verses, which he *translated* into Greek from the Latin Vulgate. In various other places in Revelation he followed the Vulgate instead of the Greek, as he did in a few cases elsewhere. The result of the whole is that in more than twenty places the Greek of the *Textus Receptus*, which is derived ultimately in the main from the fourth edition of Erasmus, is supported *by the authority of no known Greek MS. whatever*. The first edition of Erasmus was sped through the press in headlong haste (præcipitatum fuit quam editum, as Erasmus himself says) in order that the publisher might get the start of the Complutensian. It consequently swarms with errors. A more correct edition was issued in 1519. Mill observed more than four hundred changes in the text. For this and later editions one additional MS. was used in the gospels, Acts, and epistles. In the third ed., 1522, the changes are much fewer, but it is noted for the introduction of 1 John v, 7, from the codex Montfortianus (16th cent.). In the fourth ed., 1527, the text was altered and improved in many places, particularly in Revelation, from the Complutensian Polyglot. The fifth and last edition, 1535, hardly differs from the fourth."—Art. Bible Text, New Test., in the Schaff-Herzog Encyc., i, 273, 274. The restoration of the spurious 1 John v, 7, was to save himself from some of the fierce onslaughts he had to suffer—"ne cui foret ansa calumniandi." Within a few decades thirty authorized reprints were made from Erasmus's New Testament. Luther's translation was based upon the second edition. It is a remarkable fact that although the so-called Authorized Version was made substantially from Erasmus's Greek Testament, which was necessarily founded on comparatively worthless authorities, it still keeps its place. This it does on account of the bewitchery of its peerless English, the ordinary reader caring much more for sound than accuracy.

ing, timid lover of books and peace[1] has come in for abuse from the stalwarts of both parties. But the position of Erasmus is perfectly plain and simple. He was a Reformed Roman Catholic, that is, he believed in all the fundamental teachings of the Church and in the primacy of the pope, but he did not believe in the numerous additions, superstitions, corruptions, for which in the popular mind the Roman Church stood. He would have swept away all the mendicant orders; he would have reformed the rest; he would have abolished indulgences, pilgrimages, relics, compulsory clerical celibacy, image worship, and all the hateful excrescences on which he pours his scorn and wit and noble indignation. He would have had the priests pure men, learned in the Scriptures, and able to preach and lead the people upward; he would have unlocked the Holy Scriptures and opened their rich pastures to all, so that, as he says, the humblest woman might read them,[2] and he would have substituted for the barren discussions of the scholastic theology the rational and biblical methods characteristic of a more truth-loving and Christian age.

ERASMUS AND THE REFORMATION.

And for all this the conservatives of the old Church hated him with a perfect hatred. They even accused him of heresy, and the Sorbonne in 1527 condemned thirty-two articles extracted from his works, as they had previously forbidden the circulation of his Colloquies in France. In fact, they went so far as to burn at the stake in Paris in 1529 his young friend and disciple, Berquin, who had translated some of his writings into French, and published them with additional notes, and they would have burnt Erasmus too. We need not be surprised, therefore, that at the first Erasmus hailed Luther as a fellow-worker, wrote kindly to and of him, and resented the fierce attacks of Luther's enemies as though they had

[1] Erasmus had the true Quaker's dread of war; in fact, he stood with Barclay and Penn in believing war to be of the devil, or at least he was perfectly sure that war between Christians was.

[2] "I altogether and utterly dissent from those who are unwilling that the Holy Scriptures, translated into the vulgar tongue, should be read by private persons (*idiotis*), as though the teachings of Christ were so abstruse as to be intelligible only to a very few theologians, or as though the safety of the Scriptures rested on man's ignorance of it. It may be well to conceal the mysteries of kings, but Christ willed that his mysteries should be published as widely as possible. I should wish that simple women (*mulierculæ*) should read the gospels and epistles of St. Paul. Would that the Scripture were translated into all languages that it might be read and known, not only by Scots and Irishmen, but even by Turks and Saracens."—Paraclesis in Nov. Test.

been directed against himself. On the other hand when Luther developed into a dogmatic reformer, when his followers went even farther than he, when tumults and rebellions in the State ensued, when wild excesses came, Erasmus drew back. As he grew older he grew more conservative. In an epistle written about 1529, called out by the noble young Berquin's martyrdom, there is an entire lack of that divine anger which in his younger days such an atrocity would have called out. On the contrary, he matches it with extravagances on the Protestant side. "In some German States the pope is antichrist, the bishops are hobgoblins, the priests swine, the princes tyrants, the monasteries Satan's conventicles; and the power is in the hands of Gospel mobs, who are readier to fight than to reason."[1]

DOCTRINAL DIFFERENCES WITH LUTHER.

Erasmus probably did not object seriously to the doctrine of justification by faith, any more than Contarini, Sadolet, and Pole, and others who remained in the old Church. But this lover of Origen and the Greek theology did object strenuously to Luther's predestinarianism, and entered into an unfortunate controversy with the German, 1524, 1526. "Erasmus had learned and taught a different interpretation of the Scriptures [from that of Luther's stern predestination]; he had worked it out from his biblical studies; he was most familiar with the Greek fathers, who had eluded or rejected as uncongenial with their modes of thought all those momentous questions stirred up by Pelagianism."[2] We know that this battle over the decrees struck Luther on what he considered the pivotal principle of his theology, because at the end of his reply to Erasmus's book, Diatribe de Libero Arbitrio, Luther congratulates Erasmus as having the sole honor of seeing the vital part of his doctrine, and not fatiguing him with arguments concerning papacy, purgatory, indulgences, and similar trifles, but striking the very socket and throat of his doctrine.[3]

After this controversy, Erasmus naturally drifted farther away. He came to regard the Reformation as a calamity, if not a crime,[4] and allowed even the power of the State to punish heretics

[1] Ep. 1060.

[2] Milman, Savonarola, Erasmus, and other Essays. Lond., 1870, p. 140.

[3] Deinde et hoc in te vehementer laudo et prædico, quod solus præ omnibus rem ipsam es aggressus, hoc est, summum causæ, nec me fatigaris alienis illis causis de papatu, purgatorio, indulgentiis ac similibus nugis, potius quam causis in quibus me hactenus omnes fere venati sunt frustra. Unus tu et solus cardinem rerum vidisti et ipsum jugulum petuisti, pro quo ex animo tibi gratias ago.

[4] Ep. 906.

with death.[1] In his able and elaborate study of Erasmus, Milman says: "The general tone, and too many passages in these works [those of Sir Thomas More], as we most sadly admit in those of Erasmus, show that both had been driven to tamper at least with the milder and more Christian theoretic principles of their youth; branded heresy as the worst of offenses, worse than murder, worse than parricide; and left the unavoidable inference to be drawn as to the justice, righteousness, even duty of suppressing such perilous opinions by any means whatever."[2] The work of Luther, Erasmus considered, interfered with peaceful reformation, with quiet in the State, and with the pursuit of learning. There was nothing inconsistent in Erasmus's attitude—he held to the best in the old, and he hailed the new so far as he thought the new was of truth. It was characteristic of him that on one hand he declined with thanks and appreciation the cardinal's hat offered him by Paul III, and on the other that in his last sickness he refused to see a priest, and died invoking only the mercy of Christ. Erasmus was the product of a transition.

The brilliant Henry Rogers repeats the ordinary explanation of Protestant writers that the reason for Erasmus's indecision is constitutional timidity.[3] He founds this on the oft-quoted remarks: "Let others affect martyrdom; I do not think myself worthy of this honor." "Quarreling is so unpleasant to me that I should hate truth itself if she became seditious." "All men have not sufficient courage for martyrdom; I fear that in case of danger I should imitate Peter." "I fear that if I were tempted like Peter I should fall like Peter." But these are the utterances of playfulness when not of humility, and are not to be taken too seriously. Did Erasmus show timidity when attacking abuses in Praise of Folly, Colloquies, letters, lectures at the University of Cambridge, and in his notes and paraphrases to the New Testament? No man ever fought a braver battle. No doubt he was timid, but the truth and moral enthusiasm made him brave. Erasmus clung to the old Church because at the bottom he believed in the old Church, in a purified Catholicism—and papal at that. Professor Schlottmann has studied thoroughly Erasmus's attitude to Luther and the Reformation, and he declines to attribute the isolation of the Rotterdam reformer to a selfish timidity.[4] Nor are the fascinating comparisons of

ROGERS AND FROUDE ON ERASMUS.

[1] Ep. 526.

[2] *L. c.*, pp. 147, 148.

[3] Erasmus and His Age, in Essays on Theological Controversies, pp. 286 ff., p. 329.

[4] Erasmus Redivivus, Halle, 1883.

Froude to be received on their face value. He says that in Luther "belief in God and goodness was a certainty; in Erasmus that belief was only a high probability, and the difference between the two is not merely great, it is infinite. In Luther it was the root, in Erasmus it was the flower. In Luther it was the first principle of life; in Erasmus it was an inference which might be taken away, and yet leave the world a very tolerable and habitable place after all."[1] But this, like so many of Froude's judgments, is too easy-going. Erasmus was more skeptical than Luther, but it was skepticism of men's opinions, and not of God and goodness. In these he believed as heartily as Luther, but his faith expressed itself in a different way.

Much more just is the remark of a recent scholar: "Erasmus had little inclination for the thorny paths of polemical theology. His instincts were those of a man of letters, rather than of a religious controversialist. Of the sincerity of his religion there can be no doubt; but religion in his eyes was synonymous with a simple and practical faith in the person of our Lord. For the rest it was better to submit himself to the judgment of the Church. It was better to err with the Spouse of Christ than to plunge with Luther into a headlong course of opposition to her authority. 'I am ready,' he once wrote, 'to be a martyr for Christ, but I will not be a martyr for Luther.' In point of fact his latter days would have been easier if he had joined the Lutheran party."[2] For this reason the Episcopal scholars of to-day eulogize Erasmus. "To an English Churchman the steady refusal of Erasmus to commit schism in the interest of reform is one of the chief glories of his life." Friedrich Lezius is correct in saying that the religion of Erasmus was the religion of the Humanists, that he was negative after all in his theological protests, and that his sympathies were with Roman Catholicism rather than with Luther, but he is incorrect in saying that Erasmus was so opposed to strife and tumult that he would sacrifice truth and right to peace, and that therefore his beliefs are not worthy to be called convictions, but must be regarded as opinions merely.[3] This is the common view, but it does Erasmus injustice. When the Sorbonne formally condemned his writings he made no effort to retract, and his writings everywhere bear the stamp of absolute sincerity.

[1] Times of Erasmus and Luther, in Short Studies on Great Subjects, i, 100.

[2] Church Quar. Rev., Lond., Jan., 1883, pp. 480, 481.

[3] Zur Characteristic des religiösen Standpunktes des Erasmus, Gütersloh, 1895.

EUROPE
AT THE ACCESSION OF CHARLES V.
1519 A.D
HABSBURG POSSESSIONS
VENETIAN POSSESSIONS
STATES OF THE CHURCH
THE BOUNDARY OF THE EMPIRE IS SHOWN BY THE RED LINE.
KINGDOM OF NORWAY
SHETLANDS
ORKNEYS
KINGDOM OF SCOTLAND
KINGDOM OF ENGLAND
IRELAND
DENMARK
HOLSTEIN
Hamburg
Bremen
Munster
Magdeburg
Cologne
Aix la Chapelle
SAXONY
Frankfurt
Treves
Metz
Strassburg
BAVARIA
Nuremburg
TYROL
SWITZERLAND
FLANDERS
NETHERLANDS
PICARDY
NORMANDY
BRITTANY
CHAMPAGNE
Paris
Orleans
Blois
Tours
Nantes
Dijon
Bourges
KINGDOM OF FRANCE
BURGUNDY
FRANCHE COMTE
DUCHY OF MILAN
Milan
Turin
Genoa
Florence
Rome
CORSICA
SARDINIA
GUIENNE
GASCONY
DAUPHINE
PROVENCE
LANGUEDOC
NAVARRE
Bordeaux
Toulouse
Montpellier
Narbonne
Marseilles
Avignon
Nismes
Perpignan
Barcelona
Andorra
KINGDOM OF ARAGON
KINGDOM OF CASTILE
KINGDOM OF PORTUGAL
Madrid
Segovia
Toledo
Burgos
Leon
Cordova
Seville
Granada
Lisbon
Coimbra
Oporto
BALEARIC ISLES
MINORCA
MAJORCA
Algiers
Bona (Sp)
Biserta (Sp)
Tunis
TUNIS
ALGIERS
(To Turkey 1518)
MOROCCO
Tangier (Port)
Oran (Sp)
Edinburgh
Dublin
Belfast
York
Bristol
London
Calais
Dover
Ostend
Brussels
Liege
Namur
Ghent
Antwerp
Amsterdam
Utrecht
Groningen
Emden
Lubeck
Dantzic
Cracow
Prague
Vienna
Buda
Belgrade
Ragusa
Venice
Mantua
Milan
Turin
Genoa
Florence
Rome
Naples
Sicily
Malta
Corsica
Sardinia
Elba
Siena
Lucca
Pisa
Ferrara
Modena
Parma
Bologna
Ravenna
Urbino
Perugia
Ancona
Loretto
Rimini
Ancona
Spoleto
Terni
Viterbo
Orvieto
Siena
Lucca
Pisa
Leghorn
Piombino
Elba
Corsica
Sardinia
Naples
Sicily
Malta
Tripoli
Algiers
Tunis
Bona
Biserta
Oran
Tangier
Fez
Morocco
Gibraltar
Seville
Granada
Cordova
Toledo
Madrid
Segovia
Burgos
Leon
Coimbra
Lisbon
Oporto
Barcelona
Andorra
Perpignan
Toulouse
Montpellier
Narbonne
Marseilles
Avignon
Nismes
Bordeaux
Guienne
Gascony
Navarre
Dauphine
Provence
Languedoc
Burgundy
Franche Comte
Switzerland
Milan
Turin
Genoa
Florence
Rome
Naples
Sicily
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Sardinia
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GOTLAND
OLAND
ESTHLAND
Reval
LIVLAND
Riga
CURLAND
Dinaburg
TEUTONIC ORDER
Memel
Konigsberg
Dantig
PRUSSIA
Thorn
Posen
Warsaw
Grodno
Wilna
Minsk
Smolensk
WHITE RUSSIA
Moscow
Tula
KAZAN
ASTRACHAN
DON KOSSACKS
SEVERIA
GRAND DUCHY OF LITHUANIA
KINGDOM OF POLAND
SILESIA
MORAVIA
Lemberg
Lwoff
Vistula
Cracow
Halicz
Kamieniec
Dniester
Dnieper
Kieff
ZAPOROGIAN KOSSACKS
KHANATE OF THE CRIM TARTARS
PEREKOP
Pesth
Presburg
KINGDOM OF HUNGARY
TRANSYLVANIA
PRIN. OF MOLDAVIA
Jassy
MOLDAVIA
BESSARABIA
Hermanstadt
Orsova
Temesvar
Theiss
Danube
Drave
Save
Belgrade
PRIN. OF WALLACHIA
Bucharest
BOSNIA
SERVIA
Danube
Nicopolis
Tirnovo
Varna
Rustchuk
Sofia
BULGARIA
Philippopolis
Adrianople
ROUMELIA
Constantinople
Sinope
Amisus
Angora
ANATOLIA
KARAMAN
Pristina
REP. RAGUSA
ALBANIA
Salonica
Bari
Otranto
Janina
Larissa
LEMNOS
LESBOS
CHIOS
SAMOS
Smyrna
Ronia
EMPIRE OF THE TURKS
IONIAN ISLES
CORFU
CEPHALONIA
ZANTE
Lepanto
Athens
Patras
Napoli
Argos
Hydra
Spezzia
Cerigo (Ven.)
CARPATHOS
KNIDOS
ST. JOHN
Rhodes
Cyprus

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19. Schaff, Philip. The German Reformation. N. Y., 1888; 2d ed., rev., 1889. The best of the larger works.
20. Hergenröther, J. Conciliengeschichte: nach den Quellen bearbeitet von C. J. von Hefele. Fortgesetzt von J. Cardinal Hergenröther. Bd. ix. Freib. i. B., 1890. This 9th vol. of the great work of Hefele, in itself nearly a thousand pages, is by Hergenröther, and is really a history of the Reformation from the traditional ultramontane point of view. See H. M. Scott in Presb. and Ref. Rev., 1892, 564–566.
21. Pastor, L. Hist. of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages. Transl., Lond., 5 vols., 1891–98. Written from the documents in the Vatican Library, thrown open by Leo XIII, but not embodying very many fresh conclusions of importance; indispensable to the student of the Reformation, as it gives the latest results attained by a fairly impartial Roman Catholic scholar. See C. A. Scott, in Crit. Rev., ii, 284–289; vi, 70; G. B. Adams, in Andover Rev., viii, 656; xiii, 354; H. M. Scott in Presb. and Ref. Rev., iii, 561–564; Th. Litblatt., May 15, 1896.

Recent historical research in Germany has been active in the period of the Reformation, but space will not allow the description *in extenso* of this rich literature. To 1891 belong: Nonne, L., Reformationsbüchlein, neu bearb. v. A. Human, Hildb.; Jäkels, C., 100 Ersählgn. a. d. Kirchen- u. Reformationgeschichte m. bes. Berücks. d. Gesch. Luthers u. d. evang. kirchl. Gedenktage, neu bearb. v. Hermans, Langeus; Hase, K. v., Reformation u. Gegenreformation, Leipz. 1892: Bittkan, G., Einführg. d. Reformation in Neu-Ruppin, New Rupp; Redenbacher, W., M. Luther, od. kurze Ref-gesch., 17 Aufl., Nürnb.; Geyer, W., Einführg. d. Ref. in Regensburg, Regensb.; Winckelmann, O., Der schmalkaldische Bund, 1530–32 u. d. nürnberger Religionsfriede, Strasb. 1893: Gradl, H., Ref. in Egerlande, Eger; Ludewig, G., Die Politik Nürnbergs im Zeit. d. Ref., 1520–34, Gött. [see H. Virck, in Th. Litz., 1893, No. 25]; Hofmann, R., Ref.-gesch. d. Stadt Pirna, Leipz.; Meyer, J., Einführg. d. Ref. in

Franken, Ausb.; Steffenhagen, M., Georg v. Anhalt, d. Reformator, Merseb., and 45 Jahre Kampf um d. ev. Wahrheit, Merseb. 1894: Boetticher, P., Anfänge d. Ref. in d. preuss. Landern, Konigsb.; Walther, W., Bedeutg. d. deut. Ref. f. d. Gesundheit uns. Volksleben, Leipz.; Möller, W., Ref. u. Gegenref., ed. by G. Kawerau, Freib. i. B.; Burkhardt, O., Einführg. d. Ref. in d. reuss. Ländern, Leipz.; Wolkan, R., Anfänge d. Ref. in Joachimsthal, Prag; Grupp, G., Oettingische Geschichte d. Ref.-Zeit, Nörd.; Kawerau, W., Eberhard Weidensee u. d. Reformation in Magdeburg, Halle; Tournier, C., Ref. in Mülhausen u. d. Aufruhr v. 1587, Mülh. i. E., 1895: Knodt, E. J. Westermann, d. Reformator Lippstadts u. sein sogen. Katechismus, Gotha; Weber, B., Ref.-gesch. d. freien Reichsstadt Frankfurt a. M., Frankf. a. M.; Kolde, Th., Beitr. zur bauerischen Kirchengsch., vol. i–iii, 1895–97 [see Th. Litz., 1896, No. 6, 1897, No. 4, 1898, No. 6.]; Sophronizon, J., Gesch. d. Ref. v. ihrem Ursprunge bis auf uns. Zeiten, Leipz.; Freytag, G., Aus. d. Jahrh. d. Reformation [1500–1600], Leipz.; Keller, L., Die Gegenref. in Westfalen, Leipz.; Moritz, H., Die Wahl Rudolfs II der Reichstag zu Regensburg, 1576, und die Freistellungsbewegung, Marb. [see Th. Litz., 1896, No. 19]; Bettany, G. T., Pop. Hist. of Ref. and of Mod. Protm., Lond. [see Presb. and R. Rev., vi, 777]; Gebhardt, B., D. Gravamina d. deut. Nation gegen d. röm. Hof: ein Beitr. z. Vorgesch. d. Ref., 2d ed., Bresl.; Rümelin, A., Ref. in Dessau, Halle; Berger, A.E. Kulturaufgaben der Ref., Berl. 1896: Hoerschelmann, F., Andreas Knophen d. Reformator Rigas, Leipz. [see Th. Litz., 1896, No. 19]; Kayser, K., Die reformatorischen Kirchenvisitation in den weleischen Landen, 1542–44, Gött. [important, v. Th. Litz., '97, No. 15]; Köstlin, A., Kawerau, G., and others. Beitr. zur Reformationgeschichte, Gotha [excellent essays in commemoration of the seventieth anniversary of birth of the great Luther-scholar, Köstlin]. 1897: Ludwig, K., Die Gegenref. in Karlsbad, Prag. [see Am. Journal of Theol., Oct., 1898, 951]; Ralwes, F., Die Ref. als Kulturkampf, Braunsch.; Tschackert, P., Mag. Joh. Sutel, 1504–75, Braunsch.; Haupt. H., Beitr. zur Reformationgesch. der Reichstadt Worms, 1523–24, Giessen; Keller, L., Grundfragen der Reformationgesch., Berl. [see Th. Litz., 1898, No. 5]; Hauthaler, W., Card. Math. Lang u. die religiös-sociale Bewegung seiner Zeit 1517–40, Salzb.; Nathusius, M. v., Die christlich-socialen Ideen der Reformationszeit und ihre Herkunft, Gütersl. [see Th. Litz., 1897, No. 17; Am. Journal of Theol., Oct., 1898, p. 936]. 1898: Schuster, L., Fürstbischof Martin Brenner, Graz [an elaborate contrib. (942 pp.) to Reformation history]; Erhard, O., Die Ref. der Kirche in Bamberg unter Bischof Weigand, 1522–56, Erlangen.

BIOGRAPHIES OF LUTHER (SELECTION.)

1. Melanchthon, Ph. Vita Lutheri, Wittenb., 1546. Many eds., esp. Augusti, Bresl., 1817, and Neander, Berl., 1841. Transl. Lond., 1561, 1817.
2. Mathesius, J. Historien von des ehrwürdigen Dr. M. Lutheri Anfang, Lehre, Leben und Sterben, Nürnb., 1566. Many eds.
3. Ukert, G. H. A. Dr. Martin Luthers Leben mit einer kurzen Reformationsgeschichte Deutschlands und der Literatur, ed. posthum. by F. A. Ukert, 2 vols. Gotha, 1817. Rich in notices of literature.
4. Meurer, M. M. Luthers Leben, aus den Quellen erzählt. Dresd., 1843–46; 3d ed., 1870; Transl., N. Y., 1848. Draws largely from Luther's Letters.

5. Jurgens. Luthers Leben [to 1517], 3 vols. Leipz., 1846–47. A thesaurus for later explorers.
6. Katzeberger, M. (Luther's friend). Handschriftliche Geschichte über Luther und seine Zeit. Herausgegeben von C. G. Neudecker, 1850.
7. Worsley, Henry. The Life of Martin Luther. 2 vols. Lond., 1856.
8. Tulloch, J. Luther and the Leaders of the Reformation. Edinb., 1859; 3d ed., 1883.
9. Köstlin, J. Martin Luther: sein Leben und seine Schriften. 2 vols., Elberf., 1883. First pub. in 1875. Ed. of 1883, rev. and enl. The greatest and best life ever published: impartial and comprehensive work of one who has spent his life in the study of Luther, his times, and his writings. Luthers Leben, Leipz., 1882; 9 Aufl., 1891. The best 1 vol. life. Transl., Lond. and N.Y., 1883. Luthers Theologie. 2 vols. Stuttg., 1863; transl., Phila., 1897. A history and exposition—best extant. Martin Luther (Festschrift), Halle, 1883; 22 Aufl., 1884; transl., Lond., 1883.
10. Kuhn, Felix. Luther, sa vie et son œuvre. 3 vols. Paris, 1883–84.
11. Vilmar, A. M. Luther. Gütersl., 1883.
12. Stoughton, J. The Homes and Haunts of Luther. Lond., 1875; new ed. with addl. chaps, 1883. Transl. into French.
13. Kahnis, K. F. A. Die Bedeutung d. Personlichk. Luthers. Leipz., 1883.
14. Rein, W. Leben Luthers, Leipz., 1883. Transl. N. Y., 1884.
15. Mead, E. D. Martin Luther: a Study of the Reformation. Bost., 1884. Rationalistic.
16. Froude, J. A. Luther: a short biography. Lond., 1884.
17. Kolde, Th. Martin Luther: eine Biographie. 2 vols., Gotha, 1884. Excellent.
18. Seiss, J. A. Luther and the Reformation: the lifesprings of our liberties. Phila., 1884.
19. Fehr, F. M. Luther. Stockh., 1885.
20. Bayne, Peter. Martin Luther: his Life and Work. 2 vols., Lond., 1887. The best life in English; written with enthusiasm, yet with scholarly discrimination and with profound and searching remarks and criticisms.
21. Beard, Charles. Martin Luther and the Reformation in Germany until 1560. Lond., 1889.
22. Freytag, Gustav v. Doktor Luther: ed. with introd. and notes by F. P. Goodrich. Bost., 1894, transl., Chicago, 1897. A brilliant and penetrating treatment of the larger aspects.
23. Berger, Arnold E. Martin Luther in kulturgeschichtl. Darstellung, vol. i, Berl., 1895; vol. ii, 1898. An interesting and suggestive study. See G. H. Ferris, in Am. Jour. of Theol., i, 1068, ii, 913.
24. Jacobs, H. E. Martin Luther: the Hero of the Reformation, 1483–1546. N. Y., 1898. The best 1 vol. life written in English. In the admirable series ed. by Professor Samuel Macauley Jackson.
25. Hay, C. E. Luther the Reformer. Phila., 1898. Brief but excellent.

It would take a volume to mention the books on Luther published in Germany within the last twenty-five years. The Luther celebration in 1883 called out over a thousand books and pamphlets. Every aspect of his life and work has been discussed over and over again with infinite pains and thorough-

ness. We can give here only a brief selection. We shall first mention two or three of the best books on special subjects, and close with a few recent books.

1. *As a Bible Translator:* Schott, C. H., Gesch. der deutschen Bibelübersetzung Martin Luthers, Leipz., 1835; Krafft, W., Die deutsche Bibel von Luther, sein Verhältniss zu derselben und seine Verdienste um die Bibelübersetzung, Bonn, 1883; Riehm, E., Luther als Bibelübersetzer, Gotha, 1884. Compare the elaborate work of W. Walther, D. deut. Bibelübersetzung d. Mittelalters, 3 vols., Braunschw., 1891.
2. *Luther as a Preacher:* Jonas, E., Die Kauzelberedsamkeit Luthers. Berl., 1853; Garnier, G., Sur la prédication de Luther, Montaub., 1876; Hastings, T. S., in Luther Symp. of Union Theol. Sem., N. Y., 1883; Snyder, W. A., in Luth. Ch. Rev., Phila., Oct., 1897; Yutzy, J., in Luth. Quar., Oct., 1898.
3. *Boyhood and Parentage:* Mayhew, H., Boyhood of Martin Luther, Lond., 1863; new ed., 1879; Sears, B., Luther, with special ref. to earlier periods, N. Y., 1850 [Barnas Sears, the eminent Baptist educator, was an able Luther specialist, and wrote the best of the early English lives]; Gopel, C., Jugendleben Luthers, Eisenach, 1885; Hunnius, C., Luther d. Schöpfer d. prot. Schule als Knabe u. Schüler. Riga, 1887.
4. *Staupitz:* Works, ed. Knaake, Gotha, 1867; Kolde, Th., Die deutsche Augustiner-Congregation und Johan v. Staupitz, Gotha, 1879 [contains twenty-four letters of Staupitz]; Keller L., Johann von Staupitz und die Anfänge der Reformation, Leipz., 1888; Dieckhoff, Theologie des Joh. v. Staupitz, Leipz., 1887; Paulus, N., J. von Staupitz: seine vorgeblich protestantischen Gesinnungen, in Hist. Jahrb., ii, 2, 1891.
5. *Frederick the Wise:* Kolde, Th., Friedrich der Weise und die Anfänge der Reformation, Erl., 1881; Baltin, E., Fried. d. Weise, Torg., 1886; Nasemann, O., Friedr. d. Weise, Halle, 1889.
6. *Erfurt and Wittenberg:* On the Univ. of Erfurt, see F. W. Kampfschulte, Die Universität Erfurt in ihren Verhältnisse z. Humanismus und Reformation, 2 vols., Tréves, 1856–60; Drews, P., Humanismus u. Reformation, Leipz., 1887. On the Univ. of Wittenberg see Grohmann, Annalen der Universität zu Wittenberg, 2 vols., Wittenb., 1802.
7. *Journeys:* Koehler, K. F., Luthers Reisen u. ihre Bedeutung f. d. Reformation, Eisenach, 1872.
8. *Luther's Mysticism:* Hering, Die Mystik Luthers, Leipz., 1879 [treated in relation to both his theology and the older mysticism].
9. *The Ninety-five Theses:* Discussions by Krauth, C. P., Phila., 1872; Bratke, E., 1884; Weicker, G., Leipz., 1888; and Lüdemann, Braunschw., 1890.
10. *Indulgences:* Hirscher, J. B., Die Lehre vom Ablass., Tüb., 1844; Dieckhoff, A. W., Der Ablasstreit, Gotha, 1886; Lepicier, A. M., Indulgences, their Origin, Nature, and Development, Lond., 1895 (R. C.); Lea, H. C., Hist. of Auricular Confession and Indulgences in the Latin Church, vol. iii, Indulgences, Phila., 1896 [a thorough and scientific work.]
11. *Tetzel:* Kapp, J., Schauplatz des tetzelschen Ablasskrams, 2d ed., Leipz., 1720; Hoffmann, F. G., Lebensbeschreibung des Ablassprediger Tetzel, Leipz., 1844. On same subject by Kayser, Annab., 1877; Koerner, Frakenbg. i. S., 1880; Kawerau, Barmen, 1889; and (R. C.) Gröne, Soest,

1860; Kolbe, Steyl, 1882; Hermann, Frankf. a. M., 1885; Meijer, Utrecht, 1885, and Röhm, Hildesheim, 1890.

12. *Miltitz, Eck, and Carlstadt:* Seidemann, J. C., Karl v. Miltitz, Dresd., 1844; Wiedermann, T., Dr. J. Eck, Regensb., 1865; Jäger, C. F., Andr. Bodenstein v. Carlstadt, Stuttg., 1856. See also Seidemann, J. C., Die Leipziger Disputation (1519), Dresd., 1843; Bauch, G., And. Carlstadt als Scholastiker, in Ztschr. f. Kirchengesch., xviii, 1, 1897.

13. *Charles V:* Lang, Correspondence des Kaisers Karl V, 3 vols., Leipz., 1844–46; Stirling, W., Cloister Life of, 2d ed., Lond., 1853; Robertson, W., Hist. of Reign of, with Supp. by W. H. Prescott, Phila., 1857; new ed., 1890; De Lettenhove, Commentaires de Ch. V, Brussels, 1862; transl. Lond., 1862; Maurenbrecker, W., Karl V und die deutschen Protestanten, 1545–55, Dusseld., 1865; Baumgarten, H., Karl V und die deutsche Reformation, Halle, 1889; the same, Geschichte Karls V, 3 vols., Stuttg., 1892.

14. *Aleander:* Balano, P., Monumenta Reform. Luth., Regensb., 1883. This book by a Roman Catholic, in which he prints the original dispatches of Aleander and others at the diet of Worms, was so unsatisfactory in its revelations that the authorities of his Church quietly shelved it. The same sources were consulted by Th. Brieger in his Aleander und Luther, Gotha, 1884, and interpreted from a Prot. standpoint. Aleander's dispatches have also been studied by Kalkoff, Halle, 1886, 1897, and Virck, Barm., 1888; Hausrath, A., Aleander und Luther auf dem Reichstag zu Worms, Berl., 1898.

15. *Diet of Worms:* Köstlin, J., Luthers Rede in Worms am 18 Ap., 1521, Halle, 1874; Brieger, T., Neue Mittheilungen über Luther in Worms, Marb., 1883; Luther at Worms, by T. Kolde, Halle, 1883; F. Soldan, Worms, 1883, and J. Elter, Bonn, 1886; Haupt, H., Beiträge zur Reformationgeschichte der Reichstadt Worms, Giessen, 1897.

16. *Wartburg:* Witzschell, A., Luthers Aufenthalt auf der Wartburg, Vienna, 1876; Morris, J. G., Luther at Wartburg and Coburg, Phila., 1882.

17. *Münzer:* Strobel, Leben, Schriften und Lehre Thoma Münzers, Nurembg., 1795; lives by Seidemann, Dresd., 1842; Leo, H., Berl., 1856, and Merx, O., Gött., 1889; Enders, E. L., Aus dem Kampf des Schwarmer gegen Luther, Halle, 1893.

18. *Emser:* Enders, L., Luther u. Emser ihre Streitschriften a. d. Jahr 1521, 2 vols., Halle, 1889–90.

19. *Peasants' War:* Histories by H. Schreiber, 3 vols., Freib., 1863–66; R. Zöllner, Dresd., 1872; F. L. Baumann, Stuttg., 1876, 1878; Hartfelder, Stuttg., 1884; W. Falckenheimer (Phil. d. Grosmütige im), 1887; W. Vogt, Halle, 1887, and W. Zimmermann, Stuttg., 1890.

20. *Luther's Wife:* Lives of Katharine von Bora, by W. Beste, Halle, 1843; F. G. Hofmann, Leipz., 1845; M. M. Meurer, Dresd., 1854; A. Stein, 1886; transl., Phila., 1890; G. Ehricke (Martin Luther u. seine Käthe), Cöthen, 1897.

21. *Clement VII:* Grethen, R., Die politische Beziehungen Clemens VII zu Karl V, 1523–27, Hannov., 1887; Hellweg, Die politische Beziehungen Clemens VII im Jahre 1526, Leipz., 1889.

22. *Adrian VI:* Monographs by Nippold, Leipz., 1875; Bauer, Heidelb., 1876; Höfler, Wien, 1880; and Lapitre, Paris, 1880.

23. *Diets of Nuremberg:* Redlich, O., Der Reichstag von Nuremberg, 1522–23, Leipz., 1887; Richter, A., the same, 1524, Leipz., 1888.
24. *Diets of Spires:* Friedensburg, W., Der Reichstag zu Speier, 1526, Berl., 1887; Brasse, Gesch. der Speirer national Councils, 1524, Halle, 1890. See also Historische Zeitschrift, 1888, H. 1; Luth. Quar., Gettysburg, Jan., 1888.
25. *The Leagues:* Friedensburg, W., Zur Vorgeschichte des Gotha-torgauischen Bundnisses die Evangelischen, 1525–26, Marb., 1884; Stoy, S., Erste Bundisbestrebung ev. Stande, Jena, 1888.
26. *Diet of Augsburg:* Forstemann, C. E., Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte des Reichstag zu Augsburg, 2 vols., Halle, 1833–35; Schirmacher, Briefe u. Acten Gotha, 1876; Lenk, H., Der Reichstag zu Augsburg, Barm., 1894. See Bossert in Th. Lit.-Blatt., Aug. 23, 1898.
27. *Augsburg Confession:* Text—Schaff, Creeds, iii, 3 ff.; Jacobs, Book of Concord, Phila., 1882; Kolde, Th., Die augsburgische Konfession, lat. u. deutsch mit 5 Beilage: 1. Die Marburger Artikel; 2. Die Schwabacher do.; 3. Die Torgauer do.; 4. Die Confutatio pontificia; 5. Die Augustana von 1540, Gotha, 1896. History—Stuckenberg, Hist. of Augsburg Confession, Phila., 1869; Reim, H., Die Augs. Conf. mit Einl. u. Anmerkungen, Güters., 1879; Lectures on, Phila., 1888; Haas, Genesis of, in Luth. Church Rev., Phila., Jan., 1898. On the Apology and Confutation, see Plitt, Die Apol. der Augustana, Erl., 1873; Ficker, Die Confutation, Gotha, 1891.
28. *Melanchthon:* Works in Corpus Reformatorum, 28 vols., Halle, 1834–64; supplem. vol., Halle, 1874. On the Loci see Plitt and Kolde's edition, Erl., 1890, and on his theol. see Herrlinger, Die Theol. Mel., Gotha, 1879. Lives—Cox, F. A., Lond., 1817; Mathes, K., Altenb., 1841; Ledderhose, C. F., Heidelb., 1847; tr., Phil., 1855; Schmidt, C., Elbf., 1861; Thiersch, H. W. J., Augs., 1877; Hartfelder, K., Berl., 1889, also Melanchthonica Pædagogica, Leipz., 1892; Deane, D. J., Lond., 1897; Stump, Jos., Reading, Pa., 1897; Richard, J. W. [the best], N. Y. and Lond., 1898.
29. *The Smalcald League:* Hortleder, Karl V wider die schmal. Bundesverwandten, 2 vols., Frankf., 1617; Schneider, E., Die Würtemberg Reformations Gesch., Stuttg., 1887; Winckelmann, O., Der schmalcaldische Bund und der Nürnberger Religionsfriede, Strasb., 1892.
30. *Philip of Hesse:* Lives by C. Rommel, 3 vols., Giessen, 1830, and J. Wille, Tüb., 1882; Heidenhain, A., Die Unions politik Landgr. Philipps u. d. Unterstützg. die Hegendten im ersten Religionskrieg, Bresl., 1886; new ed., 1890; Lenz, M., Briefwechsel Landgraf Phil. mit Bucer, 2 vols., Leipz., 1880–87.
31. *The Ratisbon Conference:* Brieger, A. W., Contarini und die Regensburger Concordin-Werk, Gotha, 1870; Pastor, L., Die kirchliche Reunionsbestrebungen während der Regierung Karls V, Freib. i. B., 1879; Vetter, P., Die Religionsverhandlungen auf dem Reichstage zu Regensburg, 1541, Jena, 1889; Dittrich, Miscellanea Ratisbon, 1541, Braunsbg., 1892.
32. *George von Polentz:* Lives by G. von Polentz, Halle, 1858, and P. Tschackert, Leipz., 1888.
33. *Paulus Speratus:* Lives by Cosack, Bruns., 1861; Pressel, 1862; Trautenberger, 1868; Rogge, Barm., 1888; and Tschackert, Halle, 1891.

34. *Hans Sachs:* For eds. of works see Schaff-Herz., iii (1883), 2092. Lives—Ranisch, S., Altenb., 1765; Hoffmann, J. L., Nuremb., 1847; Schultheiss, F., Leipz., 1879 (in seinem Verhältnisse zu Ref.); Kawerau, W., Halle, 1889 (und die Ref.); Schumann, G., 1890; Goetze, E., Bamb., 1890; Drescher, C., Berl., 1891 (Studien zu); Lützelberger, E. K. J., Nürnbg., 1891; Kiy, V., Leipz., 1893; Genée, R., Leipz., 1894 (elaborate); Bondachzi, F., Prag, 1894; Disselhef, J., Leipz., 1894; Nover, J., Hamb., 1895; N. W. Clark, in Meth. Rev., N. Y., Sept., 1895. The 400th anniv. of the birth of Hans Sachs was celebrated in Germany in 1894, and numerous pamphlets on his life and works appeared.

35. *The Suicide Legend:* The story of Luther's suicide was revived by P. Majunke (R. C.) in his Luthers Lebensende, Mainz, 1890; 5th ed., 1891. He was answered by E. Blümel, Luthers Lebensende, Barm., 1890; G. Kawerau, Luthers Lebensende, Barm., 1890; T. Kolde, Luthers Selbstmord, Leipz., 1890; G. Rietschel, Luthers sel. Heimgang, Halle, 1890; F. W. Schubart, Wie starb M. Luther, Dess., 1892. After a thorough investigation of all the evidence, a Roman Catholic scholar, W. Paulus, in his Luthers Lebensende und der Eislebener Apotheker, Mainz, 1896 (see Th. Litz., 1897, No. 11) and especially in his Luthers Lebensende, Freib. i. B., 1897, has reached the same conclusion as the Protestant opponents of Majunke and gives a final quietus to the legend. Philip Schaff gives a résumé of the case in his article, Did Luther Commit Suicide? in Mag. of Chr. Lit., N. Y., Dec., 1890, 161 ff.

We now give a select list of recent Luther literature.

1890: Painter, F. N., Luther in Education, with transl. of two of his treatises, Phila.

1891: Robertson, W. B., Martin Luther, Edinb., 2d ed., 1892. "A finely wrought study with touches approaching genius." Evers, G. G., Martin Luther: Lebens u. Charakterbild, v. ihm selbst gezeichnet in s. eig. Schriften u. Correspondenzen, Mainz; Martin d. Prophet v. Wittenberg, Osnabr.

1892: Lipsius, R. A., Luthers Lehre von der Busse, Braunsch., 1892 [see Th. Litz., 1893, No. 1]; Gutmann, K. A., Martin Luthers Leben u. Wirken, Rothenbg. o. T.

1893: Kolde, Th., Martin Luther, 2 vols. [one of the great biographies]; Hausrath, A., M. L.s Raufahrt, Berl.

1894: Frey, C., Luther-Studien, Leipz. [a defense against recent Roman attacks]; Nebe, Aug., Luther as a Spiritual Adviser, transl., Phila. [presents the reformer in a new and welcome light].

1895: Berger, A. E., Die Kulturaufgaben der Reformation: Einleitung in e. Luther-biographie, Berl.; Zweynert, E., Luthers Stellung zur humanistichen Schule u. Wissenschaft, Leipz.; Kohler, W. E., Luthers Schrift an den christlichen Adel deutschen Nation in Spiegel der Kultur und Zeit-Geschichte, Halle [see Th. Litz., 1896, No. 6]; Frey, C., Urtheile Dr. Martin Luthers über das Papstthum, Leipz. [an able defense of Luther, from his own writings].

1896: Drews, P., Disputationes Luthers an der Univ. Wittenberg, 2 vols. [a book of inestimable value, ably edited; see Buchwald, in Th. Lit-blatt., July 12, 1895; D. Moore, in Presb. and Ref. Rev., viii, 336–340; Crit. Rev., vi, 419; and F. A. Christie, in New World, vi, 385]; Plitt, G., Martin

Luthers Leben u. Wirken, 4th ed., Leipz., completed by E. F. Petersen; Kleis, J. A., Luthers 'heiliges' Leben und 'heiliger' Tod, tr. from Norwegian, Mainz; see Bossert in Th. Litz., 1897, No. 7.

1897: Porta, M. C., Pastorallehre aus Luthers Werken, Braunsch., valuable; Bohling, A., Dr. Martin Luther u. Ignaz v. Loyola: eine gesch. Parallele, Heidelb.; Veloni, Martin Luther, Lond.; Fauth, Franz, Dr. Martin Luthers Leben, Leipz. [see Th. Litz., 1898, No. 15, 416]. This year was published also a continuation of Paul Kalkoff's important Dispatches of the papal Nuncio Aleander from the Worms diet, 1521, transl. into German and annotated, Halle a. S. [see A. Wrede in Th. Litz., 1898, No. 17].

1898: Die sittliche Triebkraft des Glaubens: eine Untersuchung z. Luthers Theologie, Leipz.; Hartwig, J., Luthers Stellung zur Politik, Leipz.; Braasch, D. A. H., Luthers Stellung zum Sozialismus, Braunsch. [see Th.-blatt., 30 June, 1898; Th. Litz., 1898, No. 18]; Junge, Fr., Martin Luther: sein Leben, Berl. It is impossible for lack of space to give a list of review articles on Luther. A long, able, and, on the whole, favorable treatment is in The Quar. Rev., July, 1897, and a symposium on various aspects of Luther is in the Luth. Ch. Rev., Phil., Oct., 1897. An interesting discussion of Luther's relation to persecution is given by Dunlop Moore in Presb. and Ref. Rev., Jan., 1897, and by J. W. Early in Luth. Church Rev., Jan., 1898.

PART II.

THE REFORMATION.

I. ON THE CONTINENT.

CHAPTER I.

LUTHER AND THE GERMAN REFORMATION.

HOWEVER high may be the estimate which future ages shall place upon other great reformers of the sixteenth century, the position of the foremost, and the leader of all, assigned to Martin Luther by his contemporaries, both among friends and foes, and by historians from that day to this, will ever be maintained. The great truths of the Reformation—the supreme authority of the sacred Scriptures and justification by faith alone—were announced by others earlier than by him, yet their utterances were passed by in silence. But when Luther spoke he made all men hear. The earnest and devout rejoiced, but the potentates of the Church, which then was a mere shadow, trembled. Had Rome been able to silence Luther, the French and Swiss Reformations would have caused little alarm. Others would reform a city or a diocese; he would reform the Church. The sweep of his vision compassed the entire horizon. The universality of the man produces in the student a sense of the illimitable significance of Luther's part in the world's history. No more majestic moment is revealed in his life than that one in which he first assaulted the very citadel of the Roman Catholic faith, and when, with all Christendom in array against him, he, single handed, withstood the shock of battle.[1] When, at any other time, did the whole world spring to arms to defend itself against one man?

LUTHER'S LEADERSHIP.

The sublimity of the scene does not arise from Luther's exhibi-

[1] Berger says: "All that the Humanists had taught relative to human dignity and freedom suddenly appeared small and poor in contrast with this invincible consciousness of strength, which, lifted above all sense of anxiety and fear of ill, all feeling of dependence upon earth and restraint by reason of its bonds, in league with God, ventured to assume the burden of a conflict with the whole world." Die Kulturaufgaben der Reformation, p. 283.

tion of personal courage. From every ordinary point of view it was foolhardy not to make his peace with the offended Church, and a sufficient degree of obstinacy might account for his refusal. In the firmness of Martin Luther, however, the chief ingredient was confidence in the impregnability of the position he had taken. That the pope would sanction the deed he did not at first doubt. But when he observed with amazement that the pontiff and all his counselors were against him and little Wittenberg, he still did not fear the result. He was conscious of being the organ of an almighty strength because he championed the truth of Almighty God.[1]

LUTHER'S PERSONALITY.

None but a great personality could have sustained the expansive force of such a conviction. Such a personality Luther was. Gigantic in intellect, of accessible yet steadfast and unfathomed sensibilities, he was of pliant but irresistible will. Gentle among his friends, in anger he was terrific. In the vast caverns of Luther's robust Teutonic soul there abode in perfect harmony the tenderness of woman, the simplicity of childhood, and the fierce and untamable spirit of the lion. His character is so great that what would appear as contradictory in others in him excites no astonishment. He was great even in his faults. To call him a genius in whom met the streams of influence which had been converging for hundreds of years and in whom the battle of these conflicting tendencies was fought out, and who as a result was able to produce a formula by which the unconscious antitheses of the age should be resolved, is both erroneous and defective.[2]

Luther was a religious genius, and in his experience a struggle took place, the warring factors in which well represent certain of the elements which the ages had not been able either to reconcile or to set aside. But while the scene of the conflict was the bosom of Martin Luther, it was not because he was a genius but because of the divine ordering of his life. If the war of the ages was waged in this one man, the despair of the ages was also concentrated in him. Martin Luther, left to himself, had failed to find the peace for which the centuries had longed, but, in the providence of God, Staupitz saved him from his despair and set his tempestuous soul at rest. Not as consciously or unconsciously embodying the longings and strivings of his times, nor as springing from those Germans who were least influenced by the ancient Roman civilization,[3] nor as the product of the fresh and vigorous peas-

[1] Berger says: "He alone, and heaven above him, and God in him, and the whole world against him." Die Kulturaufgaben der Reformation, p. 283.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 1–12, 282.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp, 286, 300.

ant life of the period,[1] can Martin Luther be explained. A genius he was, indeed, but more. He was the man of providence. The ages past did not make him; rather did he make the ages which were to come. As one by one the nature of the corruptions in the realm of ecclesiastical life became plain to him, he dried up the sources of those which were barriers to his purpose; while for those which were not wholly without remedy he dug new channels. When he had done with his age it wore a new aspect. He rose up against the advancing tide of influences which had been accumulating depth, breadth, and velocity for a thousand years, and turned it back.

LUTHER THE MAN OF PROVIDENCE.

As God chose the man and fitted him by singular experiences for the work, so he chose the time best suited for the task. The movements of the Middle Ages by which the Reformation was heralded prepared the soil for the new seed.[2] There was not only a universal desire for reformation; there was widespread expectancy as well. Prophecies of the coming change were frequent, and approximately correct as to agency, method, time, and place.[3] The lives and labors of Wyclif in England, Hus in Bohemia, and Savonarola in Italy had not been in vain. Humanism had directly and indirectly honeycombed, and the spirit of the times had antiquated the Church. If the rise of Luther at this time was not specifically providential, we may despair of discovering the hand of God in any history.

But while all these great processes of historical development prepared the way for Luther, it would be a mistake to consider him either as subordinate to or coordinate with them or their champions.[4] The ideas which lived in him were incomparably richer and more profound and comprehensive than those of the Humanists, and, great as were the conceptions of such minds as Wyclif and

[1] Berger calls attention to the numbers of German Humanists who were sons of peasants, p. 280.

[2] On this whole subject Berger's work is philosophical and fresh. We must not overlook the recent book of George Burton Adams, Civilization during the Middle Ages, N. Y., 1894.

[3] A holy man should arise through whom God would do great wonders, who would command that the Gospel be preached. The year 1520 was designated as the commencement of a great excitement, when a man would arise who should publish writings in German and Latin against the pope, the cardinals, and the unworthy priesthood.—Berger, p. 52.

[4] Beard makes the Reformation part of a general awakening of the human intellect, which had already begun in the fourteenth century.—The Reformation in its Relation to Modern Thought and Knowledge, p. 2.

Hus, they fell far short of those which moved the mighty German. These men were, indeed, filled with a moral and religious earnestness to which the Humanists were utter strangers, but it remained for Martin Luther alone so to define the principles of the Reformation as to make them universally effective. He lifted the doctrine of justification by faith to the position of a truly reformatory principle. Those who had gone before had proclaimed in a fragmentary way doctrines to which he gave symmetry and completeness of expression. They attacked existing abuses with as much sincerity as distinguished him, but his assaults were more effectual, because they were supported by the impregnable rock of Holy Scripture and animated by a profound conviction of the erroneous character of the doctrines which had made them possible. Of his great contemporaries among the reformers, Melanchthon was Luther's scientific interpreter, while Zwingli and Calvin were original, but rather as introducing a distinct type of doctrinal emphasis and practical obligation.

LUTHER A WORKING FORCE.

It is for these reasons that when we think of the Reformation the figure of Luther at once arises in the mind. In him better than any other man the Reformation can be studied. Calvin's type may have had more followers than Luther's, but Luther has influenced the Protestant world without regard to types.

Neither by direct heredity nor by his studies did Luther fall heir to the reformatory ideas which had been in the world prior to him. He did not study the lives of men like Wyclif and Hus, and by a gift of eclecticism choose what appeared suitable, modifying or expanding it according to his needs. Entirely independent of them, he wrought out his ideas, which were as original with him as though no one had ever thought of them before. Nor were they the product of a process of reflection. The Reformation had fully transpired in him before he suspected that he was to reform the Church. His ideas were more than opinions. They were convictions. They did not have their origin in the intellect, but in that mysterious realm called the heart, where all the processes of the mind operate together, so that it is impossible to say of this that it is the product of intellect, or of that that it is the offspring of emotion or will. This is the source whence all those ideas have their birth whose mission is to turn the energies of men into new channels.

HEART BASIS FOR REFORMATION.

Such is the man and such his relation to the Reformation. For well-nigh thirty years the man and the movement are, especially in Germany, indistinguishable.

CHAPTER II.

LUTHER'S PARENTAGE AND CHILDHOOD.

THE Luthers from whom our reformer sprang were peasants.[1] The language, "I am the son of a peasant; my father, grandfather, and ancestry were true peasants,"[2] is decisive. The use of an armorial device by Luther[3] soon after the beginning of his reformatory activity was simply in accordance with a fashion of the time, similar to the assumption of Latin or Greek for German names.[4] Luther knew of a noble family bearing the same name, but claimed no relationship with them. Melanchthon, also, who gathered information for Luther's Life from the reformer's mother and brother, seems not to have suspected that the family descended from noble blood,[5] but asserted that they were an ancient family of the middle class.

LUTHER'S ANCESTRY.

The Luther family appear to have been a hardy and self-reliant people, good specimens of the best type of German peasantry. The name of Martin's grandfather was Heine, or Heinrich; of his grandmother, on his father's side, Margarete Lindemann.[6] His father's name was Hans; the name of his mother Margarete Ziegler. The grandmother died of old age at Mansfeld, in 1521.

The Zieglers lived in the vicinity of Eisenach. But the Luthers had their home at Möhra, a village on the southwest spur of

[1] The name is variously spelled Luder, Lüder, Lutter, Lütter, Lyder, Lothar, or Chlothar. Martin's name was given at Erfurt as Ludher. He first wrote it Luther shortly before his attack on the indulgences. He varied in his utterances as to the derivation of the name. See Beard, Martin Luther and the Reformation, pp. 118, 119; Köstlin, i, 21, 22. Kolde does not discuss Luther's parentage, but refers his readers to Köstlin.

[2] Tischreden, iv. But Luther was brought up as a citizen's son. See Beard, p. 125.

[3] It consisted of a white rose with a cross and a heart.

[4] Our reformer sometimes signed himself Martinus Eleutherius, in allusion, probably, to ἐλεύθερος. Comp. Beard, p. 119.

[5] Köstlin, i, 22. Corpus Reformatorum, vi, 156. Melanchthon speaks of them as an ancient and widely diffused family of the common people.

[6] Until recently it has been believed that the name of his mother, not his paternal grandmother, was Lindemann. The error is a perpetuation of a statement of the Wittenberg rector, Schneidewin (1558).—Köstlin, i, 23.

the Thuringian forest. The population was small, consisting in 1536 of fifty-nine families, of which five were Luthers. The majority were proprietors of lands, houses, cattle, and horses, and knew and maintained their rights. One of the principal occupations was copper mining, which indeed was true of the entire region. The village had a chapel, but no church, and was dependent for religious services upon Salzungen.[1]

Hans and Margarete removed from Möhra to Eisleben early in 1483. Their exact motive for the change of residence is unknown. The enemies of Luther have sometimes endeavored to make it appear as a flight from justice,[2] but this it could not have been, for on the supposition of a criminal process he would have forsaken Saxony entirely. Had there been any good foundation for such a charge, the references to it would not have been so meager. The enemies of the Reformation would have rejoiced to be able to demonstrate the violent character of Luther's father. The probable explanation is that the newly married couple were seeking a residence which might be permanent. They first settled in Eisleben, where Martin was born, but, thinking to secure a more lucrative position, once more, soon after Martin's birth, changed their place of abode and settled in Mansfeld. Here, but a short distance both from Möhra and Eisleben, Hans did in reality rise to prosperity. That he became a magistrate in his adopted town proves the respect in which he was held, and casts improbability upon the theory that he was under ban for crime. In fact, both Hans and Margarete seem to have been people of excellent character, pious, upright, and justly worthy of the regard which they enjoyed.

CHANGES IN FAMILY RESIDENCE.

We may well believe that no shadow of accidental or intentional homicide overhung the home in which Martin Luther was born, at

[1] Köstlin, i, 20.

[2] The first mention we have of such an episode in Hans Luther's life is that of George Witzel, an apostate from the evangelicals, who in controversy once exclaimed, "I might call your Luther the son of a murderer." The next mention is in a pseudonymous document appearing in Paris in 1565, which called Hans a homicide. At the beginning of the eighteenth century a report of mining affairs in Thuringia speaks of the matter a little more in detail. Köstlin suggests that either the report arose from some such incident in the life of a neighbor or relative of Hans, or that it might possibly have been true of him that by accident or in self-defense he did take a human life, in which case it would not reflect on his character.—Köstlin, i, 24. But even the theory of accidental or excusable homicide is irreconcilable with the facts. Köstlin's first alternative may be correct.

Eisleben, on November 10, 1483. Margarete remembered well the date of the month and hour of the night when her firstborn was bestowed upon her, although memory failed her as to the year.[1] The hour was between eleven and twelve. The next day, sacred to St. Martin, the boy was baptized in St. Peter's Church, and named for the saint whose festival was being observed.

MARTIN'S BIRTH.

In a few months Hans and Margarete took their newborn son and their little belongings and removed to Mansfeld, where they spent the remainder of their lives. They were very poor in their earliest married years, and the increasing family gave them but slight opportunity for the accumulation of wealth.[2] Hans was engaged in mining, and after a time became a smelter of the ores, thus improving his pecuniary situation,[3] if not lightening his toil. Margarete was as frugal and industrious as her husband, gathering and carrying on her back the fuel for the household, in addition to other domestic cares. Both commanded the respect of their neighbors: Hans for his integrity, diligence and good sense; Margarete for her modesty and piety. She seems to have been a woman who loved prayer. When Martin was but eight years old Hans had attained the dignity of a representative of the city in connection with the city council. John Kessler, the Swiss reformer, saw them in 1522, and described them as of short stature and brown complexion.

THE MANSFELD HOME.

These honest, God-fearing parents did what they could for the boy Martin. They sent him to school, where he learned reading, writing, arithmetic, and a little Latin. He said afterward that in twenty years one could only learn enough bad Latin to enable him to become a priest and read the mass. The teachers were severe and unreasonable. Martin was whipped fifteen times in one morning for inability to recite de-

SCHOOL AND HOME TRAINING.

[1] Melanchthon in his *Vita*, speaking of Luther's mother, says: "To my inquiries concerning the time when her son was born she replied that she remembered with certainty the day and hour, but was in doubt about the year."—Corp. Ref., vi, 156. Luther and Melanchthon hesitated between 1484 and 1483, but finally settled upon the latter. This is, according to Melanchthon, the testimony of Martin's brother, Jacobus, who declared that the family believed the year to have been 1483.—Corp. Ref., vi, 156.

[2] There were at least three sons and three daughters besides Martin. Two of the sons appear to have died young. The three daughters married and made their homes in Mansfeld.—Köstlin, i, 27.

[3] Upon the division of his property it was found to be worth from $5,000 to $8,000, a good sum for that time. This fortune, however, was gathered but slowly.

clensions and conjugations which he had never been required to learn. But if the teachers were severe, so were the parents. Upon one occasion Hans whipped the boy so terrifically that for a long time the latter was afraid to stay in his father's presence. Nor was Margarete more gentle. For some small offense she whipped him until the blood flowed. Martin, looking back upon these early days, saw indeed the error of his parents, but loved them none the less for their strictness, attributing it to an erroneous conception of their duty toward him.

RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION OF LUTHER.

In their religious life the parents were loyal adherents of the old faith.[1] They taught him to honor St. George, the patron saint of the city, to whom the church was dedicated. St. Anne also, whose worship received a mighty impulse about that time, and who was especially venerated by the miners, he was taught to revere. The current belief in demons was blindly accepted by his parents, and instilled into the boy's mind.[2] At school he learned the catechism, the creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and some psalms and German and Latin hymns. The curriculum, both in its religious and secular aspects, was sufficiently broad for a child, and if it had been carefully and well taught must have resulted in a considerable mental and moral discipline. And we suspect that notwithstanding defective methods of instruction Martin received much benefit from those early days. Their most distinct effect, however, seems to have been to intimidate him. The rough treatment which he received at the hands of his teachers and well-meaning parents repressed, though it did not break, his spirit, accustoming him to pain and preparing him for the hardships which he was to endure as a monk in later years.[3] The religious impressions which Luther carried out of his childhood into youth were chiefly that Christ was a stern judge from whose relentlessness the only hope of release was the mercy of

[1] When an offer of sixty days' indulgence was made to those who should hear mass at two altars newly erected to certain saints, Hans Luther was one of the first to avail himself of the privilege. But Hans was opposed to a monastic life for Martin, and he appears to have been free from much of the prevailing superstition of the time.

[2] Luther believed to his latest days in the deception practiced by the devil even in material things, making them see in heaps of earth great piles of rich ore.—Tischreden, iii, 96 f. He was sure that his mother had been sorely plagued by a witch.

[3] Luther affirms that the reason for his taking refuge in the cloister and becoming a monk was the severe and harsh life he had led while a boy.—Beard, 121.

the Holy Virgin. But in later years he remembered with delight the songs which, though there was no teacher to explain, yet gave him almost the only enjoyment of his early life. Some of them he recommended for use in the Protestant churches, as, "Ein Kindelein so löbelich ist uns geboren heute," for Christmas; "Christ ist erstanden von seiner Marter alle," for Easter; and "Nun bitten wir den heiligen Geist," for Pentecost.[1]

The Mansfelders were a moral people, and the clergy of the place in Luther's boyhood were more exemplary than in some other cities. Such was Luther's later recollection of them. If he was in error here it was because the wickedness of the priests was kept from the knowledge of the child. There is nothing in the home, school, church, or social life of Luther during this period which could have prepared him more than thousands of others for the great duties he was afterward to assume.

When the boy was fourteen years of age it was determined that he should not remain in the occupation of his father, but be educated for the law. Together with Johann Reineck, or Hans Reinicke, afterward superintendent of foundries in Mansfeld, and Luther's lifelong friend, he was sent to school in Magdeburg. Here he was brought into contact with the activities of a larger city, with more numerous churches, and with the prevalent type of piety of the Middle Ages.[2] It was not uncommon for boys whose parents were well-to-do to support themselves in whole or in part by singing from door to door. Luther took pride in the fact that he had sung his way through school even in Magdeburg.[3] He mentions the fact that he had for his instructors the Null Brüder, or Lollards, identical, perhaps, with the Brothers of the Common Life.[4] From them he must have received temporal as well as intellectual assistance. A letter written by Luther

THE LAD MARTIN AT MAGDEBURG.

[1] Kolde, i, 34.

[2] See ample description of these influences in Berger, Martin Luther, i, 22–25. Here it was that Luther saw the picture which represented the Church as a great ship in which no layman, king, or prince could be seen, but only the pope, the cardinals, and the bishops, with the Holy Ghost at their head and with priests and monks at the oars. The laymen swam alongside, some of whom were saved from drowning by the ropes which the pope in his goodness threw out for the laymen to take hold of.

[3] Kolde, i, 34; Berger, i, 22.

[4] They had no separate school in Magdeburg at that time, but there was a settlement of them in the city, and as they were famous for their interest in the young they were probably employed in the city schools.—Kolde, i, 35; Köstlin, i, 34.

in 1522 to Storm, then Burgess of Magdeburg, refers to the time when the correspondents were guests in the home of Mosshauer, from which also we see that he was not left to himself for support. In the single year of his residence in Magdeburg a boy of his age would scarcely receive any very powerful impulses for life, yet one scene which he witnessed was never effaced from his memory. It was that of a prince, Wilhelm of Anhalt, who wore the cap of the barefoot monks, bending under the weight of a bag which he carried on his shoulders as he begged bread from door to door. It appeared to him the summit of piety, and to put to shame the secular life of others.[1]

A LOLLARD TOUCH ON LUTHER.

The Lollards did not indeed live in cloisters, but their stern morality must have contributed to Martin's conception of duty. And who can tell what unremembered influence their zeal for the reading of the Bible and for religious services conducted in the native languages may have exercised upon him? Andreas Proles, the then vicar general of the German congregation of Augustinian monks, spent the year 1497 in Magdeburg, and it is possible that the boy was directly or indirectly under his influence. He seems to have been a man of independent mind, and condemned the rewarding of dishonorable opponents of John Hus ; and it is said that he prophesied the early fall of the papacy and the appearance of a heroic reformer. But there is no evidence that these opinions nor the other one attributed to him, that, contrary to the doctrine of merit, we are indebted for all we possess alone to God's grace, ever came to the knowledge of Luther in his Magdeburg days. The absence of direct evidence does not, however, destroy the possibility, nor even the probability, of such contact as we have supposed.

LUTHER AT EISENACH.

At the end of one year in Magdeburg his parents sent him to Eisenach, where he remained until the spring of 1501, in all about four years. His mother's family resided in the vicinity, and it was not far from Möhra, the home of his grandparents and other paternal relatives. It was probably the desire to have the boy near his kindred that prompted his removal to Eisenach. His later utterances suggest that these relatives treated him with such kindness as to win his affection. That he sang for his living does not prove that he received no assistance from them. As he was singing one day Frau Ursula Cotta was attracted by the heartiness of his song and invited him into her home. The Cottas were a noble Italian family of great influence in Eisenach. They

[1] Opera, Erlangen Ausgabe, 31, 239 f.

rendered the youth just the assistance he needed at this time. Through them he was relieved of anxiety concerning his daily bread, and in their society he was brought into contact with a more refined domestic life than he had hitherto known.[1] His association with them spared him the inevitable demoralization otherwise attendant upon his student life.

His religious life seems to have followed here the regular churchly channels. The principal advantages consisted of the social kind just mentioned and in the superior instruction there imparted. He attended the school attached to the Church of St. George. The principal teacher was Johann Trebonius, a man of good parts but somewhat eccentric. He always removed his cap upon entering the schoolroom, because he knew not what great man might be before him in the person of one of these boys. Another of his teachers whom Luther mentions was Wigand. Under the more genial influences which now surrounded him his talents began to display themselves. He outstripped all his companions of like age, and, whether in prose or poetry, he exhibited remarkable ability and skill. Köstlin mentions, while Kolde rejects as irrelevant, the case of one Johann Hilton, a Franciscan monk, who had courageously attacked the rottenness of the Church, who lay in confinement as a penalty, and who prophesied that in 1516 a man would arise whom the monks would not be able to resist. Luther claims to have heard Heinrich Schalbe, a relative of Frau Cotta, speak of Hilton as "one who lay bound." But it is not probable that the affair affected Luther's career. Of the prophecy Luther did not even hear until twenty years later. He left Eisenach cured of the unnatural timidity induced by his earlier life, and elevated and refined by the relations which for four years he had sustained to his instructors, school companions, and friends.

LUTHER'S TEACHERS AT EISENACH.

[1] To his translation of Prov. xxxi, 10, which chapter describes the "virtuous woman," he appends the comment: "There is nothing more precious on earth than the love of woman to one to whom it is permitted," attributing the authorship of this praise to his hostess at Eisenach.—Tischreden, iv, 75. Frau Cotta was no longer a young woman in Luther's student days. See Schneidewind, Das Lutherhaus zu Eisenach, 1883.

CHAPTER III.

LUTHER AS A STUDENT AT ERFURT.

WHILE the first seventeen and a half years of Luther's life had been passing, his father's financial situation had materially improved. When the youth entered upon his studies in the University of Erfurt, in the spring of 1501, his father was able to provide the means needful for his sustenance, while he pursued his preparations for the profession of the law.[1] The university was the most celebrated in Germany, and it was a common saying that whoever would be a true scholar must go to Erfurt. Princes, lords, and high officials in the Church were proud to have their names on the list of matriculants.[2] The splendor of the ceremonies performed upon promotion to the master's or doctor's degree made such an impression upon Luther that he declared no earthly joy greater than the attentions bestowed upon these honored ones. Among the most celebrated professors were Henning Göde, the jurist, and Jodocus Trutvetter, professor of philosophy, which department included logic, dialectics, metaphysics, rhetoric, the phenomena of earth and sky, and the classical languages and authors, especially the Latin.

AT THE UNIVERSITY.

For those who would prepare themselves for law it was customary to pursue a course in philosophy. In this Trutvetter and Arnoldi, of Usingen, were the principal instructors.[3] They were both adherents of the nominalistic school, and their most distinguished pupil, Luther, remained a nominalist to his death. The admiration for Humanistic studies found a congenial soil in Erfurt, and for a time Jerome Emser, Luther's later theological antagonist, was one of the lecturers in this field. Luther did not devote himself especially, however, to the arts so delightful to the "Poets,"[4] but to the more abstruse spec-

LUTHER'S ATTRACTION TO PHILOSOPHY.

[1] As an illustration of the bountiful supply of funds furnished by his father, it is stated that he was even able to buy his own books.—Kolde, i, 40; Köstlin, i, 40.

[2] Kolde, i, 37.

[3] A good work on Arnold of Usingen, though from the Roman Catholic point of view, is "Der Augustiner Bartholomäus Arnoldi von Usingen, Luthers Lehrer und Gegner." By Nic. Paulus, Freiburg i. B., 1893.

[4] His Latin, except in some of his writings to Humanistic leaders, such as Erasmus, was not distinguished for elegance.

ulations which busied the scholastics. He mingled with a wide circle of young Humanists, but was known to them as "The Philosopher." So diligently and successfully did he pursue his studies that at Michaelmas, 1502, he attained the baccalaureate, and in 1505, at Epiphany, the long-wished honors of "The Master" were bestowed upon him. Among the friends of these years in Erfurt were Crotus Rubianus, Johann Lange, and Spalatin, who was subsequently court preacher to the Elector of Saxony, and singularly useful to Luther in the work of the Reformation.

Theologically there was nothing in the University of Erfurt to modify the views which Luther had hitherto held. Certain teachings of professors in earlier times than those of Luther had been forbidden by the Church. Among them were the utterances of Johann of Wesel, who, with much greater system and clearness than Luther, had, between 1450 and 1460, attacked the system of indulgences and other doctrines of the Middle Ages, for which he died in prison. But the evidence is against the supposition that Luther had any knowledge of this while he was at Erfurt. As everywhere, there were those in Erfurt who questioned the justice of the condemnation of Hus, and who opposed the Roman curia. But the university was loyally Roman Catholic. In his religious life Luther met with nothing up to this time to change its usual course. He did indeed find a book which he had never before seen, the Bible, in which he read and admired the story of Hannah and Samuel. He must have heard the earnest preacher, Sebastian Weinmann, who thundered against the depraved populace of Erfurt, and who is said to have declared to his hearers that a time would come when the Gospel would be read to them out of the Bible, and who in 1508 denounced a vender of indulgences so severely that flight from the city for a time was necessary. An illustration of Luther's unshaken confidence in the superstitions of the Church is preserved. Having started on a tour to his parental home, a sword, which, according to the custom of the time, he carried at his side, accidentally pierced his flesh and opened an artery. Calling upon the Virgin Mary, he lay upon his back until a surgeon could be brought. When, on the next night, the wound reopened, and the danger of bleeding to death again stared him in the face, he once more cried to the Virgin for help.

At this point it will be well to review briefly the hints we have as to the development of his inner religious life. These are few, and, so far as given by Luther in later years, colored by the views at which he had then arrived. Everything points to his having

imbibed the conception of sanctity then prevalent. Under the home influence at Mansfeld, in Magdeburg under the instruction of the Lollards, and at Eisenach, where the memory of St. Elizabeth was highly honored, the continuous stream of monastic suggestions played upon him. Severity toward self as meritorious and as tending to crucify the sinful propensities, and benignity toward the poor and distressed as a necessary element of religious life, or as purchasing salvation, were constantly inculcated by precept and example; and we have seen how in Magdeburg the humility of the princely monk, Wilhelm of Anhalt, excited his admiration.

LUTHER'S RELIGIOUS TREND.

This boyish sentiment we discover in the youth at Erfurt, where the pale faces of certain young Carthusians, with bodies prematurely aged as a result of self-inflicted castigations, were to him the sure sign of a holy life consecrated to God. Then the severity of his parents against the smallest infringement of the moral code, so far from reacting in the interest of laxity, as would have been the case with a shallower nature, imbued him with a profound sense of the unyielding requirements of God's law. The anger of Christ, the awful Judge, as Luther had been taught to regard him, brought terror to his soul. God could only be appeased by holy living. The feelings of his heart, which were hidden to the outer world by the intensity of his application to study and by his joyousness in social life, were summed up in the language which he attributes to these early years, "O when wilt thou at last become devout and perform such deeds as will make God gracious to thee?"[1]

DRAWN TOWARD THE MONASTIC LIFE.

Such an exclamation reveals the long-continued effort he had made, the hunger of his soul. As he afterward said, in that hour of need, "No man gave unto him." Knowing the richness and passion of his nature, we may easily comprehend the strength of this inward craving for satisfaction.[2] Gradually there would be pressed upon his attention the existence within him of yearnings which nothing he had yet experienced could satisfy. He had known the earthly joy of the honors bestowed by Erfurt upon those who acquired the master's degree. He was in high favor

[1] O wann willst du einmal fromm werden und genug thun, dass du einen gnädigen Gott kriegst?" Certain verbal translations of this cry of a longing soul are truly amusing.

[2] In all his studies of the Latin classics it was more the practical life of the ancients which interested him than the form of their literature.—Köstlin, i, 50; Kolde, i, 43.

with the university and his cultivated associates, but this undefined dissatisfaction grew in spite of it all. He felt that his life thus far had been lived for himself. He knew no other way of giving himself to God than to enter upon a monastic life, and we must infer that the thought of this duty had been long in his mind. In no other way can we explain his sudden determination to become a monk. If the humiliations, privations, and holy exercises of the cloister had not appeared consciously to him as the religious demand of the powers to whom his soul owed obedience, his vow to propitiate those powers would not have taken this form.[1]

[1] Berger treats interestingly the internal motives which drove Luther into the convent.—Martin Luther, i, 47, 59. As a motto to his section on that subject he quotes from Luther's Kirchenpostille: "I entered the monastery and forsook the world because I despaired of myself." "The proverb expresses the truth: desperation makes the monk."

CHAPTER IV.

LUTHER ENTERS THE AUGUSTINIAN MONASTERY.

A DEED is now to be described whose consequences to Luther, and through him to the Church, it would be difficult to overestimate. He had become master, and with this dignity he had obtained the right to lecture on philosophy, a right which, however, he did not exercise. On the contrary, he had begun the study of law in accordance with his father's wish. In the fond hope of a famous career, and a rich and honorable marriage at the end of his legal studies, Hans Luther spared no expense to fit him for his chosen profession.[1] His bright but earthly anticipations for his gifted son were to be suddenly blasted. On the day of St. Alexius, July 17,[2] 1505, Luther, as the result of a sudden decision, entered the convent of the Augustinians in Erfurt. He could have chosen a less rigid form of monasticism in the university town, for it was well supplied with monasteries; but it is an evidence of his earnestness that he chose the Observantists of the Augustinian order as being more strict and severe than others.[3] Does not the issue warrant the thought that God was, even in this strange act, leading him straight to the goal?

DECIDES TO BECOME A MONK.

The external circumstances which impelled him to this marvelous and sudden alteration of his plans for life are easily told. As he was returning on the 2d of July from a visit to his parents, he was overtaken by a severe thunder storm near the village of Stotten-

[1] An illustration of the munificence of his provisions is his purchase for Martin of the Corpus Juris, at that time a very expensive work.

[2] The date generally given is July 16; but Beard points out that in the Roman Breviary St. Alexius's day occurs on the 17th—p. 145, n. 1. Kolde places the date as the 17th—i, 45; also Köstlin—i, 56 f.

[3] For an excellent and somewhat full account of the Observantists, see Beard, Martin Luther, pp. 148–150. In the same connection he also refutes the idea that Luther's Augustinianism was imbibed through his connection with the Augustinian order. Möller says: "Of an evangelical, free type of theology in the order, as is frequently assumed, there is no trace."—Kirchengeschichte, iii, 6 f. Kolde discusses the motives which led Luther to choose this particular convent. He mentions the fact that his professor, Arnoldi von Usingen, was an Augustinian, and suggests also that possibly the convent had a brotherhood of St. Anne, to whom Luther had pledged himself as a monk—i, 51.

heim, not far from Erfurt. The young man of nearly twenty-two was terrified at the thought of instant death. Falling down on his knees he cried out, "Help, St. Anne, I will become a monk." The price paid to the saint for her assistance in securing him immunity from immediate death was the monastic vow. It is evident he had not taken the first conscious step on the road to that confidence in Christ which but a few years later enabled him to look the most painful death calmly in the face.

Luther's fear of death from the wound previously referred to, and the similar terror now displayed, call for explanation. The sudden death of a friend, which took place about this time, may have contributed to his dread of a similar fate for himself.[1] But in view of his conception of Christ as an angry judge, and the consciousness that God was not gracious toward him, we must suppose that his alarm was not physical but mental, and occasioned by the sense of unfitness for judgment. He desired longer life, that he might prepare for death. The convent was to his mind the only place where this preparation could be adequately made. But it was not alone sins committed which drove him to the cloister. It was the feeling that there was something higher in life than the pursuit of worldly good, and to this higher life he had felt himself distinctly called and now yielded. Often and appropriately has the sudden transformation of Luther's purposes been likened to the conversion of Paul, but he had yet a long and weary road to travel before he reached the altitude which the apostle had attained when he cried out, "Lord, what wilt thou have me to do?" Luther was still seeking through men, not from God, the knowledge of the way.

LUTHER'S FEAR OF DEATH.

His vow was taken; he lost as little time as possible in its execution. He felt that he had vowed almost rashly, and suggestions came from his own heart and from friends to recall the oath. But there was something more in the circumstances which led to the act than the mere fright in the storm, and thus only can we account for the constancy of his purpose and the zeal with which he entered upon and continued in the new life. Two years later he told his father that God had led him to his decision. Had a mere respect for his vow, however strong, held him steadfast, there would have been less of heartiness in his monastic years.

The storm was but the occasion which brought him to a course

[1] By a misunderstanding this friend has been sometimes represented as killed by lightning at Luther's side during the storm. The real cause of the death is uncertain.

of conduct long considered with more or less of definiteness. He had yielded to a deep-seated impulse, blind though it may have been, to seek the satisfaction of his religious needs. Nothing could more clearly demonstrate the fact that with him these were paramount. It was this which made him the fit instrument for the reformation of the Church.

On the night of July 16 he invited his nearest friends to his apartments to take his final leave of them. The evening was spent in song, accompanied by the lute.[1] He was enjoying these innocent pleasures for the last time. Once more his friends tried to dissuade him from the frightful step. It seemed impossible that this bright and joyous youth with such brilliant prospects should immure himself within the walls of a convent. But he said, "Today you see me, but nevermore." The next day they accompanied him, with tears, to the convent gate. He had sold his books and bidden farewell to the sciences he had loved so much. Only Plautus and Vergil were taken with him. For days his friends watched the walls in the hope of seeing him once more, but for a month no one was admitted to him. He said later that he had entirely died to the world, and that he had no thought of ever leaving the convent. When his father heard of his act he was greatly displeased, but Luther felt that he must forsake even father and mother for the kingdom of heaven.

According to the requirements he must have spent a year in the novitiate. Upon entering the convent he threw himself before the prior, who asked him, "What dost thou desire?" The reply—according to the regular order of procedure—was, "The mercy of God and your fellowship."[2] He then received the garb of the order, consisting of a black cowl and a capped mantle, over which was a white chaplet. A cell, so situated that it looked out into the convent garden, was given him. During this year of his novitiate he was under the special oversight of the master of novices. He was put to the most degrading tasks, as though the brothers were jealous of his superior education and ability and would humiliate him. The university, membership in which he had not forfeited as a monk, interceded in his behalf and somewhat ameliorated his condition. Upon his solemn reception into the order, at the end of his year of probation, he vowed

TAKES THE AUGUSTINIAN VOW.

[1] Besides the term "philosopher," his musical talent lent him among his student friends the title of "musician."—Möller, Kirchengeschichte, iii, 6.

[2] Comp. Köstlin, i, 62. The reader should not overlook the remarks of Kolde—i, 51 ff. He describes the garb somewhat differently from Köstlin.

as follows: "I, Brother Martin, make profession and promise obedience to God Almighty and the perpetual Virgin Mary and the holy Father Augustine and to thee, Brother (Wienand), Prior of this place, in the name and in the stead of the common Prior of the Order of Hermits, brothers of Bishop St. Augustine and his successors, to live without property and in chastity, according to the rule of the said holy Father Augustine, until death."[1] Upon taking this oath he received a new name, as though he had been newly baptized; but the name of Martin, given him by his parents, he used in preference to his convent name of Augustinus. In May, 1507, he was consecrated to the priesthood.[2]

The external forms of religious exercises were alike for all the brothers. At certain hours of the day and night they must sing. There must be constant prayer and frequent hearing of the mass. Those who were ordained must also read the mass. There were regular fasts. Such matters as the position of the body in standing, sitting, and kneeling, and the proper mode of carrying the arms and hands, were insisted upon. All were required to collect pious gifts and provisions. The priests read mass in the neighborhoods where they begged. Luther was especially oppressed because of a certain pride sometimes manifested by him.[3] But he had ample time for study, and this he did not neglect, for Erfurt was a *studium generale*, thus offering him special facilities for farther education. In studying the works of William von Occam, Gabriel Biel, Peter d'Ailly, John Gerson, and Bonaventura, he accumulated a vast store of exact knowledge illustrative of the scholastic theology, which he could therefore the better combat in later years. He here began, although it is impossible to discover to what extent he carried through, his reading of Augustine. The evidence is that this father was not much studied in Erfurt; but as a compensation for the compara-

LUTHER'S THEOLOGICAL STUDIES.

[1] See the detailed description of the ceremonies in Kolde, i, 53, 54.

[2] According to Köstlin, Luther now met his father for the first time since his entrance into the convent—i, 83. Kolde, on the other hand, maintains that, as early as his full reception into the order, Hans Luther, owing to the death of two sons by the plague, had been reconciled to Martin's monastic life—i, 54. Berger coincides with the view of Köstlin—i, 79. However, at the feast following the young priest's first mass Hans reminded the company present that Martin had disobeyed the commandment, "Honor thy father and thy mother," and upon being told that his son had obeyed a vision from heaven, he replied that he hoped it might not prove to have been an apparition of the devil. For a full description of the consecration, see Köstlin, i, 83, 84; Kolde, i, 65, 66; Beard, 155, 156.

[3] Comp. Köstlin, i, 63, 64.

tive neglect of Augustine, Melanchthon mentions that he knew the works of Biel almost by heart. His worst enemies did not deny his remarkable ability and superior training. The Jesuit, Maimbourg, declared him to have been regarded as the most gifted and scholarly man of the Augustinian order in all Germany.

But in these selfsame scholastics he was to discover doctrines which he subsequently held as a Protestant. For years they lay unfruitful in his heart; when the time came they would germinate. Occam, in the interest of the civil power, had combated the unlimited authority of the pope. Peter d'Ailly had maintained the rights of the universal Church against the sole authority of the pope and criticised the perversions of scholasticism. He gave Luther his first suggestion of the doctrine of consubstantiation as distinct from transubstantiation. Biel's utterances concerning the omnipresence of God are also reflected in Luther's later ideas. The mysticism of Gerson and Bonaventura was not without its influence; and from all of them he learned what he never forsook, namely, that reason is neither appointed to judge of theological truth nor capable of such decisions.

LUTHER STUDIES THE BIBLE.

More than in all these together, however, Luther found in the Bible, during this period, the ideas which were to be so fruitful in after years. The copy in the convent was a Latin translation bound in red leather. This he read through and through. To this diligence he was bound by the new rules introduced by the vicar general, Staupitz, in 1504. But in addition to the advice of his superior his own inclination prompted obedience to the rule. It is related that he became so familiar with the book that he could tell the exact page upon which the various passages were printed. He secured a Hebrew lexicon, and began alone the study of the Old Testament original, there being no one in Erfurt to instruct him.[1]

These were providential preparations for his future work; but they were such unconsciously to himself. He was a loyal Romanist, yielding himself to all the monkish extravagances of the time. The Augustinian father, Johann Nathin, held him up to a company of nuns in Mülhausen as another Paul, miraculously converted to the ministry. He could appeal to all his associates in the convent as to the strictness of his life, a fact which none of his enemies ventured to deny. Even as late as 1543, when Luther was everywhere regarded as a lost heretic, an old monk, who had been

[1] Köstlin, i, 86, where the existence of printed Hebrew lexicons of that early date is established.

in the convent with the reformer, remembered how the apostate had there led a holy life in stern obedience to the rules. He was determined not to fail of heaven if monasticism could take him there.[1]

This thoroughgoing devotion to the monastic life was accompanied by an equally complete acquiescence in the doctrine of authority and submission to the regulations of the Roman Catholic Church. Upon reading some of the writings of Hus, preserved unburned in the convent library, he could not comprehend why a man who so powerfully preached the Scriptures should have been condemned to the stake; but so great was his faith in the Church that he closed the book with the thought that Hus must have written these things before he became a heretic. When in the course of his study of the Bible he was made aware of papal errors, he refused to entertain the suggestion; for he said to himself, "Art thou only wise?" That all he says later concerning his loyalty at the time to the Church is true appears from the reluctance with which he broke with the pope and ecclesiastical authority after the Reformation began. He was, in fact, as he said, another Saul, who would gladly have delivered to death those who refused obedience to the Church or pope, and who would even have gathered fuel for the burning of the heretics. So fully must all honest historians, even among Roman Catholics, recognize the faithful adherence of Luther to the Church at that time, that many of them can only account for his apostasy on the supposition that he was possessed of a devil. In fact, he was led to a perpetual conflict with the Church by the way of his attempt to secure a knowledge of personal salvation. But the Roman Catholic method failed to satisfy, and in the order of providence Luther came, even while yet a Romanist, to adopt an evangelical view, though without awakening a suspicion of disloyalty to the Church.[2]

LUTHER'S DEVOTION TO THE CHURCH.

[1] His language was: "If ever a monk reached heaven by means of his monasticism, I was determined to do so."

[2] See Möller's most excellent, though very brief, summary of Luther's religious career.—Kirchengeschichte, iii, 5.

CHAPTER V.

LUTHER'S RELIGIOUS STRUGGLES.

LUTHER'S religious nature was such that the false doctrines of Roman Catholicism could not lead him to the light. They might bring a less earnest soul to contentment; him they constantly disappointed. From Occam, Biel, and d'Ailly he learned that man had preserved from the fall the power to secure divine grace and to fulfill the holy law. It was the will of God that a higher nature should rule in the natural man, and this had been the case with Adam, who by his sin lost this divine spirit for himself and his progeny. By works of righteousness man could secure this gift afresh, and in its strength he could perform works which might even merit everlasting felicity. So little had the teachings of Augustine concerning sin, grace, and redemption impressed the members of the order named for him.

Nevertheless, the monastics emphasized the so-called counsels of God rather than his merciful love. According to his own pleasure God had chosen and predestinated those who, by the way these theologians had pointed out, should obtain salvation, yet without robbing men of the freedom of their own effort. Luther now feared that he was not one of those who had been thus predestinated. To this thought he was led by the profound sense of his own unworthiness and as a conclusion from the failure of his most strenuous efforts to attain the blessedness which the mystics and scholastics had promised him.

Luther had entered upon the monastic life with the utmost sincerity of purpose. So far as it was duty he determined to neglect nothing. All lofty conceptions of monastic life were centered in him. His reception into the order was represented to him as a new baptism, himself as a newborn child. He took advantage of the theory that by going back in thought and forming anew the purpose to become a monk he could repeat at will the virtues of this regenerating rite. He sought by singing, kneeling in prayer, wakefulness at night, fasting, self-inflicted pains, and by all the arts known to monkery to secure for himself, and that he might distribute them to others, the daily merits of which he deeply felt the need.

LUTHER'S WRESTLINGS OF SOUL.

But it was all in vain. He had been taught that the virtues of the monastic life were far beyond those required in the Ten Commandments, and the commandments themselves he felt that he did not truly keep. So far from merit by which the past could be covered, he felt that his sins were piled ever higher upon him. The new baptism could not comfort one who feared that he had lost the grace of the first. So far from being able by the Holy Spirit to do works worthy of eternal life, he thought it presumption to claim possession of the Spirit. Nothing that he could do, no spiritual exercises in which he could indulge, could set his soul at rest. On the contrary, he seemed to himself to fall constantly deeper into sin, and to depart ever farther from God. He called upon the saints, but they could not help him,[1] and upon God himself, but he heard not.[2] Following the direction of the convent instructor, Paltz, he would sink before the image of the Crucified, and, in the spirit of his bitter sufferings and death, forget all things earthly; but not even so could he shake off the fear that he had no good works to offer. He did not know that no one who truly apprehends himself and at the same time the holy demands of God could possibly feel other than he felt. He was yet to learn that the more the soul looks upon itself the deeper will appear its ruin, and that the only hope of rest is in looking to Christ. Nor did the absolution which the Church gave him through its priests satisfy his mind. This was conditioned upon the confession of every sin—he constantly feared that some sin had been overlooked; upon a sufficiently deep contrition—he had not felt his sin as keenly as he ought; upon the proper performance of penance—he had not done all that he might.[3] He could not forget that word, "I the Lord thy God am a jealous God."

The fearful thought of Christ as a severe judge was ever in Luther's mind. Particularly was this the case after his consecra-

[1] In the mass he did this systematically. Selecting twenty-one saintly protectors he called upon three at each mass, which he read daily, and thus went the entire rounds in the course of a week.—Kolde, i, 67.

[2] He preferred to pray to the Virgin Mary because her womanly heart was more easily moved.—*Ibid.*

[3] We have a formula preserved to us by Luther, according to which the monks were accustomed to pronounce absolution: "The merit of the sufferings of Christ and of the Virgin Mary and of all the saints, the merit of the order, the humility of confession, the bruising of the heart, the good works which, for the love of Christ, thou hast done and will do, may suffice for the forgiveness of thy sins, the increase of merit and of grace, and for the reward of eternal life."

tion to the priesthood, and when it became his duty to perform the mass. For all the duties belonging to this office he felt himself unqualified and unworthy. As he offered his first mass he dreaded lest he might commit the sin of omitting some smallest movement prescribed by the ritual, and when he came to the words, "We offer to Thee, the Living, True, Eternal," he was so terrified at the reflection that he was in the immediate presence of the divine majesty that he was almost ready to forsake the altar. This dread never left him. Others might jest concerning the sacred act of transforming the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ;[1] to him it was a matter of awful import. Yet with all the agony it brought him he performed his duties with most unresting zeal, in the belief that such was the way to please God and to save his soul.

LUTHER'S SENSE OF UNWORTHINESS.

It would be a mistake to suppose from all this that Luther was a sinner in the gross sense. No deed of sin had driven him, as so many, into the cloister. He took everything religious earnestly. To him, therefore, sin was no trifle, and the mental sins of anger, hatred, resentment, and pride, which peculiarly beset him, were in his eyes as sinful before God as the vilest sins of the flesh. We should err did we imagine that in the attempt to live a life of chastity as he understood it he never had occasion to repent of the thought of wrong, but it remained ever a thought, nor was this the principal source of his trouble.[2] One whose standard of holiness was lower, or who could content himself with external religiousness, might have become spiritually proud of the attainments which were so little to Luther's satisfaction.

It was evident that he was not to find rest even in these unceasing, unsparing, and systematic efforts. His hope was not in following, but in neglecting the monastic principles. These were only to reveal his need of the Saviour, not to enable him to save himself. God had led him into the convent that he might know the bitterness of sin and learn by sorrowful experience the inefficacy of our own efforts at salvation. But in the convent he was also to find the helpers who should bring him out into the light. Among these was his "preceptor," probably the master of novices, who once reminded him of the words, "I believe in the forgiveness of sin," and taught him

HELP FOUND IN HIS "PRECEPTOR."

[1] "I am going to offer a child to the Virgin," became a common form which priests employed when they were about to read the mass.—Köstlin, i, 85.

[2] See his triumphant vindication against the ultramontane accusation of fleshly sins, in "Das 6 Gebot und Luthers Leben," by Lutherophilus.

that those who believed according to God's holy commandment should be forgiven. At another time, when Luther was bitterly bewailing his abandoned condition, he told him that God had commanded us to hope. He thus saw that he was commanded to believe in the absolution of the priest whether it appeared real or not.

As Luther was once going over his imaginary sins to his father confessor, as he often did, the father said, "Thou art a fool. God is not angry with thee, but thou provokest him." He found in the writings of St. Bernard, also, support for the suspicion that St. Paul taught forgiveness by faith. From the writings of Gerson he learned the folly of keeping in mind, even to repent of them, those thoughts which Satan arouses in us, and also that not every failure to observe ecclesiastical and conventual order is a mortal sin. Chiefly, however, it was Staupitz[1] who, not only by leading him to the Bible, but by his personal advices, gave him comfort. Of noble birth and good education, this vicar general of the German Augustinians was a true Romanist, but at the same time a man whose practical experience had led him far on the way to the Reformation; and while he never forsook the Church, and severely condemned Luther in later years, the latter always felt that to him he owed a debt of gratitude he could never repay.

HELP FROM STAUPITZ.

If Luther, in following the advice of Staupitz in the reading of the Bible, found the troublesome passage, "I the Lord thy God am a jealous God," he also found that word of comfort in Ezekiel that God takes no pleasure in the death of the sinner, but rather that he should turn unto him and live. Staupitz saw in Luther a man of unusual character and promise, but he did not spare him. His imaginary sins he called doll sins (Puppensünden), with which Luther went about as a child with its doll. Sin is real, not invented, as Christ's work is real. These trials of Luther's soul, so far as they were of God, were intended by him for their sufferer's good. This plain, common sense, practical, and worldly wise course was just what Luther needed to correct his artificial though profound views of life. To encourage him still more he told the sad-faced youth that God would use him yet for great things. But it was especially his spiritual advices that helped Luther. He had himself experienced what it was to strive after piety in one's own strength. Of the law he said, "It is a great mountain. But thou

[1] Beard gives a tolerably full account of the life of this man, to whom Protestantism owes much, and also of Luther's uninterrupted gratitude to him—pp. 152-154. Of the latter Köstlin gives some interesting instances—i, 80, 81.

must cross it, says the Law; I will, says Presumption; Thou canst not, says Conscience; I will not try, says Despair." He pointed Luther to Christ as the refuge from despair—to Christ, not the judge, but the Saviour, who has suffered for our sins and who will save us. He assured Luther that it was not the Christ in the mass which terrified him, for Christ does not terrify, but comforts us. Instead of searching out the hidden counsels of God as to his election, he told Luther to look at the wounds of Christ and to his blood shed for us. As to the sufferings which he had endured on account of sin, they were rather a token that God loved him than that he was rejected. And well was it that some one appeared to lift up the despondent monk; for not only was there danger that his health would entirely give way under his anguish, but there was a temptation to blaspheme God as unjust and cruel and to wish him out of existence. Speaking in language similar to St. Paul, Luther says that he knew a man who, though for a brief period of time, suffered such pains of hell as no tongue can tell, no pen describe, and none believe who had not had a like experience of his own.

The way had been dark, the experience, as he himself expressed it, a foretaste of hell, but this was the man who was to restore the Gospel of Christ to the world. It must needs be that in some measure he should suffer the torments of the damned, that he might preach with greater power the joy and freedom of salvation through grace by faith.[1]

[1] He afterward regarded his experiences as a divine providence, which taught him the absolute inutility of our own works for salvation.

CHAPTER VI.

LUTHER AT WITTENBERG.

THE division of Saxony into the electorate and the dukedom[1] in 1485, by which Leipzig fell to the latter territory, left the domains of Frederick the Wise without a university. Wittenberg and Torgau were the electoral residences, and although the former city was mean in appearance and its population not highly civilized,[2] Frederick determined to establish a university there in 1502. To make good the exchequer the pastoral duties of the Castle Church and the Church of All Saints were combined with those of the professors, while the Augustinian monastery of the town was also to furnish its quota of instruction. By this and by the choice of Staupitz as one of the chief advisers in its establishment, as well as its first theological dean, the university was early brought into close relationship with the Augustinian order. Although the university was not under the direct influence of the Church, it had received the sanction of the pope, and the reputation of Frederick the Wise for loyalty to Roman Catholicism[3] was sufficient evidence that he did not expect it to turn out as it did.

Besides Staupitz there were several other important professors. Martin Pollich, doctor of medicine, law, and theology, and formerly professor at Leipzig; Christopher Scheurl, the jurist; Winceslaus Link; Jodocus Trutvetter, who had been called from Erfurt, and who was the most celebrated of the entire family; Andreas Bodenstein of Carlstadt, hence simply called Carlstadt, and Nicolaus von Amsdorf. All of these had exerted, or were to exert, a powerful influence upon Luther and the

FACULTY AT WITTENBERG.

[1] Beard gives a somewhat detailed history of these changes.—pp. 168, 169.

[2] Myconius said it looked more like a village, with its low, ugly, little, and old wooden houses, than like a city. Luther described the population as unfriendly, impolite, without any appreciation of gentle and high education, and on the outskirts of civilization, or even beyond.—Köstlin, i, 92.

[3] He had accumulated about five hundred holy relics in the Castle Church, which were exposed once each year for reverence. It was estimated that a proper use of these relics would secure an indulgence for fourteen hundred and forty-three years. The papal legate, Raimund, promised an indulgence of one hundred days for every paternoster offered for the welfare of Frederick. —Köstlin, i. 93.

Reformation. In 1508, in response to the order of his vicar general, Staupitz, Luther went to Wittenberg to lecture on philosophy and to study theology. By this time he had overcome his awful fear of God, which had been turned into confidence, and he looked upon his call to Wittenberg, which was not to his liking, as a strange yet surely blessed providence. His thoughts were still directed toward the questions of the relationship between God and the sinner. His biblical studies had led him to see unscriptural elements in the Roman Catholic Church, but in these early Wittenberg years he compelled himself to think with the Church. During his first years in Wittenberg he was recalled for some unknown reason to Erfurt, where he lectured in the university three semesters. He then returned to Wittenberg. In 1512 he became doctor of theology at Wittenberg, after having passed the various grades required.[1]

LUTHER'S VISIT TO ROME.

In the meantime came the important visit to Rome, in 1511. Such a journey had long been his heart's desire, and now a dispute concerning certain convents not under the jurisdiction of Staupitz caused the latter to send him to the holy city.[2] Not the beauties of Italian scenery which Luther admired, nor the wonders of architecture coming down from heathen Rome, nor the peculiarities of character which distinguished the Romans, nor even the multitudes of relics which he found and venerated on every hand, attracted his chief attention. True, he was so steeped in Roman superstition that he lamented the fact that his parents were still living, since if they had been dead his opportunities in Rome to get them out of purgatory would have been superior. Luther ascended on his knees the twenty-two steps at the east end of the Place St. John, said to have formed the stairway to the judgment hall of Pilate. But as he prayed during the ascent, the passage, "The just shall live by faith," came into his mind with such force that he ceased to pray. It was the plainest

[1] Köstlin gives a detailed account of them—i, 98. He also discusses the effect of Luther's return to Erfurt upon his promotion—i, 99. See also Beard, 177.

[2] Kawerau is certainly in error when he says that Luther represented the convents which Staupitz wished to include in his jurisdiction and about which the dispute arose. See his language in Möller, Kirchengeschichte, iii, 7. The relations of the two men both before and after this time preclude such a situation. Köstlin carefully discusses the date of this visit—i, 101–103. Möller says also that Luther won his case for the convents. But Köstlin calls attention to the fact that we have no report concerning the affair—i, 103, 104. If Luther represented Staupitz he must have lost the case, since Staupitz ceased to press his claim. Peace seems, however, to have been restored between the different branches of the German Augustinians.

intimation that he had yet received of the contrast between the external works regarded with such favor by the Roman Catholic Church and the biblical doctrine of justification.

But what impressed him more than all else was the irreverence of the priests. He heard it openly stated that there were priests who in celebrating the mass would say, "Bread thou art and bread thou remainest; wine thou art and wine thou remainest," showing that they secretly disbelieved what they publicly professed as to the nature of the sacrament. He was shocked to see the haste with which the priests mechanically went through the mass. But chiefly was it the unblushing manner in which sins of the flesh were practiced by priests and cardinals that grieved the sincere German monk, and especially was he amazed to learn how little reverence was paid the popes, whose unmentionable crimes were matters of common talk.

Luther returned from Rome a loyal Romanist, but he had caught a glimpse of the hollowness of the system, which was useful to him in years to come.

The years between 1512, the date of his promotion to the doctorate, and 1517 were filled with an immense variety of burdensome duties. He was preacher of the convent, and also in one of the churches in the city. He was principal teacher at the convent and professor in the university. He was vicar of his order for eleven convents, the work of which he declared to be equal to eleven priorates, while his correspondence, together with his other duties, absorbed so much of his time that he found it difficult to observe the regular hours prescribed for Augustinian monks. Every one of these offices he filled with diligence and zeal. He preached once a day, and during Lent twice daily. He lectured once a day in the university. During this period also he learned Greek and continued his study of Hebrew. His sermons, though somewhat pedantic, aimed to edify their hearers. He had learned by sorrowful experience the futility of our own efforts to obtain rest for the soul, and he proclaimed to others the way of faith and grace. The study of Augustine had by this time led him to see the errors of the scholastics, and this discovery prompted him to devote his university lectures to the Bible rather than to the "sentences" of Peter Lombard. He delighted to call himself "Doctor of the sacred Scriptures," whereas others thought it more honorable to lecture on the theology of Lombard. His first lectures were on the Psalms, in which he saw a marvelous reflection of human experience under the providence of God. These

LUTHER'S LOVE OF BIBLE STUDY.

were followed by an exposition of Romans, and this by lectures on Galatians, Hebrews, and Titus. All of these were influenced by his own experiences in the two ways of seeking salvation. In the study of Galatians, however, he first came to understand the true relation between the law and grace.

His views of the scholastic theology were not alone influenced by his experiences, but as well by the discovery that the scholastics had drawn their principles chiefly from Aristotle, whom Luther could not tolerate either as to his philosophy or his ethics. A study of the mystical writings of Tauler, and especially of an anonymous work known to us as "German Theology," which Luther attributed to Tauler, clarified his theological views and supported him in his opposition to scholasticism. The novelty of his views, the earnestness with which he presented them, and the talent he displayed in their production and defense, filled his church and lecture room with auditors whenever he spoke. The number of monks who came to Wittenberg for training became a great burden to him. But it was unavoidable that while he drew to him many of the brightest minds and best men of the period, as Link, Lange, Spalatin, and Scheurl, he should also excite, by his outspoken condemnation of the scholastic theology, the enmity of many of its chief representatives. Even so early as this, however, he made many converts from their ranks, as for example, Carlstadt, Lupin, and Amsdorf. In May, 1517, he wrote to Lange that only those at Wittenberg who lectured on the Bible or St. Augustine, or some other real Church authority, could hope for a hearing.

Luther's relation to the Humanists at this time was somewhat ambiguous. He approved and commended their condemnation of scholasticism and of ecclesiastical abuses, but he even then felt that they did not understand nor appreciate the life-giving elements of the Scripture, while they still held to the righteousness of good works. An incident of this period will illustrate. Reuchlin had been asked by some zealots whether all Jewish books outside of the Old Testament ought not to be destroyed by imperial command. To this the celebrated Humanist and Hebraist had replied in the negative. The Cologne faculty of theology attacked him bitterly for this opinion. Luther took up the dispute in defense of Reuchlin and displayed his ability to employ epithets of a most uncomplimentary kind in controversy. Of Ortwin, who had published a poem in which he spoke in terms of scorn of the Reuchlin party, Luther said he had always thought him an ass, but he had now proved himself to be a

LUTHER AND THE HUMANISTS.

dog, a crocodile, and a wolf, who pretended to the majesty of the lion.[1] He thought the streets of Jerusalem too much needed cleansing for the theologians to waste their time on the nonbiblical books of the Jews. But when in the next year, 1515, the "Epistolæ obscurorum virorum" appeared, composed in part by Crotus Rubianus, his former friend at Erfurt, and intended to satirize the monastic and scholastic sons of darkness—the opponents of Reuchlin—and to point out their excessive ignorance, narrowness, ridiculousness, and moral corruption in a clear and comical light, Luther objected that the matters with which these letters dealt were too serious to admit of such treatment.

While we who look back upon the career of Luther can see how God was preparing him for the function of reform which he was to fulfill, such a thought had not dawned upon him. He saw the necessity of reform, as did thousands of others, but he was true to the Church, and even yet did not see how the views which by this time were so defined must logically lead him out of Roman Catholicism and into a long struggle with the papacy. Though he saw the faults of individual prelates he firmly believed in the inerrancy of the Church as a whole. What the Church had canonized he accepted without question. He differed from the majority only in limiting the appeal to saints to temporalities, and in giving prayer to the Deity the place of emphasis. He had traveled farther than he knew on the road to "heresy," which was to him very baleful.

[1] Hagenbach gives a vivid account of Reuchlin's troubles, and shows that Luther was not the only man of his time who knew how to call names. Reuchlin applies such epithets as venomous beast, monster, hogs, hell furies, and the like—i, 45–55.

CHAPTER VII.

THE NINETY-FIVE THESES.

In the interest of the new Church of St. Peter in Rome, Pope Julius II had caused indulgences to be sold as early as 1506, and now Pope Leo X[1] continued that method of gathering funds. The Margrave Albert of Brandenburg, brother of Elector Joachim I, had been raised to the archbishopric of Mayence and Magdeburg, and had been intrusted with the administration of the bishopric of Halberstadt. These honors and emoluments, which raised him at once to the primacy of Germany, had been bestowed upon the youth of twenty-four years, notwithstanding he had been but one year in orders, because of the political power of the House of Brandenburg. As a further motive for his election he had agreed that upon himself should rest the burden of paying the twenty thousand gold florins demanded by the pope for his pallium. In order to reimburse the Fuggers who had loaned him this amount he secured from the pope the monopoly of the sale of indulgences within his ecclesiastical domain for a term of eight years. The half was to go to the pope and the remainder to himself, while the Fuggers had their agents accompany the salesman to receive on the spot the archbishop's share until his debt to them was paid. This arrangement was made in April, 1515, but because the pope was not so explicit as the archbishop desired the sale was not pushed until 1517.[2] As special agent for the indulgences John Tetzel, of Leipzig, was chosen. He was a man of bad reputation,

INDULGENCES.

[1] Leo was a man of but little principle, though better than many of his predecessors. His Christianity was a matter of convenience, rather than of conviction. His interest in the Renaissance secured him the favor of the German Humanists. As a member of the famous House of Medici he brought with him to the papal throne all the financial skill for which they were celebrated. He created cardinals and new offices and places of honor for the sole purpose of securing funds. But his luxurious tastes, while pleasing to lovers of earthly enjoyment, demanded still wider means of support. See a brief history of the origin of indulgences in Berger, Martin Luther, i, 204–206. In 1490 a papal legate carried out of Erfurt 41,000 gulden into Rome, with which the pope provided his daughter's wedding outfit.—Berger, i, 33.

[2] Kawerau leaves the erroneous impression that the sale did not begin until 1517.—Möller, iii, 10.

but his want of conscience worked together with his shrewdness to make him a successful instrument.

The doctrine of indulgences was not clearly defined by the Church, and it was for the purpose of the settlement of many questions which arose in Luther's mind concerning them that he posted his famous theses. The theory in general was that as a reward for service the pope had the power to grant release from the temporal punishment for sin inflicted by the Church, whether in this life or in purgatory. Gradually, and as a result of the German custom of commuting punishment by a payment of money,[1] the indulgences came to be sold outright. The scholastics had taught that even that repentance which was produced by fear of punishment was sufficient to secure the sacramental absolution by which the eternal punishment for sin was averted. Now the indulgence purposed to set aside the temporal pains, so that sin went unpunished by both God and the Church, and the soul could obtain everlasting felicity at death without even a true change of heart.[2]

This would appear sufficiently objectionable, but Tetzel made it worse by the manner of his preaching. He taught the deluded people that those who possessed one of these indulgences might be absolved by fathers confessor from sins which otherwise only the bishops and popes could absolve, and that by the payment of money the advantages of the prayers and masses of the Church could be secured. Furthermore, the release of a soul from purgatory could be thus purchased.[3] Tetzel has been accused of saying,

JOHN TETZEL.

> "Sobald das Geld im Kasten klingt,
> Die Seele aus dem Fegfeuer springt."

As a matter of fact he never denied it, but went even farther than this, saying in his theses, written probably by Wimpina, late in 1517, not merely that as soon as the money strikes the bottom

[1] Kolde, i, 129.

[2] See a very clear statement of the case in Möller, iii, 10. Kolde discusses the subject more at length and with a fuller appreciation of the various opinions then obtaining—i, 128-131.

[3] For a farther elaboration of Tetzel's promises see Kolde, i, 133, 137. Köstlin mentions the scandalous language attributed to Tetzel, that the pope could even forgive one who had had carnal intercourse with the Holy Virgin. Tetzel denied the utterance, and in Halle, in December, 1517, appealed to certain persons who had not heard him use the language but who would have heard it had he used it—i, 160. D'Aubigné gives a copy of one of these letters of indulgence—i, 258.

of the chest the soul springs out of purgatory, but even before it reaches the bottom.

As early as 1516 Tetzel had begun his work in the neighborhood of Saxony. Within that territory he was forbidden by Frederick the Wise to ply his trade, because that prince would not consent that Saxon gold should fill the treasury of a neighboring electorate. The first mention of the subject in a sermon by Luther was made on the tenth Sunday after Lent, in the year 1516. At this time he had no doubt that the merits of Christ and the saints could be purchased, together with the indulgences. He only complained that the sale was carried on for the purpose of gain, and that sinners were encouraged to continue in their sins. To him many points were doubtful which appeared settled in the minds of the purchasers. Luther's purpose at that time evidently was to check the unreflecting masses from yielding to what might prove a deception.

LUTHER PREACHES ON INDULGENCES.

Again, on October 31, just one year before he posted the theses, he preached on the subject. He was still very cautious, but exhorted his hearers rather to a true repentance than to efforts to secure immunity from punishment. On February 24, 1517, however, he spoke in a much more positive tone. Through indulgences the people learned to fear only the punishment, not the guilt, of sin. But for the fear of penalty no indulgences would be purchased. The result was a feeling of security in sinful practices. As Tetzel approached nearer, in the autumn of 1517, members of Luther's parish in Wittenberg crossed the borders and purchased indulgences, returning to Luther and defiantly presenting them to him when he refused them absolution on account of their unrepentant state. It was plain that the whole matter needed discussion and illumination.

That there was something true in the theory of indulgences Luther firmly believed, yet he could not shut his eyes to the injury they were causing by what he suspected was an abuse. He would bring the matter to the test. On October 31, 1517, the day before the festival of All Saints, he nailed his ninety-five theses on the door of the Castle Church, where they would be seen by the theologians and others who would throng that sanctuary the next day.[1] They were posted before twelve o'clock noon, and on the same day he wrote to Archbishop Albert concerning the abuses the

[1] Berger quotes the sentence, "Out of love, and a real desire to bring the truth to light, the following should be discussed in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ," and adds, "This opening sentence of the series of theses is nothing else than the symbol of Protestantism."—Martin Luther, i, 198.

indulgences were introducing, and beseeching him to disclaim the responsibility, warning him that if he failed some one would arise to oppose the professed archiepiscopal sanction, which event would result in disgrace to his Highness. He signed himself, "His Highness's unworthy son, Martin Luther, called to be a doctor of theology."

The theses, written in Latin,[1] were intended for the eyes of scholars, and did not treat the doctrine of justification by faith, but rather the nature of true repentance and its relation to indulgences. The power of absolution was not denied, but the necessity of true repentance was emphasized in such way as to make this, and not priestly absolution, the all-important matter. The first thesis held that when our Lord commanded us to repent he meant that repentance should extend over the entire life of the believer; the second, that this repentance cannot refer to the sacrament of penance; the third, that inward repentance is of no avail if not accompanied by the crucifixion of the flesh; the fifth, that the pope cannot and will not remit any penance except such as he himself or the Church has imposed; the seventh, that God forgives no one's sins except he submit himself in all humility to the priest, God's representative; the twenty-second, that the pope can remit no penance to souls in purgatory which they ought to have suffered, according to ecclesiastical ordinances, in this world, because (thirtieth) the dead are dead to the canons of the Church; the thirty-third, that the papal indulgence is not that unspeakable gift of God whereby the soul is reconciled with him; the thirty-sixth and thirty-seventh, that to every Christian who truly repents belongs complete remission of punishment and guilt without an indulgence, and every true Christian, whether living or dead, has a part in all the benefits of Christ and the Church as the gift of God without the papal indulgence; and the thirty-eighth, that the papal forgiveness is not to be despised, since it declares the divine forgiveness.[2]

THE THESES.

Luther had no expectation that the effect of the theses would be what it was. He was amazed that in a fortnight they were known all over Germany. Myconius said that in a month they

[1] In their Latin form they may be seen in Ranke's Deutsche Geschichte, vol. vi, 6th ed., pp. 83–89, and in any edition of the works of Luther.

[2] See most of the theses in d'Aubigné, vol. i, pp. 281–285, and complete in Schaff, vi, 160–166. Schaff also appends the Protestation, which, as its wording shows, was not an original part of the theses. They are also complete in Wace, Bucheim, and Krauth.

were spread throughout all Christendom, as though carried by the swift wings of an angel. The day of press censorship had not yet arrived. Soon they were translated into German and made available to the laity. To this end they were not well adapted. According to custom they did not in all cases clearly express what their author wished to defend. They were accepted as statements of doctrine, whereas he intended them only as scholastic theses for purposes of disputation. In some quarters they excited great favor.[1] In others, as in Erfurt, they awakened indignation. Reuchlin rejoiced because he thought the theses would keep his enemies so busy that they would let him alone. It was characteristic of the Humanists thus to wish for quiet. The convent in Wittenberg was alarmed lest the order should be brought into disrepute. Tetzel induced Wimpina to write a set of counter theses, which were discussed in Frankfort in January, 1518.[2] The order of Dominicans made common cause with him against the Augustinians. Luther's theses were never publicly disputed. They were rather taken up by the people and adopted with such earnestness that in many places Tetzel's occupation was gone.[3] In February, 1518, Luther published a German sermon on the subject of indulgences and grace, in which he more fully expressed his views, thereby, however, spreading the fire. The students at Wittenberg took sides with Luther and carried their friendship to the point of danger. The elector was accused of instigating Luther, for reasons of jealousy, against Archbishop Albert of Mayence, but he quietly took up the cause of the monk, so far, at least, as to protect him.[4]

EFFECT OF THE THESES.

Among the many enemies whom these theses raised up for Luther none was more bitter than Eck, who the year before had apparently been his friend. Frightened at first, Luther soon summoned courage to answer his opponents, and he did it with terrific vigor. Not only were his arguments mighty, but, unfortunately for his reputation in the present day, he used most abusive lan-

[1] Erasmus, Fleck, prior of the monastery of Steinislausitz, Bibra, Bishop of Würzburg, the emperor, Maximilian I, and Leo X were pleased, or at least not angered. See d'Aubigné, i, 293–295.

[2] See several of these Tetzelian theses in d'Aubigné, i, 312, 313.

[3] Köstlin describes at length the reception of the theses by different classes of persons—i, 175–185.

[4] D'Aubigné relates, with acceptance of its essential parts, a dream of the elector to the effect that God had sent him a monk who, with a pen that reached to Rome, pierced the head of a lion (Leo X), shook the triple crown of the pope, and wrote something on the door of the Castle Church—i, 276–279. Schaff and Köstlin regard the dream as wholly fictitious.

guage. Eck he called Dreck (dirt); Tetzel, he said, dealt with the Bible as a "sow with a sack of oats;" Cardinal Cajetan knew no more of true theology than a donkey does of the harp; Alveld, of Leipzig, was a most "asinine ass."[1] The time was approaching when this undignified mode of disputation would be displaced by one of the sublimest struggles of history.

[1] These coarse epithets were taken as arguments by many controversialists of the time. With Luther they were rather the spice than the substance of his argument. The saying, "Spoken in jest, meant in earnest," would apply here.

CHAPTER VIII.

FROM THE THESES TO THE BURNING OF THE POPE'S BULL.

THE theses were condemned as heretical successively by the faculties of Cologne, Louvain, and the Sorbonne. At first Luther had honestly anticipated a favorable judgment of the pope, who indeed was for a time disposed to treat the matter as "a mere squabble of envious monks." As it began to appear that the pope would really join issue with Luther, the latter, whose views now developed rapidly, did not know what to think of the pope. He alternated between the most abject submission to his authority and the suspicion that he was the antichrist of revelation.

In March, 1518, Leo appointed a Dominican monk, Silvester Mazzalini, commonly called Prierias, head of a commission to investigate Luther's cause. He reported Luther as an ignorant and blasphemous heresiarch, and spoke of the effect of the theses as similar to the bite of a cur. Luther and Prierias fell into a personal controversy which only increased the animosity of both sides. As a result Luther, on August 7, 1518, was cited to Rome to answer for his heresies. The pope also demanded that Frederick the Wise should deliver Luther to the papal legate. The elector refused to obey, and arranged for Luther and the legate to meet at Augsburg, where a diet was in session. Cajetan, the legate, was a man of learning, and afterward spent his energies in furthering the study of the Bible. He and Luther had three interviews in October, 1518, but to no purpose. Luther bears testimony to the courtesy which the legate showed him,[1] but also states that the one condition of peace with the pope was recantation. Cajetan, the disdainful Italian, speaks of Luther to Staupitz as "a deep-eyed German beast." Staupitz advised and assisted him to make good his escape, which he did, arriving at Wittenberg on October 31, just one year after the posting of the theses.

On November 28 Luther appealed from the pope to a general council. Once more the pontiff undertook a peaceful settlement of the dispute. Sending his nuncio, Miltitz, with the decoration

[1] In a letter to Carlstadt under date of October 14.—De Wette, i, 161. Luther's opinion of the spirituality of Cajetan is seen in his letters of November 19 and December 13 to the elector and Staupitz respectively.—De Wette, i, 175, 194.

of the Golden Rose to Frederick, he was to demand Luther's delivery to Rome in return, if he could not prevail upon the heretic to retract or keep silence. Miltitz threw the principal blame, not on Luther, but upon Tetzel, who died soon after as a result of the nuncio's severe censures. He cajoled Luther and begged him not to divide the Church. The danger of such a division, evidences of which Miltitz saw on every hand, had been a revelation to him and had disposed him to a friendly course of procedure. Luther took no delight in schism, and under an agreement that the controversy should be settled by a German bishop and not at Rome, and with the understanding that his enemies were to keep silence, he promised to agitate his ideas no farther and to advise all people to remain in the Church. This was in January, 1519. In March of the same year, in accordance with his promise to Miltitz, he humbly sought pardon of the pope, while reserving the right to hold his opinions. But Luther did not promise to refrain from farther study, and his investigations led him more and more to see the tissue of falsehoods upon which the papal claims were based.

LUTHER'S APPEAL FROM THE POPE.

Luther may have repented of his promise to keep silence; nevertheless, he was faithful to the truce until he was attacked by his enemies.[1] In fact, Miltitz appears to have made no effort to silence Luther's opponents. At any rate, John Eck, professor of theology in Ingolstadt in Bavaria, under the pretext of an assault upon Carlstadt, who by this time had begun to champion Luther's cause, attacked positions not maintained by Carlstadt but by Luther. A disputation between Carlstadt and Eck had been arranged to take place during the summer of 1519 at the university in Leipzig, much to the disgust of the faculty of theology, but under command of Duke George. After Eck had dragged Luther into the contest the reformer demanded a part in the disputation. Eck was an able and experienced debater, but was more successful in popular appeal than in dealing with facts.[2] In accordance with this policy

[1] Schaff intimates that Luther was in part to blame for the reopening of the controversy—vi, 178. This is unjust to the reformer, who did not violate his pledge, but was released from it by the breach of agreement on Eck's part.

[2] Eck was much disliked by many and was frequently nicknamed, his name affording easy opportunity. He was called *Keck* (impudent), and *Geck* (silly fop). Willibald Pirkheimer, Luther's friend, the patrician and humorist of Nuremberg, satirized him in a Latin book which appeared anonymously under the title, Eccius dedolatus—in German, Der abgehobelte Eck, that is, the planed corner. For a description of the disputants written by an eyewitness, see Hagenbach, Reformation, i, 121, 122.

he forced Luther to say that a council could err and that the council of Constance had erred in condemning some truths held by John Hus.

From this time forward Duke George was his enemy and the Duchy of Saxony closed to the Reformation. Eck now openly accused Luther of sympathy with the Bohemians, which in the minds of the masses was a frightful charge, but which Luther acknowledged, declaring some of the truths for which Hus had been burned to be scriptural. This was a step far in advance of any Luther had hitherto taken. Whatever may have been the actual merits of the debate, the victory in which was claimed by both sides, it was fortunate that Luther was brought by it to see that there was no middle ground, and that if the Scriptures were the authority they must be the sole authority. Thus, although the disputation seems not to have advanced the knowledge of the truth, it advanced Luther on his immortal way and won many of the Leipzig students for fearless Wittenberg.[1]

With the year 1520 Luther appears to have lost faith in the reform through the clergy, and while he did not appeal to arms he did demand of the Christian nobility that they should undertake the work declined by the bishops. He made this manifest in a work published in the summer of 1520, which spread with tremendous rapidity throughout the country. It bore the title, "To His Imperial Majesty and the Christian Nobility of the German Nation: Concerning the Improvement of the Christian Body."[2] In the first part Luther considers the three walls which he says Rome has thrown up for its defense, namely, the control of the Church by the clergy, the exclusive right of the Church to interpret Scripture, and the exclusive right to summon a council. The believer is a priest, and hence there can be no distinction between the clergy and the people except as to their functions. The Christian has the individual right to read and interpret the Scripture and to judge for himself in matters of faith. If the popes act in a manner contrary to Scripture they must be dealt with according to Matt. xviii, 15–17, the same as other members of the Church, in which case the laity would have the authority and be bound to call a council. In the second part he

LUTHER'S APPEAL TO THE RULERS.

[1] Another result of the Leipzig disputation was that it brought Luther the sympathy of many of the Humanists. Comp. Möller, iii, 19.

[2] Schaff gives a lengthy summary of the work and defends Luther against Janssen's charge that the reformer counseled war. He appears in the "address" as the patriot rather than the theologian—vi, 207–213.

complains that the pope lives in a style of worldliness and splendor superior to kings and emperors. In the third he attacks the temporal power of the pope, compulsory celibacy, masses for the dead, ecclesiastical festivals, the perpetual character of monastic vows, the interdiction of God's word, obligatory fasts, and a variety of other abuses.

The work stirred up the greatest excitement. Staupitz tried to prevent its publication. Few of Luther's friends approved it. Luther felt that come what would it must be done. His chief hope, probably, was the calling of a free general council.

He had closed the address to the German nobility with the taunt that he had another little song which he would sing if Rome wished, and sing with all his might. It was the work entitled The Babylonish Captivity of the Church, published in the early part of October, 1520. In this book he disputes even the rightful human authority of the pope. He takes up the Lord's Supper and denies the right to withhold the cup from the laity. If they have the thing, why deny them the sign? He also denies the doctrine of transubstantiation and announces that of consubstantiation in its place. He assaults the sacrifice of the mass, the pretended offering up of Christ afresh at every celebration. He accepts baptism in the Roman Catholic sense, but claims that the baptismal vow, once taken, covers the whole life and needs no further monastic obligations, which are a reflection upon the binding authority of the sacrament. Instead of seven he allows but two sacraments. He closes the book with a pledge to recant in such a manner as Rome never heard of, and this work was to emphasize his recantation.

"THE BABYLONISH CAPTIVITY."

Luther's manner appears insolent, but it must be remembered that before the publication of this treatise the pope's bull of excommunication had been issued against him, a copy of which he had probably seen. Nevertheless, Miltitz did not even yet despair of a peaceful settlement, for in Lichtenburg, October 11, 1520, he extracted a promise from Luther that he would write a book, and accompany it with a letter to the pope, in which the reformer was to declare that he had never attacked the pontiff personally, and to blame Eck for the whole difficulty.[1] The book was entitled, Of the Freedom of a Christian Man. Its tone was not polemical, but religious. Schaff sums it up in the words, "The Christian is lord of all and subject to none by virtue of faith, and is the servant of all and subject

FINAL BREACH WITH LEO X.

[1] Comp. Schaff, vi, 221.

to everyone by virtue of love." It was a true irenicon, intended to show the pope what was his real preference as to literary activity. Far rather would he deal only with religion, but duty called him to attack error, and he had obeyed. The letter, however, was adapted to undo all that the book might have accomplished. He protests indeed that he had never spoken disrespectfully of Leo in person, but he at once proceeds to tell the pontiff that he is the victim of a corrupt court, in a den of thieves, wolves, lions, and scorpions, and that if Christ were in Rome he would not need the pontiff for a vicar, with many other most uncomplimentary facts. The letter destroyed the last hope of reconciliation.[1] It was best it should be so. Luther's boldness was not rashness. He was telling unwelcome truths. The time had come when they must be told. Too long already had chronic wrongs gone unchallenged. For such a time as this Luther had been raised up and providentially prepared.

If anything could reveal the necessity for a breach with Rome, such as Luther's letter made inevitable, it was the bull of excommunication issued against the reformer by Leo X, on June 15, 1520. Nearly three years had elapsed since the memorable act of October 31, 1517. Doubtless the long delay was occasioned in part by the hope of a peaceful resolution of the difficulties. But the chief cause was the election of a new German emperor, in which the voice of Frederick the Wise would have great weight. The bull begins Exurge Domine, which words gave name to the document. They are from the twenty-second verse of the Seventy-fourth Psalm, which, together with the twenty-third verse, is quoted in full. It then invokes Peter, Paul, and all the saints against the new heresies, deplores the entrance of Bohemian errors into Germany, condemns forty-one propositions taken from Luther's writings, prohibits their defense or publication, orders the writings of Luther to be burned, suspends him from the ministry, and gives him sixty days in which to recant, on refusal of which he will be excommunicated. The bull threatens all persons and places sheltering Luther or his followers after excommunication with the interdict and makes provision for its own promulgation and execution.

BULL OF EXCOMMUNICATION.

It is particularly noticeable that among the propositions of Luther condemned by the pope is that one which declares it con-

[1] The book and letter were written about the middle of October, but dated back at the suggestion of Miltitz and others to September 6, to make it appear that Luther was not moved by the pope's bull, but by a real desire for peace.

trary to the will of the Holy Spirit to burn heretics.[1] The doctrine of justification by faith is touched only indirectly. With singular unwisdom the pope sent Eck, the most hateful of all Romanists in the eyes of the Germans, to publish the bull in Germany. Not only so, he empowered Eck to insert into the bull the names of such as he might choose. Eck now took his revenge upon certain of his enemies and satirizers. Among them were Carlstadt, Adelmann, of Augsburg, Egranus, of Zwickau, and Spengler and Pirkheimer, of Nuremberg, most of whom humbled themselves and received absolution. The bull was to be received in an unusual manner in Wittenberg. Frederick refused to have it promulgated, and Luther, to demonstrate his complete defiance of papal authority and the equality of the humblest servant of God with the most distinguished, publicly, after due announcement, and in the presence of a vast multitude of students and others, committed the bull to the flames, with the words, "As thou hast vexed the holy one of the Lord, may the eternal fire vex thee." With the bull he burned also the papal decretals, the canon law, and certain writings of Eck and Emser.[2]

Frederick the Wise called upon Erasmus to know whether to execute the bull. The great scholar declared that Luther's sin had been in touching the triple crown and the stomachs of the monks, and that the bull was offensive to all good men and unworthy the vicar of Christ. Frederick therefore declined to deliver up his celebrated professor, and from that time defended him in such a way as to escape the imputation of heresy for himself. Luther, meantime, had at first claimed the bull to be a forgery of Eck, but afterward in a tract, Against the Bull of Antichrist, angrily assaulted its contents, and even denied the possibility of salvation to such as obeyed it. He also renewed on November 17, 1520, his appeal from the pope to the free general council, calling the pope a heretic and a blasphemer. The lion in Luther's nature had been aroused.

[1] It is No. 33 in the list of the heretical propositions. Thus, under given circumstances, the Holy Spirit might not forbid Roman Catholics to burn heretics even to-day.

[2] This bold act was performed on December 10, 1520. Luther, Melanchthon, Carlstadt, and the other professors of the university returned to the city immediately, but the students sang the Te Deum and funeral dirges, afterward burning a considerable pile of Romish books. A master of arts lighted the fire. Luther placed the copy of the bull in the flames with his own hand. An oak tree surrounded by an iron fence marks the spot, near the Elster Gate. The deed was an indirect defiance of the new emperor, who had caused Luther's works to be burned in the Netherlands.

CHAPTER IX.

LUTHER AT WORMS AND THE WARTBURG CASTLE.

THE death of Maximilian I, January 12, 1519, brought forward a number of candidates for the imperial throne. Maximilian had indeed secured pledges from the electors for his nephew Charles, as king of the Romans. Francis I of France now pressed his claims also, and was favored by the pope. When it became apparent that Francis could not be elected, the pope strove at the last moment to secure the election of Joachim I of Brandenburg, or Frederick the Wise. The latter would probably have been chosen had he not declined because of the fear that his wealth and influence were not sufficient for the task. On June 28 Charles V was unanimously elected emperor of Germany. He was of the house of Hapsburg and was no friend to the spirit of reform. Though his selection was unwelcome to the pope, he was too loyal to the Church to favor the Reformation for the sake of revenge. He religiously regarded his new duties as God-given, and he conscientiously strove to banish heresy and to defeat the oncoming Turk. Had the pope been as solicitous for the welfare of the Church, the Reformation might have been less successful.

On October 23 the emperor was crowned in Aachen,[1] when he pledged himself to the maintenance of the traditional Roman Catholic faith and to subjection to the pope and the Church. Immediately thereafter he departed for Worms, where a diet was to be opened on November 1. The question whether to condemn Luther unheard was long considered, but finally, out of deference to the German States, it was decided to hear him. The notification to appear before the diet was carefully worded. He was addressed as "Worthy of honor, beloved and pious." The papal nuncio Aleander strove to the last moment to prevent his appearance. He arrived in Worms on April 16, 1521, and on the afternoon of the 17th he stood for the first time in the presence of the emperor and the

LUTHER BEFORE THE DIET.

[1] Or Aix-la-Chapelle. For an account of the places of the coronation ceremonies, together with the crowns, see Bryce, Holy Roman Empire, p. 313 f., note, and p. 442.

imperial representatives.[1] Johann von Eck (not Luther's bitter enemy), acting under instruction from Aleander, pointing to his books, asked Luther if he would recant. The monk of Wittenberg, so bold, seemed now overawed. He had not anticipated the exact form of procedure, and was unprepared for it. Hence he asked for time in which to reflect.

The request was granted, and on the next day, the memorable 18th of April, he appeared once more before the diet. He now exhibited none of yesterday's timidity. He had considered his answer, and he had come fresh from the place of prayer.[2] He apologized for his uncouth manners, and said he had been brought up in a monastery. In answer to the question whether he would defend all his books or recant some part of them he replied that his books were of three classes: those which were purely for edification, and which even his enemies would not condemn; those in which he had attacked the pope and papists, and which he could not possibly retract; and those against individuals, in which he might possibly have spoken with undue severity. He could recant only if overcome by a scriptural proof. Eck reminded him that his errors had already been condemned by the council of Constance. Luther retorted that neither the opinion of the pope nor of councils was sufficient for him.[3] The council of Constance had in several instances gone contrary to the Scriptures. Being required to do so, he gave a direct answer in the following words: "Unless I am refuted and convinced by the testimony of the Holy Scriptures, or by open, clear, and distinct grounds and reasons—since I trust neither pope nor councils, both

LUTHER'S FIRM STAND.

[1] His friends feared for his life and warned him not to go to Worms, but he returned them the famous reply that he should go, though there were as many devils there as tiles upon the housetops. The man who used so much to fear death had gained courage since finding the true source of comfort. Schaff beautifully describes Luther's journey—vi, 294–300.

[2] It is reported that on his way to the hall George von Frundsberg said to him, "My poor monk, my poor monk, thou art going to make such a stand as neither I nor any of my companions in arms have ever made in our hottest battles. If thou art sure of the justice of thy cause, then forward in God's name and be of good courage; God will not forsake thee." Mathesius stands sponsor for this incident. Something like it may have occurred, but the language is not such as men use under circumstances like these. It is too formal and dramatic.

[3] He had spoken at first in German, but upon request repeated his speech in Latin to the great satisfaction of the elector. So Luther himself says. See the Erlanger ed. of his works, lxiv, 370. Spalatin confirms this. Köstlin, following other sources, reverses the order.

of whom have evidently often erred and contradicted themselves —in which case I am overpowered by the Holy Scriptures to which I have just referred, and my conscience led captive by God's word, I cannot and will not recant, because it is dangerous to deal contrary to one's conscience."[1] At this point in the procedure there was some uproar in the diet, and the emperor arose and cut off farther disputation. Meanwhile Luther was heard to say, "Here I stand, I can do no otherwise; God help me. Amen."[2]

Aside from any of the dramatic elements of this scene, Luther's courage and constancy must be admired, and he persisted even in the face of farther effort to bring him over. The repeated attempts in the days immediately following April 18 to secure this by persuasion, and even by bribe,[3] were vain. The Bible was the final resort to which all questions of faith and practice must be submitted. His conduct can be accounted for only on the supposition of profound conviction and unswerving loyalty to conscience. The emperor, on the 19th, had declared his purpose to proceed against him as a heretic. To all human appearances Luther could benefit no one by persisting; death and ruin were before him and his followers. The whole matter, therefore, resolved itself, as he said, into the question of faithfulness to conscientious convictions. He spoke the truth when he said to Spalatin that if he had a thousand heads he would rather have them all cut off one by one than make one recantation.

VARYING OPINIONS CONCERNING LUTHER.

Varying opinions were held of Luther as he appeared to the diet. The emperor thought him a man of little power, and could not believe him to be the author of the books attributed to him. The papal legates, the Venetian ambassador, and the Spaniards and Italians generally, were disappointed or disgusted with him. The Germans, on the other hand, were pleased with his manner of conducting himself. The whole question was one of national prejudice. No opportunity was offered for him to display either ability or prudence. He had not been called to debate the matters in question, but to answer whether he would recant. The judgment of history is that for combined

[1] Both the German and the Latin text may be seen in Schaff, vi, 305. It will be noticed that there are some changes in construction which indicate that Luther was under excitement when he spoke.

[2] On the exact language used at this point there has been much dispute, and the sources do not agree. See Köstlin, Luthers Rede in Worms, in literature given above. Schaff gives a full statement of the case—vi, p. 309 f.

[3] The Archbishop of Tréves offered him a benefice if he would retract his position that a council could err.

modesty and firmness the world has never witnessed but one scene which is its equal. The confessor or martyr exhibits greatness only by the dignity with which he adheres to the truth.

The emperor's counselors wished his majesty to revoke the safe-conduct of the heretic, but Charles was too wise, if not too conscientious, for such a deed. Many of the nobles, most of the Humanists, and the masses of the people were on Luther's side. The emperor feared to anger the princes, in view of the many troubles in which he would need their help. Already had begun that long series of hindrances to the execution of the edict which in the providence of God were to give the Reformation ample time for development. On May 25, Frederick and the elector Palatine being absent, when the princes and the emperor were accidentally together, the edict prepared by the papal nuncio Aleander was read, and, without formal consideration or vote, declared. The emperor signed it with his own hand the next day. It was dated back to May 8 in order to give it the appearance of unanimity. The edict condemned Luther in the most violent language, demanded his delivery to the emperor, the arrest of his followers and confiscation of their property, the suppression and burning of Luther's books, and the utmost strictness in the oversight of the press by the spiritual authorities. Luther had been placed under ban by the emperor and pope. The world was to witness the impotence of their rage.

LUTHER UNDER BAN.

The enemies of the Reformation were in high glee, but Frederick the Wise now proved himself their match in strategy. Luther must hide himself until their vengeful and bloodthirsty appetites, aroused by the apparent certainty of their prey, should be somewhat allayed. The elector himself must be able to say that he was ignorant of Luther's whereabouts. As Luther was returning to Wittenberg he was seized, on May 4, as though by violence and by enemies, and taken to the Wartburg Castle, within Frederick's territories. He was once more in the immediate vicinity of his former benefactors in Eisenach, but he could not make himself known to them. He was no longer Luther, but Knight George. A portrait of him with full beard shows the disguise to have been complete.

LUTHER'S SEIZURE.

Foes rejoiced, friends mourned, because of Luther's supposed death. The famous artist, Albrecht Dürer, bewailed his demise in memorable language: "Does he still live, or have they murdered him? That I know not; but he has suffered for the cause of Christian truth, and because he attacked the unchristian papacy

with its imposition of human laws and its opposition to the freedom of Christ. O God, if Luther is dead, who will preach us the holy Gospel with equal clearness? O God, what might he not have proclaimed in the next ten or twenty years! O, all pious Christian men, help me appropriately to bewail this divinely gifted man, and to pray God that he will send us a divinely enlightened substitute." The reformer spent his time in part in hunting and in the enjoyment of nature. But he employed his leisure chiefly in literary work of the most important kind. During the summer he produced a number of controversial writings, which convinced the world that he was not dead, and continued his sermons on the gospels and epistles of the ecclesiastical year. In December he began his translation of the New Testament out of the original Greek. It was published in September, 1522. The Old Testament translation appeared in parts in the course of the years, and together with the New Testament[1] was published complete in 1534. This made a Roman Catholic translation necessary, and Emser's appeared in 1527, being largely a copy of Luther's. But Emser, so far from translating for the people, as Luther did, warned them not to trouble themselves about the Bible, which was for scholars, but to give themselves up to a life well pleasing to God.

During Luther's enforced absence from the scene of conflict new difficulties sprang up at Wittenberg. Carlstadt, zealous but ill balanced, was anxious that the logical consequences of the reformatory principles should be carried into effect. Not only did he justify the marriage of the clergy, but also that of monks and nuns. The rejection of their vow might be a sin, but not so great as an unchaste life. This mode of defense for monkish infidelity did not satisfy Luther. He was inclined to think that the monk's vow, voluntarily assumed, was an obligation more binding than the compulsory celibacy of the clergy. After careful study he wrote the work De Votis Monasticis, in which he laid the stress on the motive for the assumption of the vow. In most cases it was the sinful one of endeavoring to attain a special holiness by self-effort. Convent life was, however, not a high grade of morality, but a selfish neglect of duty to others. While evangelical freedom is consistent with a self-imposed rule, an oath taken in accordance with false and sinful ideas of duty must be laid aside.

CARLSTADT'S ABERRATION.

[1] Schaff treats the whole subject of Luther's translation in a complete and masterly manner—vi, 340–368.

Carlstadt also began agitation against the worship of pictures, images, and saints, and in favor of giving the cup to the laity. At Christmas he actually celebrated the eucharist without confession, and the sacrifice of the mass in both kinds, and without the priest's garb. The bread was given into the hands of the communicants, and the wine was passed from hand to hand in an ordinary drinking cup. The Augustinians, at the behest of Gabriel Zwilling, suspended the daily reading of the mass without the presence of communicants. This Luther defended in a work entitled Vom Misbrauch der Messe (Of the Abuse of the Mass). In November, 1521, thirteen Augustinian monks had forsaken the convent and become artisans and citizens. At Epiphany, 1522, the general vicar of the order, Link, issued a mandate which practically dissolved the German congregation of the Augustinians. To every monk was conceded the right to leave the convents. Begging and votive masses were abolished. Those who remained in the convents were to constitute a free league, whose members should preach the Gospel or labor, as God had given them ability.

Thomas Münzer, of Zwickau, a zealous opponent of the existing church order, a mystic who pretended to receive revelations, had preached the immediate coming of judgment on the priests and godless, rejected infant baptism, and taught that the Spirit of God ruled the true Church, not by the letter of the Scripture, but by revelations and visions. Expelled from Zwickau, he came to Wittenberg. Melanchthon did not know what to do. He could not answer the arguments against infant baptism. He appealed to Luther, who, defending infant baptism, advised that the fanatics be questioned as to their prophetic calling and religious experience, but not treated with violence. The mystical fanatics found favor with Carlstadt, who even went so far as to renounce academic studies, since God revealed himself to babes and not to the wise. Under his influence the schools in Wittenberg were closed and the parents taught to believe that education was almost sin, while vast numbers of students left the university.

THOMAS MÜNZER.

Luther, who had soon begun secret communication with his friends, was appealed to as early as December, 1521, and in response wrote his Admonition to all Christians to Guard against Uproar and Revolution, in which he advised that the authorities be left to deal with abuses, and that the weak in faith should not be hurt by extreme measures, while Lutherans should

commend themselves by something better than railing at the pope and excesses in their use of evangelical liberty.

But Luther, when he heard of the extremes to which Carlstadt and the prophets had gone, determined to return to Wittenberg at all hazards. Without the consent of the elector and at his own risk he passed through the domains of Duke George of Saxony.[1] Arriving on March 6, he began the following Sunday to preach against the practice of excesses. He preached daily for one week, at the end of which time he had become completely master of the situation. Carlstadt and Zwilling were won back to sobriety, and Melanchthon, who had been at his wits' end, was reassured. The points which Luther emphasized were the knowledge of sin, of grace in Christ, and of brotherly love, the last of which had been violated by disregarding those who were unprepared for such radical measures. The reforms introduced had been in some cases hasty. Too much stress had been laid on externals. The prophets now tried to reach him by private conferences, but he held up the Scriptures as final against their pretended revelations. They left the city, but they were to give him trouble in the future. He had corrected the excesses at Wittenberg and demonstrated to all who would know it that he did not favor the extravagances which were afterward to bring such disaster to their deluded victims.

LUTHER'S RETURN TO WITTENBERG.

[1] See in Schaff a full and interesting account of Luther's journey, with the incident of the meeting of Luther and the two students at the Black Bear in Jena—vi, 382–387. One of the students was John Kessler, afterward active in the Reformation in Switzerland.

CHAPTER X.

HUTTEN, SICKINGEN, AND MELANCHTHON.

We have seen that The Address to the German Nobility indicated a change of attitude with reference to Luther's trust in a purely ecclesiastical reform. Probably he had been led to expect that many of the German nobility would at least demand a reform for Germany. Ulric von Hutten was the projector of these plans, in which Luther was evidently interested. The reformer soon learned the futility of all earthly help and returned to his simple but mighty faith in God and his truth.[1] Hutten was a young and ardent Humanist, sprung from the nobility, but with comparatively small resources. He had conceived a great dislike for Roman ecclesiastical abuses, and was especially aroused to the sentiment by considerations of patriotism, and perhaps of personal ambition. In prose and verse he wrote against Rome, and from the literary point of view was almost the equal of Luther.

HUTTEN.

Hutten's writings influenced the masses favorably for the Reformation, and one at least of his publications profoundly affected Luther. It was his edition of a work by Laurentius Valla, showing the falsity of the pretended donation of Constantine, on which the pope's temporal power had rested for centuries. The discovery of this fact in 1520 stirred still more deeply Luther's antagonism against the entire papal system, and strengthened him in the belief that the papacy was the antichrist of Revelation. Hutten busied himself with plans for the protection of Luther and for the forcible overthrow of Roman dominion in Germany. His friend, Franz von Sickingen, whose wealth and standing gave him power with the princes of the empire and with the emperor himself, was won to Luther's side by Hutten.[2] They

SICKINGEN.

[1] Luther never favored war as a means of spreading the Reformation. He did, however, hope for so wide an acceptance of the evangelical doctrines by the secular authorities that they would introduce the reforms rejected by the Church.

[2] His motto was: "The die is cast. I have ventured it." For a fair sample of his style of writing and assault see Hagenbach, i, 59–61, where may be found extracts from his Vadiseus, his most effective work against Rome.

hoped even to gain Ferdinand of Austria, the emperor's brother. But just what it was that Hutten hoped to accomplish it is impossible to discover. His plans seem to have been vague and undefined. At length, in 1522, he prevailed upon Sickingen to attack the archbishop of Treves for the purpose of forcing the Reformation into his territories. The attempt was a failure. Sickingen died of wounds received during the campaign. Hutten fled to Switzerland, where Erasmus would have nothing to do with him, though Zwingli treated him kindly. Hutten died in 1523.

In Melanchthon, however, Luther and the Reformation found his most useful friend and champion. He was a grandnephew of Reuchlin, who recommended him to Elector Frederick as the only scholar in Germany comparable to Erasmus. He had been educated at Pforzheim, Heidelberg, and Tübingen. Born in 1497, in the Palatinate, of wealthy parents, he had become master of arts at the age of seventeen. The Greek and Latin languages were more familiar to him than his native German. Nor was his a mere facility in languages and in the acquisition of learning; his judgment grew, as his knowledge increased, very rapidly. He entered upon his duties as professor at Wittenberg in August, 1518, and his inaugural address proved to Luther that in the sickly-looking youth he was to have a valuable coadjutor against the scholastic theology and in favor of Bible study. At first professor of philosophy, he took the degree of bachelor of divinity in 1519, and, while not wholly forsaking the classical authors, he lectured now on the books of the Old and New Testaments. The two men were much unlike in their nature, dispositions, training, and abilities, yet, complementing each other, they remained friends and colaborers through life.

MELANCHTHON.

The great work which Melanchthon was to perform for the Reformation and for Protestantism was that of giving scientific and systematic expression to the new doctrines. His first great work was his Theological Commonplaces, which appeared in the latter part of 1521.[1] The book grew out of his lectures on Romans, and is an exposition of the doctrines of sin and grace, repentance and salvation. The work was greatly improved in later editions, as to form, contents, and completeness. Melanchthon's labors were con-

[1] The original title in Latin is: *Loci communes rerum theologicarum seu hypotyposes theologicæ.* Kawerau says: "Here one can see summarized the theological results of the new movement."—Möller, iii, 35. On pp. 35, 36, he gives in German an excellent outline of the *Loci.* For a tolerably full outline in English see Hagenbach, i, 161–166.

tinued in the great Augsburg Confession, in which he reduced to writing the final symbol of Lutheranism. While Luther experienced no appreciable alteration of opinion in his contact with other reformers, Melanchthon was influenced by them. Holding at first to the absolute slavery of the human will, even to the verge of making God responsible for the sins of David and Judas, he at length came to see the dangerous character of this stoical philosophy and its unscriptural nature. Rejecting the doctrine of man's total inability, he asserted that the word of God, the Holy Spirit, and man's will are all concerned in human salvation. He gave up, early in the eucharistic controversy, the extreme literal view of the words of institution held by Luther, and by emphasizing the real but spiritual presence of Christ in the Lord's Supper approached very near to Calvin's opinions. On the doctrine of justification by faith he saw the necessity of holding to faith alone, but in later life emphasized works as a proof of our salvation.

These modifications of faith, which occurred in part even during Luther's lifetime, never interfered seriously with the friendship of the two great reformers, nor did Luther ever openly oppose Melanchthon's modified views. Each thought the other superior to himself. But the gentle Philip could not sanction the bitterness of the epithets applied by Luther to his theological opponents, and there is reason to believe that he sometimes felt it necessary to reserve the expression of his opinions out of fear of Luther's violent temper.

Schaff compares Calvin's Institutes and Melanchthon's Commonplaces,[1] and calls attention to the interesting fact that the authors of these two great works were laymen.

[1] History of Christian Church, vi, 374.

CHAPTER XI.

PERSONAL CONTROVERSIES—THE PEASANT WAR.

After the Leipzig disputation Eck gave himself no rest until Luther had been formally excommunicated. To his death he was one of the reformer's bitterest opponents. Besides him there was Jerome Emser, whose Humanistic lectures Luther had heard at Erfurt.[1] He attacked Luther's translation of the New Testament, charging him with one thousand errors and fourteen hundred heresies. The usual batch of hard names was mixed with argument in this controversy. Emser was the "Goat of Leipzig" and the "Scribbler of Dresden." Luther was the "Capricorn of Wittenberg." The names of Murner, Cochlæus, Faber, Schatzger, and Dietenberger must not be forgotten among the knights-errant of the pen against Luther.

EMSER.

But among his literary opponents was no less a personage than King Henry VIII of England, who wrote a work defending the seven sacraments of the Church, for which he received from the pope the title of "Defender of the Faith" and the present of a beautiful purple vellum manuscript. The language of this work was disdainful. Luther was called a servant of Satan and a blasphemer. The reformer felt constrained to reply in equally contemptuous terms. His work was written in both Latin and German, and in the latter edition he calls Henry a "crowned ass," a "wretched fool," a "profligate knave, shameless liar, and blasphemer." In 1525 Luther had some hope of winning Henry to the Reformation, and wrote to him humbly apologizing for his previous brutal language, although not retracting his doctrines.[2] The king replied by declaring that Luther was not only a heretic but a coward, and charged him, because of his marriage, with having violated a nun whose life had been consecrated to God. Emser saw his opportunity to injure Luther, and published the correspondence in German.

HENRY VIII.

None of the adversaries of Luther were his equal. There remained one, however, in whose ability to match the reformer the Romanists

[1] Emser was private secretary to Duke George of Saxony, and a man of learning.

[2] For the details of the correspondence see Köstlin, ii, 143, 146.

had perfect confidence. But they were not quite sure that he was not in sympathy with the Reformation.[1] He had so bitterly attacked ecclesiastical abuses and had spoken so highly of Luther as to arouse the fear that he too had been alienated from the Church. When he professed to be loyal to the old faith he was urged by the pope, the emperor, and King Henry VIII of England, with many others, to announce himself publicly.

This was the great Erasmus. But he was averse to controversy, and besides had expressed himself in favor of many of the reforms introduced by Luther, and could see no place at which to direct a formidable assault. Upon his rejection of Hutten's friendship in 1522 the latter had declared him an apostate from the Gospel and a man of weak character. This gave Erasmus an occasion for declaring himself and for pleading that the questions in dispute should be settled, without passion, by scholars. Early in 1524 Luther sought to avert what seemed to be an approaching breach between Erasmus and the Reformation, and the tone of his letter was exceedingly offensive to Erasmus, who determined to begin the strife. He first wrote a sharp letter to Luther, and followed this with a work on the freedom of the will, in which he assaulted Luther's language of 1520 to the effect that the freedom of the will is mere fiction, a name without any corresponding reality. Luther was slow about answering, and when his reply came it was couched in terms of respect, and in his best Latin. The book was entitled The Slavery of the Will, and affirmed such a predetermination of human action as would result in absolute philosophical fatalism. To this Erasmus replied in his Hyperaspistis, in which he exhibited the immoral consequences of Luther's opinion of the slavery of the will. The two men were alienated forever. In 1529 Luther applied some of his most abusive language to the old scholar. He declared him to be the enemy of Christ and of all religion, a perfect example of the epicure, a true Lucian, a vain creature, and an angry viper.

BREACH BETWEEN LUTHER AND ERASMUS.

Meantime other events more hurtful to the Reformation had been transpiring. Luther had silenced Carlstadt by force of superior ability, but he had not thoroughly changed either his opinions or his nature. The latter had been chosen in the autumn of 1523 as the pastor of the congregation in Orlemünde. Here he agitated his old iconoclastic ideas and taught the rightfulness of bigamy and the identification of Sabbath and Sunday. Thomas

[1] To the last ardent Roman Catholics called him the father of Luther. They asserted that Erasmus had laid the egg which Luther hatched.

Münzer began to gather congregations of "saints," who cherished mystical and communistic ideas and looked for the early penal judgment of God upon the godless, chief among whom were the princes and lords. Luther advised peace if possible, force if necessary, to check the rising tumults. Carlstadt opposed Münzer's violence, but returned to a bitter warfare against Luther's doctrine of the Lord's Supper. All efforts at reconciliation failed. Luther's work, Against the Heavenly Prophets, was directed against Carlstadt. Its influence on the sacramental controversy was very great.

MÜNZER'S FANATICISM.

Münzer, called to Weimar to answer for his conduct, fled to Mülhausen. Here he was expelled from the city, after which he traversed southern Germany and Switzerland, wrote and spoke in the bitterest language against Luther, and at length began to cooperate with those Swiss Protestants who thought Zwingli too slow in his processes of Reformation, and who regarded his opposition to them as enmity to Christianity itself. Balthasar Hubmaier, a former friend and colaborer of Zwingli, was so influenced by Münzer that he forsook the former for the latter, and in Waldshut proceeded according to the radical plans, including rebaptism, but not forbidding "weak" parents to baptize their children. Infant baptism was regarded as the greatest abomination of the devil and the pope. The Bible alone furnished the rule for their ecclesiastical ideas. No experience of subsequent history was of any value. The adherents to these ideas were the true Christians, and none but such belonged to their conventicles. Vast numbers of artisans became followers of these fanatical theories, although they rejected Münzer's warlike spirit. No effort on the part of Zwingli or the authorities could restrain the movement.

Besides all these disturbances, which brought the Reformation into disrepute with many who could not or would not distinguish between the two movements, and which diverted attention from the sober and essential elements of the true reform while centering thought in nonessentials, a still more serious phenomenon is now to be mentioned. The Reformation did not originate, although it fed, the spirit which soon broke out in the Peasant War. As the cities rose to wealth and freedom the peasantry became discontented with their lot. Wars devastated their lands; the introduction of the Roman Code had added to their burdens in the interest of the nobility, while a variety of religious and superstitious ideas raised their expectations of relief. The Reformation, with its doctrine of individual freedom

PEASANT WAR.

and responsibility, nourished the spirit of unrest, and the peasants of Upper Suabia constituted themselves into the "Christian Union," whose fundamental law was the Gospel, but which expected to accomplish its ends by peaceful means. This was on February 24, 1525. A wider league of peasants in southern Germany, under the influence of evangelical ideas, adopted as a program the so-called Twelve Articles of Peasantry. They were agrarian and economic in their character. They claimed the right to choose their own pastors in order to secure the preaching of the true Gospel. The tenth they were willing to pay, but wished to have control of it for the support of their own clergy and for the care of the poor. The whole program was reformatory, not revolutionary. "The evangelical spirit which had found its way into the movement had produced moderation."[1] When the Suabian League declined to give them any relief, the radical element began to apply violence. Luther had written too late his Admonition to Peace upon receiving a copy of the Twelve Articles. He charged the princes with blame, and exhorted them to kind treatment of the peasants. At the same time he warned the peasants that their cause would lose its Christian character the moment they appealed to force. Defeat in battle at Leipheim, Wurzach, and Weingarten ended their hopes.

The death of Frederick the Wise, on May 5, 1525, was saddened by the thought that the horrors of the revolution were a punishment for the wickedness of the princes. Luther felt that the revolutionists were emphasizing the Reformation to its detriment for the support of their cause. It was purely in the interest of the Gospel that he wrote his tract, Against the Murderous Robber Peasants, in which he called upon the authorities to do their duty, at the same time giving them to understand that they deserved this disaster. He advised them to try peaceable methods of settlement and, if these failed, to use the sword in suppressing the rebellion, but to treat the prisoners with kindness. It was not that Luther disregarded the claims of the peasants. These were, at least in part, just; but, holding in common with his age to the doctrine of official responsibility, he could not tolerate revolution. The greatest mercy consisted in the most vigorous suppression of violence in the governed classes.

LUTHER OPPOSES THE PEASANTS.

[1] The entire treatment in Möller of the years in which the Reformation separated itself from Humanism, the Anabaptist fanaticism, and the excesses of the peasantry, is excellent. It constitutes chap. 3 of vol. iii of that invaluable work, and is entitled "Die Jahre der Klärung und der Scheidung, 1524, 1525."

Their right to agitate he would not dispute. These things, together with the apparent ruin in which the peasants were about to involve the Reformation by claiming its principles as their own, aroused Luther against them.

It is difficult to estimate which was the wise course. Had Luther taken side with the peasants his enemies would have charged the Reformation with the entire trouble. That he opposed them did not save him from this charge, while he lost favor with the discontented classes. All this Luther could foresee. It is to his credit that he did what he thought right, regardless of consequences. Philip of Hesse, Elector John, Duke George, and the counts of Middle Germany combined against the revolutionists and crushed them in the battle of Frankenhausen on May 15. Münzer was captured and executed. Notwithstanding Luther's advice for the kind treatment of the captives, the cruelties they experienced were laid to his charge. His language had, indeed, as was the habit with him, been so bitter as naturally to excite the enmity of the peasants. Friends were inclined to censure, and his Roman Catholic opposers openly blamed him for the war, and proposed to suppress the Reformation in the interest of civil peace.[1]

The marriage of Luther to Catharine von Bora, an escaped nun, on June 13, with the wedding festival June 27, produced much scandal. Luther had theoretically maintained the right, and even the duty, of marriage. The evil times on which the world had fallen and the prospect of his early and violent death led him to "defy the devil before he died, by marriage, even though it might be nothing more than an engagement like Joseph's." He has been blamed for living in marriage with Catharine before the wedding festivities, but the festivities were not the marriage. In the light of our customs the postponement of the festival may appear strange, but it was not unusual in that day. The regularity of the marriage is amply justified, and the base gossip which suggested a sinful intercourse between the monk and the nun prior to the wedding, and to which even Erasmus lent himself for a time, is absolutely without foundation. Many of his friends, Melanchthon included, opposed his marriage as a humiliation of so great a man. They, together with his foes, thought the time most inauspicious. The sorrows of the Peasant War oppressed the people while Luther celebrated his nuptial feast. But the reformer had acted, as usual, conscientiously and prayerfully, and

LUTHER'S MARRIAGE.

[1] A very full account of the Peasant War in both Germany and Switzerland may be found in Hagenbach, i, 379-398.

was not disturbed by the clamor of friends or foes. His married life was happy, and he had vindicated by his own deed the holiness of the married state and set an example which has resulted in the purification and elevation of clerical life from that day to this.[1]

The Peasant War had not destroyed the popular movement of the Anabaptists. They spread everywhere with tremendous rapidity and threatened the existence of the evangelical Churches. Every artisan who adhered to this zealous company carried the doctrine to all places of his sojourn. Many able leaders appeared among them, and their claim to being Bible Christians gave them favor with all who opposed the superabundance of the human element in the Roman Catholic Church. The causes which led to the movement have been generally understood to be the principles of the Reformation carried out to their extreme consequences, without regard to practical common sense. Many of its representatives were originally followers of Luther or Zwingli, which fact lends color to the idea that they were merely ultra-protestants. This is partly true and partly false. Their original impulse toward a purer faith and practice undoubtedly sprang from the influence of the Reformation. But in their mystical, apocalyptic and chiliastic excesses they were the true sons of the Middle Ages.[2]

THE ANABAPTISTS.

The reformed doctrine of justification by faith alone they rejected. All efforts to suppress them failed. They were drowned, beheaded, or burned by the thousand, by imperial command and by Roman Catholic authority, as well as by order of the Swiss magistrates. But the more they were persecuted the more rapidly their numbers increased. Luther was opposed to the forcible suppression of faith, while Melanchthon thought it right for the secular authority to proceed against false doctrines. The result was that tolerance was not practiced even in the land which had given birth to a Reformation based upon the rights of the individual conscience as one of its pillars.

[1] Köstlin treats Luther's marriage in a masterly way, and defends him triumphantly against the slanders circulated by Roman Catholics.—Martin Luther, i, 760–773.

[2] Such is essentially the view of Kawerau, who follows Albrecht Ritschl (Der Pietismus).—Möller, iii, 82, where see the entire discussion.

CHAPTER XII.

THE NEW CHURCH ORDER IN GERMANY.

ALTHOUGH Luther had, out of consideration for the weakness of some, held fast to many features of public worship which were objectionable to the evangelical sentiment, he would have been more radical than he was had not Frederick the Wise restrained him. Soon after the elector's death, and the accession of Johann, a more thorough reformation of the forms of worship began. On September 23, 1525, "the entire pope," as Spalatin says, "was thrown out of the Church." On October 29 of the same year the German service was introduced in place of the former Latin, for Sunday use, and adapted to the evangelical ideas. For the week-day services the Latin was still to be employed. At first intended for the churches in Wittenberg, the service was afterward prepared for general use, and published early in 1526, under the title German Mass and Order of Service.[1]

GERMAN INTRODUCED INTO CHURCH SERVICE.

Luther accompanied the work with a declaration that it was published at the request of others, and that no one was to feel constrained to use it unless prompted by his conscience, and indeed that such forms were only necessary to unripe Christians. But while he maintained the necessity of these more formal services for the general public, he thought it would be an excellent idea to have a congregation within the congregation, whose names should be especially enrolled, and which should be composed only of genuine Christians. Here could be put into practice, as nowhere else, the real principles of true religious service.[2]

Luther made much of the power of song in the German tongue. He translated and versified the old Latin Da pacem Domine, Verleib uns Frieden gnädiglich, and Te Deum laudamus, Herr Gott dich loben wir, and modified the litany to suit evangelical needs. He wrote forty or fifty hymns and poems, twenty-one of which dated from the year 1524. Schaff and others call attention to the scriptural character of many of his hymns, and to his free use of hymns in the Latin.[3] Of the latter, besides those mentioned above, we have Komm, Gott, Schöp-

LUTHER'S HYMNS.

[1] Köstlin gives an outline of the order of services—ii, 20.
[2] *Ibid.*, ii, 17–19. [3] Schaff, vi, 503 f.

fer, Heiliger Geist—Veni, Creator Spiritus; Nun komm, der Heiden Heiland—Veni, Redemptor gentium; Christ lag in Todes banden—Surrexit Christus hodie—the third stanza of which is as follows:

"Es war ein wunderlicher Krieg
Da Tod und Leben rungen:
Das Leben das behielt den Sieg.
Es hat den Tod verschlungen.
Die Schrift hat verkundet das,
Wie da ein Tod den andern frass,
Ein Spott aus dem Tod ist worden.[1]
Hallelujah!"

Of the scriptural hymns the most important are two from the second chapter of Luke:

"Vom Himmel hoch da kam ich hier,"

and

"Vom Himmel kam der Engel Schaar,"

and three from the Psalms:

"Ach Gott, vom Himmel sieh darein" (Psalm xii),
"Aus tiefer Noth schrei ich zu dir" (Psalm cxxx),

and

"Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott" (Psalm xlvi),

"the Marseillaise of the Reformation," as Heine calls it. This last is the most celebrated hymn of Luther. It has been frequently translated into English. Thomas Carlyle, T. C. Porter, and F. H. Hedge have given us the most effective versions.[2] This truly great hymn was not composed, as might be surmised, in the very earliest years of the Reformation, but in the latter part of the year 1527. On November 1 of that year Luther wrote to Amsdorf about the internal terrors and external struggles with which he had to contend in that time of devastating pestilence, and spoke of "the rage of Satan" and his "power and guile." These and other expressions in the same letter breathe the thoughts that pervade the hymn. It first appeared in print in 1528. Coupling this fact with the resemblance between

"EIN' FESTE BURG."

[1] The following translation is from Schaff, vi, 504:

"That was a wondrous war, I trow,
When life and death together fought;
But life hath triumphed o'er his foe.
Death is mocked and set at naught.
'Tis even as the Scripture saith,
Christ through death hath conquered death."

[2] Köstlin discusses the date of the origin of the hymn—ii, 182.

the thoughts of the hymn and the letter, we must conclude that the hymn was composed about this time. Hedge's, the most poetical of the English translations, is as follows:

"A mighty fortress is our God,
A bulwark never failing;
Our helper he, amid the flood
Of mortal ills prevailing.
For still our ancient foe
Doth seek to work us woe;
His craft and power are great,
And, armed with cruel hate,
On earth is not his equal.

"Did we in our own strength confide,
Our striving would be losing;
Were not the right man on our side,
The man of God's own choosing.
Dost ask who that may be?
Christ Jesus, it is he;
Lord Sabaoth is his name,
From age to age the same,
And he must win the battle.

"And though this world, with devils filled,
Should threaten to undo us;
We will not fear, for God hath willed
His truth to triumph through us.
The prince of darkness grim—
We tremble not for him;
His rage we can endure,
For lo! his doom is sure,
One little word shall fell him.

"That word above all earthly powers—
No thanks to them—abideth;
The Spirit and the gifts are ours
Through him who with us sideth.
Let goods and kindred go,
This mortal life also;
The body they may kill;
God's truth abideth still,
His kingdom is forever."

PREACHING EMPHASIZED.

Preaching services were held three times on Sunday—at five or six in the morning, at eight or nine in the forenoon, and at vespers. To Luther's mind, the important part of the service was preaching. At the first service the epistle, at the second the gospel, and at the third the Old Testament were employed. Because many of the preachers were very unskillful

he proposed that they should read printed sermons to the congregations. He was the more willing for this that he might prevent fanatical utterances in the pulpits. Daily services were held during the week, from Monday until Friday early in the morning, and on Saturday at vespers. He allowed the burning of lights and the wearing of priestly garments where any desired it, but if abuses grew out of this concession he proposed to do away with the dangerous custom; for ritualistic forms did not exist for their own sake, but for the assistance they might afford. It is interesting to note that in his order of baptism, 1526, he did away with the use of salt, saliva, and oil, but retained exorcism, abbreviating the address to the "unclean spirit."

The sense of freedom which the spirit of Protestantism contained worked together with differences of judgment to prevent a harmonious development of doctrine and practice in the Protestant Church. While Luther's great influence brought the majority into conformity with his views, there still existed variations in reference to the practices of the old Church, which were sometimes yielded, sometimes maintained. There were some of the clergy even within electoral Saxony who remained loyal to Romanism. Many of the clergy were unqualified by defective training for a correct understanding of the new doctrines and their intelligent exposition. The followers of Carlstadt and other fanatics added variety to the confusion already existing.

Multitudes of the peasants no longer attended upon the Protestant services, and yet they had forsaken Rome. It was evident to all observing minds that something must be done to reduce to order the chaos which had fallen upon the land. The clergy did not possess the authority, and particularly had Luther no power to enforce his opinions. His only recourse was the influence he could wield by tongue and pen. This was indeed mighty, but not sufficient. Hence he advised the elector to take the initiative. The secular power had the right, not, indeed, to compel belief, nor to punish dissent with death, but to prevent such differences of opinion as would result in anarchy. It was the duty of the prince to provide for the support of the Church, just as he would for highways or any other public necessity. The method by which the needed changes might be discovered was to institute a visitation in the various districts. The visitors or superintendents could have the power to test the orthodoxy and capacity of the clergy and to remove those who were unworthy. Elector Johann went even farther than Luther suggested. Those who would not

or could not conform to the faith and order of the evangelical Church were required to sell their property and goods and leave the realm.

One of the necessities of effectual visitation was a formula of doctrine, which was prepared by Melanchthon, Luther, and others.[1] For the children there was also need of a form of instruction by which the faith might be instilled into their minds.

LUTHER'S CATECHISMS.

In order to meet this demand Luther published a catechism in the early part of 1529. Though afterward known as the Larger Catechism, to distinguish it from the later and abbreviated form of the same work, it originally bore the title German Catechism. He treated the three principal parts of religious instruction under the heads of The Ten Commandments, The Apostles' Creed, and The Lord's Supper. The work was not framed in the form of question and answer, as the name would seem to suggest, but consisted of a running commentary on the three articles just mentioned.[2]

An appendix to the Shorter Catechism[3] contained a form of marriage ceremony, the chief interest of which lies in the principles concerning marriage which are here enunciated. With Luther marriage was a concern of the secular life, and hence the Church must leave its regulation to the State. But while it belongs to the temporal concerns, it nevertheless was a God-given institution, and hence far more holy and pure than monasticism, which was entirely of human origin. Though it is an affair of the State, the minister may join such in marriage as desire him to do so, and for this purpose he provides the simple ceremony, in which he distinguishes between the true union of the couple, which results from their own promises made in the presence of the proper officials, and the blessing which is pronounced by the minister.

[1] The visitation articles of Saxony (1592), which are of course much later than Luther and Melanchthon, may be seen in Schaff's Creeds of Christendom, iii, 181-189.

[2] Schaff treats with considerable fullness Luther's catechisms and the typical catechisms of Protestantism—vi, 550-557. Comp. also Köstlin for a scholarly and complete account of the Larger and Shorter Catechisms, with their appendices, contents, and doctrinal teachings—ii, 50-65.

[3] This was also published in 1529 (July). It is given in Schaff's Creeds of Christendom in German and English—iii, 74-92.

CHAPTER XIII.

INFLUENCE OF PAPAL AND IMPERIAL POLITICS ON THE REFORMATION IN GERMANY.

THE history of the causes which saved the Reformation in Germany from destruction after the diet of Worms is largely that of the relations of pope and emperor to each other, and of the emperor to his dominions. The immediate execution of the edict of the diet was prevented by the irregular manner in which it was finally promulgated, and by the departure of the emperor from Germany directly upon the close of the diet.

The Council of Regency, with its headquarters at Nuremberg, had charge of imperial affairs, under the presidency of Ferdinand of Austria in the absence of the emperor. The majority of the council favored the execution of the edict, but were prevented by a variety of causes, especially by the fear that any serious antagonism to Luther would result in a new outbreak of the radical element, which Luther alone had been able to suppress.

THE TWO DIETS OF NUREMBERG.

The diet at Nuremberg, in the autumn of 1522, gave the execution of the edict careful consideration. The newly elected pope, Adrian VI, favored immediate proceedings against Luther, and in order to win those who, while they did not approve of Luther's course, yet deeply felt the need of ecclesiastical reform, he confessed through his nuncio the sins of the Church, inclusive of the popes who had preceded him, and the cardinals and bishops, and assured the diet that reforms would at once be undertaken.[1] The diet, however, saw the impossibility of carrying out the wishes of the pope without danger of plunging Germany into civil war. They contented themselves, therefore, with providing that no farther writings adapted to produce religious excitement should be tolerated, and with a demand that within one year a council should be held on German soil for the settlement of religious disputes. Meantime the Gospel might be preached according to the true Christian understanding of the same—a formula so ambiguous as to give the reformatory movement freedom of action.

[1] See the favorable judgment of this pope in Ranke, Die römische Päpste der letzten vier Jahrhunderten, i, 60.

Another diet held in Nuremberg early in 1524 resulted in a recess, which pleased neither the pope, the emperor, nor Luther, although it was in fact most favorable to Luther's cause. Pope Clement VII, who had been chosen the successor of Adrian VI, together with the emperor, demanded emphatically the prompt execution of the edict of Worms.[1] But the diet went no farther than to recognize the validity of the edict, and to agree to enforce it as far as possible. At the same time the diet renewed the demand for a national Church council, and provided, as before, for the preaching of the Gospel according to its true Christian understanding, but added by way of definition that this should be determined by an appeal to generally accepted teachers of the Church.

Luther ought to have been contented with so favorable an issue, but he could not refrain from pointing out the contradiction between the maintenance of the ban against him and the purpose to consider his doctrines at the proposed council. While the conclusions of the diet opened the way for the civil authority to proceed against the heretics wherever they saw fit, it also gave liberty to such princes as Frederick the Wise to leave them unmolested, on the plea that the edict could not be enforced, while the conclusions themselves naturally suggested the postponement of the whole matter until the proposed council had met.

The emperor even went so far as to forbid the calling of the council. Campeggi, the pagal legate, feared that Luther might appear before it, if held, which event he thought would lead to perpetual schism. Duke Ferdinand of Austria, who had his hopes set on becoming king of the Romans, feared lest if such an assembly were held the States might choose another than himself for that dignity. Thus on every hand the States saw their desires thwarted. To remedy their grievances the dangerous plan, afterward fraught with much disaster, of forming leagues for self-help was resorted to. The beginning was made by the Roman Catholics, in accordance with the advice of Campeggi, and under the personal leadership of Ferdinand. Calling the dukes of Bavaria and the majority of the bishops of southern Germany together at Regensburg in June, 1524, he organized a league against the heretics, whose business it was to prevent the reading of Luther's writings, and attendance upon the university at Wittenberg, and at the same time to bring about a

FORMATION OF LEAGUES.

[1] Clement VII was a cousin of Leo X, a man of comparative blamelessness of life, but an Italian who resumed at once the methods of Leo.

reformation in the number of Church festivals and a reduction of ecclesiastical taxes within their territories. This league was met by one composed of the Protestant cities of upper Germany, with the purpose of furthering the preaching of the Gospel in its purity and for mutual help against a compulsory execution of the edict of the diet of Worms.

Had Clement VII been as anxious to suppress the heresy of Luther as he was to protect his own personal interests he might now have had the opportunity; for early in 1525 the emperor, in the battle of Pavia, almost annihilated the French army and took Francis I of France prisoner. The opportunity was thus afforded him, for the first time, to carry out his sincere wish to extirpate the Lutheran errors; and it was his purpose to employ it as soon as he could be crowned.[1] But while the pope's fears led him to form an alliance with Charles V, it also prompted him to do secretly all that lay in his power to undermine him. He even absolved Francis I from the oath which he had taken to refrain henceforth from wars and alliances against the emperor,[2] and he went so far as to form a league, known as the Holy League of Cognac, in which, besides himself, there were included Francis I and the cities of Milan, Florence, and Venice, under the protection of King Henry VIII of England. The ostensible purpose was to maintain a lasting peace among Christian princes. Its real purpose was to oppose the plans of Charles V. That this policy on the part of the pope should bring about a conflict between him and the emperor was natural.[3] The emperor now appealed from the pope to a general council, and began a war against his holiness. But while he was engaged in punishing the pope for his treachery, the cause of the Reformation was enjoying a period of quiet development most necessary to its welfare at this stage of its progress.

LEAGUE OF COGNAC.

Meantime the formation of leagues, offensive and defensive, proceeded. In July, 1525, just subsequent to the terrible scenes of the Peasant War, Duke George of Saxony formed a league for

[1] He intended to return and "root out and extirpate such unchristian, evil, licentious doctrines, and restore and establish the holy Roman empire in unity." See Gieseler, iv, 123, n. 1.

[2] But it must be said to the disgrace of Francis that he took the oath without the slightest intention of keeping it, and only in order to effect his release. Such was his own statement to the notables whom he assembled in the year 1527.—Isambert, Recueil des anc. lois franc., xii, 292.

[3] See Ranke, Deutsche Geschichte im Zeitalter der Reformation, ii, 324.

the eradication of what he conceived to be the root of this evil—that is, of the Peasant War—the Lutheran sect. It included, besides Duke George, the Elector Joachim of Brandenburg, and Herbert of Mayence, and Dukes Erich and Henry of Braunschweig. Elector John and Philip of Hesse had been invited to the meeting. It was supposed that because they had witnessed the excitement and peril of the war they would trace it to Luther and be ready to combine with others against him and his followers, but both declared themselves true to the Reformation.[1]

LEAGUE OF TORGAU.

A glance at the map of Germany at that period will show how narrowly the Reformation escaped the opposition of a league which should cover all northern Germany. The prospect of another diet, in which the Roman Catholic League would be strong, and united in its efforts to execute the edict of Worms, induced a closer union of the Protestant princes, resulting in the so-called League of Torgau. This originally included only Elector John and the Landgrave Philip; but subsequently Dukes Philip, Otho, Ernst, and Francis of Braunschweig-Lüneburg, Henry Duke of Mecklenburg, Wolfgang of Anhalt, Gebhard and Albert Counts of Mansfeld, the city of Magdeburg, and Albert Duke of Prussia.[2] Attempts were also made by the Protestants to form an alliance with Frederick I of Denmark and Gustavus Vasa.[3]

With these leagues, the one for aggression against Luther's errors and the other for the defense of religious liberty, the time approached for the diet of Spires, in June, 1526. Had the pope's League of Cognac not been in existence, the emperor's demands, including the prohibition of all farther modifications of ecclesiastical practices in the interest of Lutheranism, the punishment of all who disregarded the orders of the diet, and the final enforcement of the edict of Worms, together with his yet severer measures, proposed secretly to Ferdinand, might have been car-

[1] Philip's language in reply to Duke George is worthy of quotation: "Your highness writes that the rebellion has risen from Lutheranism; with this I cannot agree. . . . Thus, I have punished no Lutheran with the sword, but wicked, rebellious persons, who do not hold Luther's doctrine. . . . The Gospel, which must now be called Luther's doctrine, teaches no rebellion to the peasants, but peace and obedience to all men. Accordingly, among those people, and in those regions which adhere to the Gospel called Lutheran, there is less rebellion, in some places none at all, than in those which persecute the Gospel."—Rommell, Philipp der Grossmüthige, ii, 85.

[2] See Gieseler for the language of the compact—iv, 124, 125.

[3] Comp. Möller, iii, 65.

ried. True, the cities of Nuremberg, Ulm, and Strasburg boldly declared the impossibility of executing the famous edict. But had the Roman Catholic party not felt that all the time and energies of the emperor must be devoted to the war against the Cognac League, they would probably have ordered all that his majesty required. As it was, the best that could be done was to order that each State should proceed as responsibility to God and the emperor demanded. Once more, also, measures were taken to secure the long-desired general or national council, which was to undertake the peaceable settlement of the disputes.

Although nothing probably was farther from the intention of the diet, this conclusion was understood as granting the right of each territory to adjudicate in ecclesiastical matters according to its pleasure. The Protestant princes held that their responsibility to the emperor would be discharged when they had proved themselves ready to justify their cause from God's word.

Aggravating as this was to the emperor and the Roman Catholics generally, they were powerless to prevent it. Indeed, everything which happened to the Roman Catholic authority, whether of good or of ill fortune, turned out for the furtherance of the Gospel. A national council the emperor would not have ; a general council he could not have so long as his controversy with the pope lasted ; and until his hands were free from the war with the Cognac League he could not lend the influence of his personal presence. Meantime his brother, Ferdinand of Austria, a bitter opponent of the Reformation, was prevented by his good fortune from acting in opposition to the Evangelicals. By the death of Louis, king of Hungary and Bohemia, he became king of those territories. This would have given him a great accession of power, had he been able to wield it, against the Reformation, but his elevation brought with it the responsibility of the war with the Turks. This not only occupied his energies, but made the friendship of the Protestant princes a necessity. He who had formerly proceeded with such bitterness against the Lutherans in his own territories was now obliged for a time to tolerate them in the interest of his personal dominion. His election also secured him the ill-will of the Duke of Bavaria, thus dividing the enemies of the Reformation.[1]

While the political situation thus favored the Protestant cause, the Lutheran princes and theologians were brought to shame and disrepute by a forgery of Otto von Pack, a chancellor of

[1] Möller, iii, 66, 67 ; Gieseler, iv, 127, where see his numerous references.

Duke George of Saxony.[1] He pretended to know of a league between Ferdinand, the Elector of Mayence and Brandenburg, the archbishop of Salzburg, the bishops of Bamberg and Würzburg, George Duke of Saxony, and the dukes of Bavaria, for the alleged purpose of annihilating the principal Protestant States and giving them over to the government of the Roman Catholics. This information he revealed to Philip of Hesse. By the payment of a large sum of money Pack was induced to produce a copy of the agreement, said to have been signed at Breslau. His official position, while it emphasized his treachery to Duke George, at the same time lent color to the truth of the story. The well-known hatred of Ferdinand, Duke George, and others supposed to be a part of the league toward the Reformation also made it appear credible.[2] Pack affirmed its truth in such a manner as to convince Philip, Elector John, and Luther of its genuineness.

PACK'S FORGERY.

Melanchthon regarded it as spurious. But while Luther held John back from the aggressive war which Philip thought necessary under the circumstances, Philip armed his soldiers and appeared upon the borders of the territories of the bishops of Bamberg and Würzburg, and compelled them to pledge themselves to peace, and also to assume the cost of the war. The result of the matter was injurious to the cause of the Reformation, exhibiting an unwonted degree of suspicion in the minds of the reformers and placing them in the attitude of aggressors. That Luther, the real leader of the Reformation, was opposed to war did not quiet the antagonism which the affair aroused. The Reformation had assumed a political aspect which made it responsible for the acts of even the secular authorities.

Nor was it long before a greater danger threatened the cause of the Reformation. The war with the Cognac League was won by the emperor, and now he could turn his attention once more to the religious disputes at home. To the diet convened by him at Spires, in 1529, he proposed, not indeed the unqualified enforcement of the edict of Worms, but severe measures against the farther progress of the Reformation. The diet declared the Protestant interpretation of the edicts of 1526 erroneous, and rendered the recess of that diet invalid. The edict

THE DIET OF SPIRES.

[1] Gieseler thinks it could hardly have been an invention by Pack, but was probably a project drawn up by a counselor of Ferdinand—iv, 130.

[2] For an account of this affair comp. Köstlin, Martin Luther, sein Leben und seine Schriften, ii, 117–120.

of Worms was to be carried out only in the Roman Catholic domains, but the Protestant territories must introduce no farther reforms, and allow the Roman Catholic form of worship to continue unmolested. The efforts of Philip to unite the reformed territories in a secret league, including the Swiss, were prevented by the unfortunate sacramentarian controversy. There were now several leagues of Protestants, but they were divided among themselves on account of the doctrinal issues, instead of uniting against the common foe. The pope and the emperor, on the other hand, had become friends, and the emperor was crowned at Bologna in December, 1529. The emperor and Francis I of France had also been reconciled.

While the Protestants were thus falling apart, the Roman Catholic enemies were being brought together. At about the same time, January 21, 1530, the diet to be held at Augsburg in June of the same year had been convoked.[1]

We confine ourselves to the political significance of this diet. The emperor proposed to have it deal first with the war against the Turks, and afterward with questions of faith. The Reformation had by this time grown to such proportions that both the emperor and pope felt it necessary to proceed in a spirit of conciliation. The emperor now began his efforts for a reunion of the divided Church. After all the reforms introduced by the Lutherans, they still claimed to belong to the Roman Catholic Church. The hopes of the emperor did not therefore seem unfounded. The Protestants succeeded in having the ecclesiastical differences considered first, and their efforts were directed toward a justification of their previous conduct. This harmonized, in spirit at least, with the purpose of the emperor to do away with the ecclesiastical schism and to unite the parties in a harmonious comprehension of Christian truth.

The pugnacious disposition of Eck, who laid before the emperor a bitter attack upon the Protestants of all schools, was at this point the only visible hindrance. The emperor himself made the Apostles' Creed the test as to correctness of doctrines.

Melanchthon strove earnestly to meet the emperor's conciliatory tone by carefully expurgating from the confession which he prepared all unnecessarily harsh expressions, by yielding all that he possibly could, and by omitting all mention of some of the prin-

[1] Luther was not permitted to enter Augsburg, and he was obliged to remain at the Coburg Castle, whence he kept up constant communication with the reformers who were at the diet.

cipal articles of the Protestant faith; but in vain.[1] All efforts at reunion failed, since, however much the reformers yielded, the Roman Catholic theologians still demanded more. Besides, the pope's legate called the attention of Charles to the omission of several points of Protestant belief. This the Protestants would not deny. At length the emperor himself laid a confession before the diet, in which he declared the Protestants to be refuted, and which he required them to accept. This aroused the ire and spirit of independence of the Protestant princes, and proved how foolish had been the attempt of the Protestant theologians to satisfy the Roman Catholic demands.

FUTILE EFFORTS FOR REUNION.

Charles gave the Protestant princes until April 15, 1531, to decide whether they would accept the confession which he had laid before them. Until then he would wait patiently. The recess also reiterated the necessity of a council, and the Protestants were required to combine with the emperor in resistance to the Zwinglians and Anabaptists.

[1] He continued his efforts so long and with so many concessions that the Romanists had good hope of winning him back to their cause.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE SMALCALD LEAGUE.

THE Elector John was displeased with the recess and declined to participate further in the actions of the diet. Philip of Hesse had left the diet in disgust much earlier in the session, and without the imperial permission. Luther, who though enforced to stay at the Castle of Coburg, watched with eagle eye every movement of his foes, was also very indignant at the requirements of the emperor. Hitherto he and the Wittenbergers generally had opposed as unlawful, not to say unchristian, any armed resistance to the emperor; but the Wittenberg jurists had recently ruled that when a judge continues a case after an appeal, or exercises judicial powers not rightfully belonging to him, he may be forcibly resisted. Such, it was claimed, had been the case with the emperor in his dealings with the Protestant States. Thus the legal difficulties in the way of armed resistance were removed.[1]

The expressed purpose of the emperor to secure for his brother Ferdinand the Roman crown met with opposition from both Protestant and Roman Catholic princes, although the necessary number of votes was subsequently secured. The emperor also strengthened the Roman Catholic element in the high court of judicature, and ordered it to proceed against those who had confiscated church property, thus greatly displeasing the Protestant party. These two imperial acts were the immediate cause of the formation of the Smalcald League. Elector John united with the upper German cities in a protest against both of these plans of the emperor as early as December, 1530, at which time also the league was practically created. In spite of the protest Ferdinand was elected king of the Romans on January 5, 1531. This prompted the meeting which resulted in the formal conclusion of the league in February, 1531, including Saxony, Hesse, Braunschweig-Lüneburg, Braunschweig-Grubenhagen, Wolfgang of Anhalt, two Counts of Mansfeld, and the cities of Strasburg, Ulm, Constance, Reutlingen, Memingen, Lindau, Biberach, Isny, Lübeck, Magdeburg, and

FORMATION OF THE LEAGUE.

[1] See Gieseler, iv, 152, n.; Walch, x, 656; Erlangen ed. xxv², 12, 113 f.; Kolde, Martin Luther, ii, 377 ff.

Bremen. The league was to continue six years, and new members might be admitted under proper limitations.[1] The league subsequently formed alliances with the dukes of Bavaria and with France and Denmark.[2]

The strength of this league was such as to render futile all thought of compelling the Protestant States to accept the recess of Augsburg. The reunion of northern and southern Germany in the interest of the Reformation, though with some remaining differences of doctrine, was also brought about. Switzerland, however, was left to stand by itself. But it was agreed that the Germans would not aid the emperor in the violent suppression of the Zwinglian doctrines.

The Turk was again at the gates of the empire, and the emperor was compelled once more to undertake efforts for peace with the Protestants, rather than measures to force upon them the acceptance of the Roman Catholic faith. The pope was also favorable to the attempt to secure the aid of the Smalcald League against the Turks. He even had the Augsburg Confession, which was the official declaration of the faith of the league, examined by certain of his theologians, in the hope that it might be made the basis of a compromise. But such was the consciousness of the league, both as to its power and its right, that it made demands to which neither emperor nor pope could accede. The proposed peace, the Protestants affirmed, must include not only those who were now Protestants, but their future converts as well. All persecution of the Protestants must at once cease. All legal processes against them then before the high court of judicature must be dismissed, and a council must be called in which all questions of faith were to be settled alone according to God's word. That the Catholics could not accept these terms without ruin to their cause in Germany is plain.

The emperor was compelled by force of circumstances to conclude a truce which amounted practically to an edict of toleration. The religious conditions were to remain unchanged until the meeting of a new diet or a council. The Protestants were assured that if they would propose in any case the dismissal of the processes against them in the high court, their plea would be heeded;

[1] All the parties to the league must know of and consent to the admission of the new member.—Möller, iii, 105.

[2] Gieseler, iv, 153; Möller, iii, 107. Kawerau regards the necessity of these foreign alliances as having weakened Germany and as having led to the dogmatic character which distinguished the German Church.

but this was a private arrangement between the emperor and the league, and was not made known to the Roman Catholic princes. This truce was signed and sealed at Nuremberg in July, 1532, from which it has become known as the Religious Peace of Nuremberg. In August following, Elector John the Constant died, and was succeeded by his son, John Frederick the Magnanimous. Through his connection with the league he was to lose his domain, but not until he had done good work for the Protestant cause.

THE RELIGIOUS PEACE OF NUREMBERG.

The emperor could not fulfill his promises with reference to the processes at law, and the league took the matter in its own hands. Nor could he secure the long-desired council. The pope felt that, whatever the council might do, the result would be disunion. If it declared its own superiority to the pope, the division was sure; if the superiority of the pope to the council, the Protestants would be discontented, and the breach then existing would only be widened.[1] While the Roman Catholics were trifling with the Protestants with reference to the conditions upon which a council might be held, Philip of Hesse succeeded in restoring Ulrich to his possessions in Würtemberg and thus in gaining a powerful ally to the Protestant cause. Ulrich had been driven out of his territory by the Suabian League, and his domain bestowed upon Ferdinand. The people of the territory did not like the Austrian rule, and they came more and more to love Ulrich after he had become a Protestant. Philip, supported by French gold, compelled the recognition of Ulrich as rightful ruler. The Smalcald League, on the other hand, dropped its opposition to Ferdinand's election, while Ulrich was to have the right to introduce the Reformation into Würtemberg—a right which he subsequently exercised; but the Sacramentarians—that is, the Anabaptists—were to be excluded.

The death of Clement VII in 1534 brought to the papal throne Paul III, a man who recognized the need of a council, and saw that the only way to exclude heresy was to reform the Church. The emperor, fresh from the triumphs over the Turks, also pressed hard for a council, which was in fact called for May, 1537. But new troubles arose with France, and it became impossible to carry out the original plan. Meantime, however, the Protestants were invited to send representatives. This they declined to do until it was determined whether they were to be cited as heretics or on a par with the Roman Catholic States. When they were

[1] Möller, iii, 109.

peremptorily required to reply whether they would attend the council they answered that no council could be held while the political situation continued as it was; and that, furthermore, they could not become a party to a council over which an unrepentant pope was to act as judge.

This decided stand taken by the Smalcald League resulted in the formation of a "Defensive League" on the part of the Roman Catholics, which was signed in Nuremberg in June, 1538, by the emperor, Ferdinand, the dukes of Bavaria, George of Saxony, Dukes Erich and Henry of Brunswick, Albert of Mayence, and the archbishop of Salzburg.[1] But the refusal of many of the Roman Catholic princes to join the league, his losses during the last war with France, and the danger from the Turks caused the emperor to continue his friendly attitude toward the Protestants. By the good offices of Joachim of Brandenburg and the Count Palatine Louis, a new truce was agreed upon on April 19, 1539, at Frankfort, known as the Religious Peace of Frankfort. This continued fifteen months, and resulted in giving both the emperor and the Protestants an extension of time.

THE RELIGIOUS PEACE OF FRANKFORT.

[1] See Häusser, The Period of the Reformation, p. 186, and Möller, iii, 121, n. 2. The instigator of these proceedings was Vice-Chancellor Held, who had made the demand that the Protestants should attend the proposed council and to whom their refusal was given. He acted in a spirit quite contrary to that of Charles, who, however, did not understand his own mind.

CHAPTER XV.

THE BIGAMOUS MARRIAGE OF PHILIP OF HESSE AND ITS EFFECT ON THE REFORMATION.

THE Smalcald League had been for eight years a tower of strength to the Protestant cause. But it was about to experience one of its darkest days. Philip of Hesse had been its soul, but, it must be confessed, not so much because of any real power which the Gospel had over him as because of his willfulness and a restless love of activity. His one great sin was licentiousness. Though married to a daughter of Duke George of Saxony, by whom he had seven children, he had never loved her. For a long series of years subsequent to his early marriage he had been untrue to his marital vows. But while his adherence to the Protestant faith did not strike deep enough into his nature to correct the sensuality of his character, it did produce in him an uneasy state of conscience. For fifteen years his oft-repeated sin gave him such a sense of unfitness as to keep him during all that period from the Lord's Supper.[1] On the one hand his passion was strong, on the other his conscience smote him with a deep sense of guilt. The blame for his difficulty he attributed to lack of affection for his wife. Had he a wife whom he loved he could avoid his besetting sin. But for a divorce there was no sufficient ground. Was not a bigamous marriage under these circumstances allowable?

PHILIP'S SIN.

Such was the argument as it presented itself to his mind. It is not difficult that one who wishes to justify his sin should find at least a palliation. Philip recalled the fact that several of the Old Testament patriarchs had had a plurality of wives. Nor, he argued, was polygamy directly forbidden in the New Testament, but rather, by implication, permitted to all but the clergy, according to 1 Tim. iii, 2. He had observed several utterances of Luther's which could be warped to suit his purposes. Henry VIII of England had met with serious opposition from the English reformers when he wished to put away Catharine of Aragon and marry Anne Boleyn. All these considerations had intrenched Philip in his opinion that a bigamous marriage was justifiable, and

PHILIP'S DEFENSE.

[1] See his letter to Luther under date of April 5, 1540, and Schaff's incisive note—vi, 581.

even, in his circumstances, righteous. But after his marriage with Margarete of Sala on March 4, 1540, by consent of his wife and the young lady's mother, he discovered that it was greeted with tremendous opposition. He assumed the air of a martyr for the right.[1] The political consequences were serious. Isolated from the Smalcald League, at least in point of sympathy, he made a treaty with the emperor not to form any alliance for himself, nor to consent to such alliance for the Smalcald League, with France or any other foreign power; nor to consent to the reception of William of Cleves, Charles's Protestant neighbor in the Netherlands, into the league. The hope of reliance upon Sweden, Denmark, and France was thus destroyed and the influence of the league greatly reduced.

PHILIP AND BUCER.

But the most painful part of the story remains to be told. When Philip in 1539 became enamoured of Margarete he took Bucer into his confidence. Bucer feared that if the reformed theologians declined to approve the contemplated marriage, Philip would be turned from his adherence to Protestantism. Such an opinion was a practical confession that Philip's connection with the Protestant cause was a mere matter of convenience. But this was injustice to the Landgrave. The event proved that he was affected only in his relation to the league by the attitude of other Protestants. But Bucer's fears overcame his scruples, and if he did not approve, he at least did not oppose Philip's purpose.

When Luther was first approached with reference to the admissibility of a bigamous marriage, he answered that it was not sufficient that God, out of consideration for the weakness of man, had permitted polygamy among his people. In order to justify it in a Christian there was need of explicit divine authority.[2]

LUTHER AND MELANCHTHON COMPLICATED.

But when the political consequences of their positive disapproval came to be considered, both Luther and Melanchthon practically gave their consent.[3] Bigamy, they said, could not be legalized in Christian lands. The original order in creation was monogamy, to which polygamy was in contradiction. In certain cases, however, where conscience demanded, a second and bigamous marriage might be allowable; but it is rather

[1] He said that all who strove to serve God must suffer persecution. See Lenz, Briefwechsel, i, 365.

[2] De Wette, Briefe, iii, 139 f.; vi, 79; and Möller, iii, 131.

[3] Möller, iii, 132; De Wette, v, 238 ff.; Corpus Reformatorum, iii, 863, 1079; and Lauterbach's Tagebuch, p. 197.

a dispensation than a rule, and to be used only in cases of extreme need, and as a lesser evil. By all means, also, such a marriage is to be kept a secret, since it could not be publicly defended. But while it might be permissible in case Philip could not restrain his unchaste passions, it was his duty to make the effort before going any farther. Thus, although with many scruples and cautions, their consent was given.

To the surprise of Luther and Melanchthon, the marriage became known, and, as might have been expected, produced the most intense excitement. Luther advocated a denial of the marriage, but Philip, certain of the virtuousness of his course, refused.[1] That, at the time and since, this unfortunate decision of the principal Wittenberg reformers has been the occasion of scandal, need not be stated. They had not only consented to bigamy, but had reduced the second wife to the position of a mere concubine. It was inexcusable. But the blame lies, not on Protestantism, although the act was performed by Protestants, but on Roman Catholicism, for during all the centuries of their exclusive rule they had not effectually taught any higher ethics than those apparent in the act of Philip and in the decision of Luther and Melanchthon.[2] The reformers were only twenty-two years away from the eventful day when Luther nailed the ninety-five theses on the door of the Castle Church. It was too early for all the refining and sanctifying influences of the Reformation to have become controlling in their lives.

While the double marriage of Philip weakened it did not destroy the league. The gains in other directions had been so rapid and extensive as to compel the emperor to endeavor more zealously than before to bring about a union.[3] A conference held in Hagenau, in January, 1540, from which Melanchthon was detained by illness induced by the trouble which followed Philip's marriage, resulted in nothing but a postponement to autumn, when the conference was to be resumed at Worms. Both the Roman Catholic and Protestant parties were ably represented when the conference met in the fall of 1540, and at first the prospects were good for an issue favorable to the desired reconciliation. But in April, 1541, the emperor opened a diet at Regensburg, whither he ordered the disputants.

CONFERENCE AT HAGENAU.

The personnel of the conference was, however, somewhat changed after the removal. On the Roman side were Pflug, Gropper, and Eck; on the Protestant, Melanchthon, Bucer, and

[1] Lenz, i, 373, 383. [2] Kolde, Martin Luther, ii, 488. [3] See Häusser, 183 f.

Pistorius.[1] The Count Palatine Frederick and the Imperial Counselor Granvella presided. The so-called Ratisbon Interim[2] was made the basis of the discussion. It had been passed from one prince to another, and finally to Luther for his opinion. The first serious dispute occurred on the doctrine of justification. But a final agreement was reached in which the doctrine of justification by faith was asserted, and that of merit denied. Eck consented under protest. Contarini, the papal legate, thought the article was capable of a Roman Catholic construction, and forwarded it to Rome, certain that it would be acceptable there. Expectations ran high that at last the parties would be harmonized. But they were doomed to disappointment. In Rome the doctrine of merit could not be yielded. Luther, on the other hand, called the article a patchwork whose utterances he could accept only on condition that the Roman party would confess having taught contrary thereto in the past.[3]

DIET AT REGENSBURG.

Both parties were suspicious each of the other. The Duke of Bavaria wished to appeal to arms rather than to enter upon peaceable negotiations,[4] and other Roman Catholic civil authorities feared lest the Romanists were being deceived with mere pretenses. The Elector of Saxony had objected from the first because the Augsburg Confession had not been made the basis of the conference.[5] Luther declared that if the Roman Catholics had been in earnest they would have accepted all the articles and not merely the first four, since the last ten naturally followed when these were accepted. Because of this suspicion he declined to join in the efforts of certain Protestant princes to form a union with the Roman Catholics. The conference had failed to meet the emperor's wish. But the Turks were threatening the empire. Help must be had. The diet, therefore, finally reached a conclusion which was favorable to the Protestants, whose assistance the emperor needed at once. The results of the colloquy were to be laid before a universal or national council.

The emperor was to call another diet within eighteen months.

[1] These names, together with the futile efforts at reconciliation, suggested the following witty remark: "Sie pflügen, eggen, graben, putzen, und backen, und richten nichts aus."—Corp. Ref., iv, 335. Quoted by Schaff, vii, 383, n. 5.

[2] That is, a tentative formula upon which the disputing parties might unite for the time. The authorship has been much discussed. See Gieseler, iv, 174; Möller, iii, 128, 129. Luther did not approve the articles, nor did he think they would be approved by the Roman Curia. His judgment proved correct.

[3] De Wette, v, 353 f.

[4] Gieseler, iv, 175, n. 44.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 176, n. 45, where see authorities.

The Protestants were to conform to the articles agreed upon. The Roman prelates were to reform their clergy, while both the religious peace of Nuremberg and the recess of Augsburg were renewed. The emperor personally issued a declaration in which he assured the Protestant clergy that they as well as the Romans should be protected in the matter of revenues; that no one should be forbidden to adopt the Protestant faith; that the Protestants should be represented in the high court of judicature; that the monasteries should be reformed; together with other equally fair promises.[1]

FAVORABLE ISSUE TO PROTESTANTS.

The emperor, in the hope of drawing the Turks away from Austria, started upon a campaign against Algiers, which ended disastrously, in October and November, 1541. A new war with France was anticipated. The war with the Turks made peace with the Protestants a necessity. Peace for five years longer was purchased by the promise of continued assistance on the part of the Protestants against the Eastern foes, at the diet of Spires, in February, 1542. These were years of rapid progress for the Reformation, but they preceded a frightful catastrophe, which previous events had, unforeseen, prepared.

[1] Corpus Reformatorum, iv, 612 ff.; 632 ff. Walch, xvii, 999.

CHAPTER XVI.

GEOGRAPHICAL EXPANSION OF THE REFORMATION IN GERMANY.

THE rapid spread of the new doctrines has been the wonder of all observers.[1] It was not alone because of their truth, for the truth was the same in those countries where it did not prevail. The political conditions were such as to favor the activity of the reformers. But we must also take into account other causes. The chief of these was the prepared condition of the soil for the seed. Then, too, it must be remembered that Luther had no intention of placing himself in antagonism to the Church, nor did he excite such expectation in those whom he converted to his ideas. The doctrines, therefore, were firmly imbedded in the minds and hearts of large masses before it was discerned that the result would be a division of the Church. The art of printing had been discovered just in time to make possible the widest and most rapid diffusion of Luther's writings.[2] All these may be called the providential aids, and one who believes in the power of God in history cannot doubt that Luther was raised up at the appointed time, when all the conditions most favorable to the needed work concurred.

PROVIDENTIAL AIDS.

But besides these causes Luther's personality was such as to make a most powerful impression. He was original in method, aim, and thought; strong in conviction and determined in effort; and, withal, learned and able. He had attracted vast numbers of students before he entered upon his open opposition to ecclesiastical abuses. These he

LUTHER'S PERSONAL INFLUENCE.

[1] At the diet of Spires twenty-four imperial cities were looked upon as religiously disobedient to the emperor; besides, of the princes and other nobility present, Elector John, Philip of Hesse, Margrave George of Brandenburg, Dukes Ernst and Francis of Braunschweig-Lüneburg, Prince Wolfgang of Anhalt, and several other cities and noblemen, openly espoused the Protestant doctrine.—Kolde, Martin Luther, ii, 302.

[2] So potent was the press in the diffusion of the reformed doctrines in France that Francis I, by the advice of the theologians of the Sorbonne, issued an edict forbidding the use of the art of printing in his realm. Berger says that up to 1513 only 90 German works had been printed; in 1519 nearly three times as many. From 1513 to 1517 the number was 527; from 1518 to 1523, 3,113.—Martin Luther, i, 408.

held in the main to his way of thinking, and they became the champions of his cause in almost every land. The early friends of Luther may not be overlooked by one who would understand the marvelous progress of the Reformation in its earliest years. Many of them have been already mentioned. On the whole the Reformation was propagated by the peaceful, and at the same time most powerful, means of the pulpit and the press. Men accepted the Gospel from conviction, not from compulsion ; and the most strenuous endeavors and most cunning intrigues of its enemies could not hold the movement in check.

While the Saxon electorate had become Protestant in the first years of the Reformation, the Saxon dukedom which lay to the south of the electorate remained Roman Catholic until 1539. This was due to the influence of Duke George, who, though not unfavorable to reform, conceived a violent hatred for Luther at the Leipzig disputation. Luther, in return, at first employed the most bitter language concerning him ; although later he made a humiliating attempt to effect a peace.[1] But the important Hessian State was early brought over to the ranks of the Protestants through the influence of the Landgrave Philip, Duke George's son-in-law. He first made the acquaintance of Luther at the diet of Worms in 1521. In 1524, under the instruction of Melanchthon, he came out boldly for the Reformation.[2] When the diet of Spires in 1526 granted the right, according to Protestant interpretation, to each State to order its own religious affairs, Philip took immediate advantage of the supposed permission. In harmony with his promptness of character he allowed but two months to elapse before he had assembled a synod at Homburg, attended by representatives of the clergy, the nobility and the cities.

SAXONY.

Philip had placed the work of introducing the Reformation in the hands of Lambert of Avignon. This eccentric Frenchman proposed to make only those members of the reformed communion who offered themselves as such, and wrought out a complete plan of church organization, which,[3] however, was rejected at the suggestion of Luther. The Reformation was introduced into Braunschweig-Lüneburg by Duke Ernst in 1527. In 1530 the responsibility of introducing the more formal reforms was imposed by him upon Urban Rhegius, who was in turn Romanist, Lutheran, Zwinglian, and moderate Lutheran,[4] yet who wrought effectually

[1] See Köstlin, Martin Luther, ii, 4–6.

[2] Möller, iii, 41.

[3] For details see Köstlin, Martin Luther, ii, 49, f. ; Kolde, Martin Luther, ii, 239 f. ; Möller, iii, 72 ; Schaff, vi, 579–587.

[4] Schaff, vi, 576.

for the Reformation. Still earlier was Prussia in the adoption of reforms. As early as 1523 Luther had exhorted the Teutonic Order,[1] which was the ruling body in Prussia, to do away with their monastic discipline; and at the request of Albert, grand master of the order, he sent a reformed preacher, John Briessmann by name, who preached the Gospel in Königsberg until his death. In 1525 George of Polentz, bishop of Sammland, having been converted to Protestantism, gave up his bishopric, with its secular authority, into the hands of the civil power, and was appointed a sort of evangelical superintendent over his former diocese. This was in May. In July Duke Albert ordered Protestant preaching throughout his domain, while the assembly provided for a new order of church government. Erhard of Queiss followed in the footsteps of George of Polentz in 1527, although he had previously learned to believe in the authority of the word rather than the Church. He died in 1529, but was succeeded by Speratus, an evangelist sent out by Luther. Albert, as civil ruler, regarded himself also the head of the Church.

PRUSSIA.

Outside of Wittenberg, Nuremberg was the earliest to give Luther's ideas cordial reception. Willibald Pirkheimer,[2] although from the Humanistic standpoint and with little profound conviction, materially aided the spread of reformed opinions, not only in Nuremberg, but wherever he was known. Christopher Scheurl, professor of jurisprudence in Wittenberg during Luther's earliest years in that university, had removed to Nuremberg, where he befriended Luther in a variety of ways.[3] Besides these two laymen there were Lazarus Spengler, secretary of the city magistracy, and a man of great influence, Albert Dürer,[4] the celebrated artist, and Hans Sachs, the poet of the

NUREMBERG.

[1] Kolde, Martin Luther, ii, 90–92.

[2] The patrician author of Der abgehobelte Eck (The Planed Corner), a satirical dialogue elicited by Eck's attack upon Luther at the Leipzig disputation.

[3] See Köstlin, i, 94, 144 f.

[4] Dürer was in Antwerp when the news went abroad that Luther had been captured on his return from Worms. In his journal he wrote some pathetic words, a translation of which may be found above, pp. 171, 172. Dürer was justly held in great affection and honor by the people of Nuremberg. His house is still carefully preserved in that city, where also a beautiful monument, begun in 1771 and surmounted since 1840 by his statue in bronze by Rauch, stands to his memory. Pirkheimer and Dürer were warm and fast friends, and the former was largely helpful in the development of the artistic genius of the great painter. Dürer early adopted the doctrine and favored the cause of Luther.

Reformation.[1] This may be regarded as a fair specimen of Sachs's poetic spirit:

"Awake! the dawn is drawing near,
And singing in the hedge I hear,
So wondrous sweet, a nightingale.
Her voice resounds o'er hill and dale,
The night drops toward the Occident,
The day springs from the Orient,
The ruddy glow of early morn
Flushes the clouds, erst black—now torn
By the sun's rays, that, flashing brightly,
Make the moon veil her beams, unsightly
Pallor and dimness now o'erspreading
Her who, while late false radiance shedding,
Did the whole flock of sheep so blind,
That, turning from their shepherd kind
And from the mead where once they fed,
They to the wilderness all sped,
Chasing the beams that them beguiled
Into the forest dark and wild.

"Who is that lovely bird whose strain
Proclaims, The bright day comes amain?
'Tis Doctor Martinus Luther,
An Augustinian brother.
He wakes us from the gloomy night,
In which we erred by pale moonlight.

"Then, Christians, up! where'er ye be.
Quickly forsake the popish waste,
And to our Shepherd Jesus haste.
He a good Shepherd is and kind;
To prove his love he life resigned.
'Tis through him that we have salvation,
He is our only consolation,
Our only hope, our righteousness,
Eternal life and blessedness.
All who upon his name believe,
Say Amen, if ye'd those receive."[2]

Each of these colaborers, especially Sachs, greatly assisted in the diffusion of the reformed doctrines throughout Germany. Among the theologians who supported the Reformation were Winceslaus

[1] See an appreciative and discriminating article on Sachs by President N. W. Clark, in the Methodist Review for September–October, 1895, p. 698 ff. Sachs called Luther "The Wittenberg Nightingale."

[2] This poem is taken from Miss E. Moore's translation of Hagenbach's History of the Reformation, Edinb., 1879.

Link, prior of the Augustinian Convent at Nuremberg and, subsequent to the death of Staupitz, vicar-general of his order; Schleupner, a former pupil of Luther and now pastor of St. Sebaldus; Osiander, the violent controversialist, pastor of St. Lorenz, and John Camerarius, professor of Greek and history in the newly founded college in that city.

BREMEN.

Bremen received the Gospel by the official call of Heinrich von Zütphen (properly Heinrich Möller) to the parish of St. Ansgar in 1522. The magistracy protected him against his clerical superiors, but two years later he sealed his ministry by giving his life as a testimony to the preciousness of the faith that was in him and of the faith he had preached. In 1527 there remained not a church in Bremen which was not manned by a Protestant pastor, while the convents had been transformed into hospitals and schools.[1] Hamburg began about the same time to "inquire concerning the word of God," and the populace withstood the tyranny of the bishops. The preachers of the city one by one confessed their allegiance to the Gospel. The parish desired Bugenhagen, Luther's firm friend and supporter, as their pastor, and in 1528 the magistracy yielded to their demands, thus giving official sanction to the Reformation. Magdeburg had to contend against the opposition of Archbishop Albert of Mayence, but in 1522 Mirisch, formerly prior of the Augustinian Order in Dresden, began to preach the Gospel, maintaining his position alone for two years, when, in 1524, the magistracy called to his aid Nicholas von Amsdorf, as pastor of the Ulrich church, where he introduced the reformed methods of worship. The city was ready to resist with armed force the attempts of the emperor to execute the edict of Worms.

HAMBURG AND MAGDEBURG.

AUGSBURG.

Augsburg had a true promoter of the Lutheran doctrines in Frosch, the prior of the Order of Carmelites. The priests began publicly to take wives. In 1524 Urban Rhegius began his labors, celebrating the Lord's Supper with the assistance of Frosch by distributing both wine and bread to the communicants.

STRASBURG AND ESSLINGEN.

The populace of Strasburg had been completely won to the Reformation as early as 1523 by the efforts of Zell, to whose aid came Bucer and Capito. Ulm called Konrad Sam in 1524 as its first regular Protestant pastor. Esslingen was influenced for the Reformation by its representative at the diet of Worms, who returned a Lutheran convert, Michael

[1] Köstlin, i, 649; Schaff, vi, 574 f.

Stiefel,[1] an Augustinian monk, and a champion of Luther's cause, was driven from the city by the efforts of the Suabian League under the Austrian rule in Würtemberg. Nevertheless, the movement maintained itself, though with much difficulty. In Suabian Hall, Wimpffen, and Worms also, the new doctrines took early hold upon the masses, who were, as in all the cities, the chief though inconspicuous, supporters of the reformed movement. In eastern Germany Breslau was one of the principal cities of the Reformation. Lutheran preaching was afforded the monks of one of the cloisters as early as 1520, and so great was the favor with which the populace looked upon the Lutheran views that the clergy feared an uprising against them in 1522. The magistracy called John Hess in 1523 to a pastorate, and after a disputation, in which he was the chief represesentative of the Protestants, ordered all preachers henceforth to proclaim the true doctrine as found in God's word, regardless of tradition and the fathers. Duke Charles of Münsterberg and Duke of Liegnitz urged on the fight against Rome and protected the Protestant preachers, thus affording in a large portion of Silesia a good opportunity for the growth of the Reformation. Here it was also that much of the activity of Kaspar Schwenkfeld of Ossig was so fruitful. In the Duchy of Mecklenburg Dukes Henry and Albert requested Luther in 1524 to send evangelists into their territories. In response two Augustinian monks were designated, but secretly, since the dukes would not publicly espouse the cause. The effect of the restoration of Ulrich of Würtemberg to his possessions has been already mentioned.

EASTERN GERMANY.

In Frankish Brandenburg, where Dukes Casimir and George ruled, the movement took early root, but was prevented by Casimir from bringing forth fruit. Upon his death, however, George became ruler of the entire realm, and immediately introduced the Reformation, following the church order of

BRANDENBURG.

[1] Stiefel was an eccentric man, who was capable of writing verse, of which the following is a specimen :

"Nun grüss ich dich von Herzen,
Du edles Wittenberg!
Viel Frommer litten Schmerzen,
Dir ging es überzwerg"—

which Miss Moore (in Hagenbach) translates as follows :

"Brave Wittenberg! a greeting
Now sends to thee my heart,
Pangs all the saints were meeting,
But thine the bitterest part."

Nuremberg.[1] In the electorate of Brandenburg, on the other hand, Elector Joachim persecuted even his own wife Elizabeth, niece of John of Saxony. In 1528 she had received the sacrament in both kinds. The anger of Joachim was terrible when he learned the fact. He hesitated whether to divorce or to kill her.[2] Elizabeth fled to her uncle at Torgau. Every act of Luther in reference to the matter only intensified the hate which Joachim felt toward him.[3] Upon the death of the elector, in 1535, his son Joachim II was expected to turn the electorate over to Protestantism. But a variety of considerations held him back from so aggressive an attitude.[4] Nevertheless he was not unfavorable to the reformed ideas, and his brother John, who inherited the New Mark, yielded his adherence for himself and territory to the Protestant doctrines. Gradually the new elector followed his deepest convictions, and in 1539 practically transformed the doctrines and worship of the electorate from the Roman Catholic to the Protestant. But he continued to hold a sort of middle position, which may have been beneficial to the interests of peace. In the same year the long contest with the Duchy of Saxony was ended by the death of George and the efforts of his brother Heinrich the Pious, who had fallen heir to the dukedom. Thus was won for the Reformation, not only an important territory, including such cities as Leipzig and Dresden, but the great university in the former city.[5]

While thus, by the year 1539, so large a portion of Germany had been brought over to the Reformation, several of the territories not only declined to adopt it but persecuted its representatives. Many were the confessors and martyrs for the Protestant faith on German soil. Heinrich von Zütphen had been burned at the stake in 1524.

MORE MARTYRS.

In 1527 George Winckler, who had been cited to Aschaffenburg to answer for having administered communion in both kinds, was assassinated by unknown hands on his return to Halle. Luther with a good degree of probability laid at the door of Albert of Mayence at least a connivance at the deed. In Bavaria, George Wagner was burned at Munich and Leonard Kaiser

[1] Köstlin, ii, 114 f. [2] Kolde, ii, 293. [3] *Ibid.*, ii, 296, 297.

[4] His father, Joachim I, had required him to take an oath to maintain the ceremonies of the Church and to remain obedient to the pope. He was also the son-in-law of Sigismund of Poland, a stanch Roman Catholic, and was influenced by political considerations. See Kolde, ii, 478.

[5] For the details of the bitter controversy between Duke George and Luther see Köstlin and Kolde.

at Passau during the year 1527.[1] In Austria, Caspar Tauber was beheaded in 1524 as a punishment for the rejection of the doctrine of purgatory and transubstantiation. This was at Vienna. His body was afterward burned.[2] It is to the credit of George of Saxony that he never shed the blood of heretics on account of their errors. Louis, king of Hungary and Bohemia, was also one of the persecutors of the faith. A bookseller of Pesth was burned with his books in 1524. But the most significant German territories from which the Gospel was excluded have now been mentioned. Religious convictions had worked together with time and death to introduce the Reformation into all those parts of Germany which constitute the most important States of the present empire.[3]

[1] Bavaria was one of the strongholds of the papacy through the efforts of the dukes, whom the pope had bound to himself by the grant of important rights. —Köstlin, i, 651.

[2] Ferdinand persecuted whenever and wherever he could. His animosity was held in check at times by his political necessities.

[3] For an extended and interesting account of the earliest spread of the Lutheran doctrine see Hagenbach's History of the Reformation, Miss Moore's translation, i, 195–218.

CHAPTER XVII.

CLOSING DAYS OF THE REFORMATION IN GERMANY.

We turn to the closing scenes in the cradle of the Reformation. Even after the disgraceful marriage of the Landgrave Philip the Reformation continued to spread. Regensburg became Protestant. The election of Julius von Pflug, a zealous Romanist, to the vacant bishopric of Naumburg, the Elector John refused to confirm. Nicholaus von Amsdorf was consecrated by Luther for the place. In 1542 the Reformation was introduced into the Duchy of Braunschweig, after a war of Elector John Frederick and Philip with Duke Henry. About the same time Protestant ideas prevailed in Hildesheim. The Palgrave Otto Henry of Neuburg introduced the Reformation, in a modified form, into his territories, in June, 1542. He was a brother-in-law of the dukes of Bavaria, who had been requested to admit the Protestant form of worship, while a similar demand had been made of King Ferdinand himself in Austria.

CONTINUED PROGRESS OF PROTESTANT DOCTRINES.

For a long time the Reformation had been progressing in Metz. Count Hermann of Wied, archbishop and elector of Cologne, encouraged by Duke William of Cleves, within whose territory Cologne was situated, became an adherent of the Reformation.[1] His example was followed by Count Francis of Waldeck, bishop of Münster, Minden and Osnabrück, while Duke Maurice of Saxony turned the bishopric of Merseburg over to the Protestants by the appointment of Prince George of Anhalt as bishop and Augustus of Saxony as secular administrator.

Everything seemed favorable to the progress of the Protestant cause so far as its growth upon the convictions of the people was concerned. Not so in its political aspects. A variety of causes conspired to reduce the power and effectiveness of the Smalcald League. The cities complained against the electors. Maurice, duke, and John Frederick, elector of Saxony, fell into controversy. As early as 1542 the former was so discontented that he withdrew

[1] The act was very displeasing to the Roman Catholics, and the constitution, written by Bucer under consultation with Melanchthon, failed to satisfy Luther because it was silent on the presence of the body and blood of Christ in the elements.

from the league. The treaty of Philip with the emperor made the accession of William of Cleves to the league impossible. It was in 1544 that Luther reopened the eucharistic controversy with the Swiss. About the same time the emperor, assisted by England, conquered Francis I, at Crespy, on September 14, 1544, and Francis pledged himself not to give the Protestant princes in Germany any farther help, while the pope called the long-wished-for council for March 15, 1545.

Under such circumstances the gains of the Protestants were of slight political value. The Elector Frederick II of the Palatinate began the work of reform, and even Sebastian von Heusenstamm, successor of Cardinal Albert of Mayence, seemed inclined to follow the example of Hermann of Cologne. But the former did not join the league. William of Cleves, left without the assistance of the league, was overpowered by the emperor and compelled to undo all his new ecclesiastical arrangements and come to the aid of the emperor; while Hermann, denounced to pope and emperor by the cathedral chapter, received no help from the league. The emperor busied himself with pretended efforts at reunion, but it was in reality only that he might gain time in which to strike a more fatal blow at the Protestants, whose help he just now, as in times past, needed. Charles was doing his best to destroy the Reformation, but he was too slow for the pope.

ADVERSE POLITICAL CONDITIONS.

The Protestants looked forward with concern to the approaching council, where they could scarcely hope for any but unfair treatment. The emperor pretended to have no thought of violence in dealing with the religious conditions, but meantime he had made all his arrangements to proceed against the Protestants with an armed force. He was in fact greatly displeased because the pope insisted upon dealing with the errors of the Protestants before taking up the reforms to be introduced into the Church. Hence he called a colloquy at Regensburg, but the Romanists were bound by the actions of the council, and in March, 1546, the Protestant visitors forsook the colloquy. A political storm was gathering over the Reformation.

But Luther was to be mercifully spared from witnessing its devastations. It is a singular coincidence that he should have died in Eisleben, where he was born. The place had been but the temporary home of his parents, and Luther was there in these last days to assist the counts of Mansfeld in compromising a difficulty into which they had fallen among themselves.

LUTHER'S LAST DAYS.

His last years had been marked by personal affliction of body and of mind. The severity of his labors and of the strife with the Roman Catholic foe had been increased by divisions among the Protestants, and even among his own party. Under these afflictions he had grown impatient and pessimistic. He thought all the signs of the times pointed to a speedy end of the world. But the baseless slanders invented and circulated by Roman Catholics concerning his death only prove how impossible it is for his maligners to see the plainest truth.

The dreadful story of the Smalcald war is soon told. The emperor, when forced to make known his purpose to go to war with the Smalcald League, protested that it was not for the purpose of destroying the Reformation, but of punishing the political sins of the Protestant princes. The pope, not caring for Charles's reputation for truth, called upon all the Roman Catholic powers to aid the emperor. He himself furnished troops and money, and provided the sinews of war out of the Spanish ecclesiastical incomes. This papal interest could have but one explanation. But jealousy, ambition, and promises by the emperor combined gave the latter the powerful aid of Maurice of Saxony. To him was promised the electorate when John Frederick should be duly humbled.

Erich of Braunschweig and the Margrave Albert of Brandenburg allied themselves with the emperor against their brethren in the faith. John of Küstrin became his commander of horse. The unexpected announcement of the pope, referred to above, disclosed the true animus of the coming war, and the League prepared to strike before the emperor could get ready. Had they been decided and prompt in their action they might have won in the struggle. While the league council was delaying Maurice fell upon the Saxon electorate, and John Frederick was obliged to give his attention to the protection of his own domains. In April, 1547, the emperor surprised the elector, and in the battle of Mühlberg, on April 24, made him an imperial prisoner. The capitulation at Wittenberg provided that the electorate should go to Maurice, together with half the electoral territory. The war was continued by Philip for a time, but vainly. He was compelled to submit, and was taken prisoner. Of all Protestant Germany the only portion which remained unconquered was Magdeburg.

THE SMALCALD WAR.

Had the pope now been true to his treaty with Charles, the Reformation would undoubtedly have been annihilated in Germany. But jealousy caused him to remove the council from Trent to Bo-

logna, where the influence of the emperor could not be too great. He had also withdrawn his troops in January, 1547, in the midst of the war. All these things both angered Charles and taught him that he must depend upon himself for the regulation of the religious affairs of Germany; but chiefly they restrained him from a violent suppression of Protestantism. In order to aid his purposes he had Pflug prepare an interim, which was ruinous to Protestantism, but which made some slight concessions to the Protestants.[1]

This was adopted into the recess of the diet of Augsburg, 1548. The Roman Catholic clergy and princes wanted the interim to apply only to Protestant lands. The Protestants were discontented with its severity. The pope was unwilling to sanction it, because this would recognize the right of the emperor to interfere in religious concerns.[2] The struggle between emperor and pope became so bitter that the latter advised Henry II of France to join with the German Protestant princes against Charles, while Charles threatened to appeal to the council against the pope, and even to bring about a schism. Finally the pontiff sent legates to Germany to introduce the new religious and ecclesiastical order, and in 1551 opened the council once more in Trent. Meanwhile the Leipzig interim was adopted in Saxony, but its contents, though more favorable to Lutheranism than that of Augsburg, were most objectionable to the strict Lutherans, and because it had been prepared by Melanchthon led to a division among the German Reformers themselves.[3]

STRUGGLE BETWEEN POPE AND EMPEROR.

The almost tyrannical conduct of Charles, whose successes had been practically uninterrupted, produced a reaction against him, even among Roman Catholic princes. Henry II of France joined with Maurice, who was angered at the treatment his father-in-law, Philip of Hesse,[4] had received at the hands of the emperor, in a

[1] See its twenty-six articles in Gieseler, iv, 194–196.

[2] It was much satirized by the wits of the time. The following is a specimen:

"Hüt' dich vor dem Interim,
Es lauert ein Schalk hinter ihm."
(Of the Interim beware,
For a knave is hiding there.)

See Hagenbach, ii, 282, and Möller, iii, 144.

[3] The terms of the Leipzig Interim are given by Gieseler, iv, 201–203.

[4] The dispute between Maurice and the emperor turned on the word that was used in reference to Philip's imprisonment in the treaty which closed the Smalcald war. Maurice claimed that Philip was to be spared *einige* (any) imprisonment; the emperor, that he had promised that Philip's imprisonment should not be *ewiger* (perpetual).

campaign against his majesty. Ferdinand was estranged from his brother because he proposed his own son, rather than Ferdinand's, as successor on the imperial throne. By the activity or connivance of all these enemies of Charles his power was broken. The so-called treaty of Passau resulted, according to which there were to be mutual amnesty and a truce until the next diet should decide how the schism might be healed. This was in 1552. On every side the demand now was for a peaceful solution. Charles was disinclined to this for reasons of conscience, but at length he turned the whole matter over to Ferdinand. In 1555 a diet, under the presidency of Ferdinand, assembled in Augsburg. A league of sixteen princes of Protestantism, according to which the Augsburg Confession was to be maintained at all hazards, was formed. This made immediate decision a necessity. The outcome was the Religious Peace of Augsburg, according to which the questions of religion should be left to the rulers of each territory.[1] On the whole it was very favorable to the Protestant cause. It was a practical recognition of the rights of the evangelicals. The pope was angry, but the Reformation had triumphed.

RELIGIOUS PEACE OF AUGSBURG.

[1] Important selections from the original in Gieseler, iv, 207, 208. On pp. 208, 209, he gives the conditions of the *Reservatum ecclesiasticum;* that is, the provision that prelates who might go over to Protestantism should lose their secular rulership.

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7. Bevan, Frances. William Farel. 4th ed. Lond., 1893. See Stähelin's revision of Herzog's art. in Hauck's ed. of the Realencyclopädie (1898), v, 762–767.

VIRET.

1. Jaquemot. Viret, reformateur de Lausanne. Strasb., 1856.
2. Carl. Pierre Viret, le reformateur Vaudois. Lausanne, 1864.
3. Godet, T. Viret. Lausanne, 1892. See Chenevière and Schmidt, under Farel, above.

CHAPTER XVIII.

BEGINNINGS OF THE REFORMATION IN GERMAN SWITZERLAND —ZWINGLI.

Ulrich Zwingli[1] was to the German Swiss Reformation what Luther was to the Reformation in Germany. He was the third son of Ulrich and Margaretha Zwingli, and was born on January 1, 1484, but a few weeks later than Luther. His parents, like Luther's, were peasants; but Zwingli's father was a magistrate, and well-to-do.

Wildhaus, the place of Zwingli's nativity, is situated in the upper Toggenburg, a part of what is now the canton of St. Gallen. It is a very beautiful valley, situated high up in the mountains. Most of the inhabitants were shepherds. As spring advanced, the flocks were driven higher and higher up the mountain sides, where they were shepherded by the elder portion of the population. On Sundays it was customary for the younger people who had remained at home during the week to go to these hilltops and spend the day with their elders. Upon the approach of winter the flocks were again brought down into the valley. In this way both the elder and the younger people lived much out of doors, and habitually feasted their eyes on the most beautiful scenes in summer and the most glorious spectacles of ice and snow in the winter. The mountain peaks towered high on every side, and must have impressed every susceptible soul with their grandeur. Those who knew Zwingli best believed that he was greatly influenced by his early surroundings, and especially by the rugged character of the country in which he was brought up.[2]

ZWINGLI'S BOYHOOD.

[1] Vilmar says that Zwingli's Christian name was Ulrich, not Huldreich nor Huldrich, although the form Huldreich was preferred by him; and that wherever he is mentioned by his contemporaries, within or without Switzerland, he is never called anything but Master Ulrich or Master Uli. He also says that in Vienna he matriculated under the name Cogentius. See his Luther, Melanchthon, and Zwingli, p. 92, n. According to Möller his name appears in the list of matriculants of Basel University, May 1, 1502, as Udalricus Zwyngling—iii, 45, n. 3.

[2] Christoffel quotes Oswald Myconius as saying: "I have often thought . . . that from these sublime heights, which stretch up toward heaven, he has taken something heavenly and divine"—p. 3. So also Mörikofer, i, 4.

Zwingli's uncle on his father's side, Bartholomaus Zwingli, was the priest in charge of the church in Wesen, only a little distance from the town where Zwingli was born. His uncle on his mother's side, John Meili, was also a priest, and afterward abbot of Fischingen, in Torgau. It was the wish of these uncles that young Zwingli should be educated for the priesthood, and, in consequence, his father determined to give him the best education which the times could afford. He was first sent to Wesen to live in the home of his uncle Bartholomaus. Here he went to the public school, and quickly learned all that was there taught. He was next sent to Basel, to the school of George Binzli, a friend of Bartholomaus, and a very learned man. It was but a short time until Ulrich had mastered everything that Binzli could teach him, and he was then sent to Berne, where the learned Lupulus was teaching Greek and Latin with great enthusiasm to multitudes of students. But although Zwingli was a student under this great teacher of both languages, he pursued the Latin only. Here also he proved himself a very bright student, and it was not long until he began to attract the attention of the people of the place.

ZWINGLI'S EARLY EDUCATION.

The Dominican monks, always on the lookout for recruits to their number, saw the bright promise of the youth, and undertook to secure him for their order. They offered him a home in the cloister, and actually induced him to reside among them for a time;[1] but when his father and uncle heard of it, they, fearing he might become a monk, induced him to leave Basel, and sent him to Vienna, where the university, under the patronage of Maximilian I, had recently risen to great distinction. It has been asserted that here he made the acquaintance of a number of men who afterward figured as his friends or foes in the great work to which God called him in his subsequent life, among them the famous Eck. Others, with better reason, dispute the statement.[2] However this may be, it is certain that he there came directly under the influence of Humanism, which he pursued with great enthusiasm. This prepared the way for the thoughts and opinions which he was to promulgate, and afforded the knowledge that was finally to lead him away from the Roman Catholic Church into a work second only to that which Martin Luther himself performed.

ZWINGLI AT VIENNA.

[1] Christoffel, pp. 5, 6.

[2] Christoffel asserts—p. 6; Schaff, appealing to Horawitz, Der Humanismus in Wien (1883), denies—vii, 23, n. 2.

For some reason his father called him from Vienna in 1502, when he was eighteen years of age, after which he spent some time at home. His desire for knowledge, however, soon led him to Basel again, where he taught in the school of St. Martin and also studied in the university. It was at this time that he came under the influence of the celebrated Thomas Wyttenbach, who was not only a great scholar in the Greek and Latin languages, but combined with love of learning a love for the Holy Scriptures, and knew how to bring out their depths of meaning in lively contrast with the dry scholastic theology which had prevailed during the Middle Ages, and which even yet exercised a controlling influence in theology. Wyttenbach was undoubtedly to him what Staupitz was to Luther, only that while Staupitz gave comfort to the distressed and anxious feelings of the German monk, and pointed out to him the way of personal satisfaction in Jesus Christ, Wyttenbach performed no such task for the Swiss student, who was not deeply troubled on account of his sins. Zwingli approached the doctrines which he afterward taught, not under the promptings of a conscious personal need, but rather from the standpoint of a literary man. It was his Humanistic studies that led him, step by step, away from the doctrines and practices of the Roman Catholic Church. While he was at the university in Basel the second time he became master of arts, which was the highest title to which he ever attained. Even of this he was not careful to claim the honors.[1] He used to say that one was our Master, even Christ, and consequently it mattered little to him whether or not he should be called Master Ulrich.

ZWINGLI'S SECOND RESIDENCE AT BASEL.

In 1506, being now twenty-two years of age, and having been ordained by the bishop of Constance, he became pastor of the church in Glarus, not far from his boyhood home. He had been unanimously chosen by the people; but the pope had a favorite upon whom he wished to confer the benefits of that position, and although the parish refused to accept the papal candidate, Zwingli was obliged to pay to his rival a considerable sum of money for the privilege of enjoying the living to which he had been regularly called.[2] This was one of the first instances in which Zwingli experienced the power and corruption of the Roman Catholic Church. During this period it was that he first studied Greek, which it is said he learned in one year. It is also stated that he soon became so familiar with the language that for purposes of reading it was as available as his mother tongue. He

PASTOR AT GLARUS.

[1] Christoffel, p. 8. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 9, and Schaff, vii, 24.

entered upon this study in order that he might the more readily reach the original word of God, which was growing constantly in his esteem, and whose teachings he was learning more and more to appreciate, chiefly, however, from the Erasmian, that is to say, the Humanistic standpoint.

ZWINGLI'S MILITARY EXPERIENCE.

During his stay of ten years in Glarus he was an ardent champion of the pope's cause, favoring the employment of the Swiss mercenaries in the interests of the pope rather than of the French; and in at least two campaigns of the former against the latter he accompanied the mercenaries, witnessing several important battles. His duties, however, were those of a chaplain, not of a regular soldier; yet it is said of him that he displayed his courage by the risks he took in the cause for which the soldiers whom he accompanied fought. He afterward regretted his connection with these military expeditions, not because he was opposed to military life, but because it had been in the interest of the pope, and because he had begun to see the great evil which came to the Swiss people by hiring out their soldiers to a foreign commander.[1] But while he himself regretted them there can be no doubt that in these early expeditions he saw the Roman Catholic Church as he could not have seen it had he remained in his native land. In one of these Italian campaigns he found a mass book which otherwise would have remained hidden from his sight, and by which he was convinced that the Church of his day was not the Church of the times of the early disciples and the immediately subsequent centuries.[2]

At his entrance upon the work of the priesthood in Glarus he, like Luther, entertained very high ideals.[3] He trembled at the

[1] Christoffel gives an extensive extract from his argument, the points of which are as follows: The first and great danger was that they would bring down upon themselves the wrath of God because of the practice of the cruelties of war as a mere means of gain. The second danger was that justice between man and man would be hindered by hiring out soldiers to help forward unjust wars. The third danger was that with foreign money and foreign wars the manners of the Swiss people would become corrupted and debased. The fourth danger was that the gifts of the foreign lords would breed hatred and distrust among the Swiss. The cure of these evils was abstinence from selfishness—pp. 42–49.

[2] Luther appears to have made in Milan a similar discovery with reference to the method of celebrating mass.—Köstlin, Martin Luther, i, 106.

[3] He said: "I will be true and upright before God in every situation in life in which the hand of the Lord may place me." "Hypocrisy and lying are worse than stealing. Man is by nothing brought so much to resemble God as by truth."—Christoffel, p. 10.

thought of the responsibility that had been placed upon him. His innate love of truth prompted him to resolve that he would never depart from it, and that his life should always correspond to his highest conception of what a Christian and priest of God ought to be. But, though he had these high ideals before him, truth compels the admission that in some respects he fell far beneath them. The country was full of corruption; the morals of the people, especially in reference to sins of the flesh, were at the lowest conceivable ebb. The marriage vow was lightly esteemed. The priests, generally, lived in open or concealed concubinage. They must not marry, but they might have children. The disgrace was not in being fathers but in being husbands. In his inmost soul Zwingli revolted from such corruption as this, and believed that the true course for the priests was to enter the married state, considering this far better for their morals and more conducive to the purity of the Church and its individual members. But he could find no encouragement, and even when later he, with several others, sent an appeal to the diet of Switzerland for the right of the clergy to marry, he was refused.[1] Zwingli was not strong enough to stem the tide of temptation that surrounded him on every hand, and painfully we must admit, as he himself admits, that he fell into gross sin.[2] How long he continued, or to what extent it was carried, it is impossible for us to say. In confessing the fact he makes light of it, comparatively, excusing himself on the ground that in the grosser forms of sin he had never indulged.[3] When judging him we must remember the times in which he lived; and while the standard of morals never changes, man's conception of it varies, and we must judge men, at least in part, by the prevailing ethical sentiment, and not alone by the unchanging standard. So much at least is true, that he was no worse than thousands of others about him; and it is also true that he repented and strove to overcome his sin, whereas others indulged themselves without remorse. Roman Catholic writers, especially in recent times, have exaggerated his fault, and the exact facts

HIGH IDEAL NOT MAINTAINED.

[1] This petition was written in July, 1522, although he had been previously married in secret. Among the signers were Leo Juda and John Faber.

[2] For particulars see Schaff, vii, 27–30, and Christoffel, pp. 12, 13. Zwingli and the others confessed "das unehrbar schändlich Leben, welches wir leider bisher geführt haben . . . mit Frauen."

[3] He denies that he had ever dishonored a married woman, a virgin, or a nun ("ea ratio nobis perpetuo fuit, nec alienum thorum conscendere, nec virginem vitiare, nec Deo dicatam profanare"). See the entire letter by him on this subject, under date December 3, 1518, in his works, vii, 54–57.

should be known, that the base slanders against him may be refuted.[1]

ZWINGLI AT EINSIEDELN.

While here he took such a decided interest in the pope's cause that many of the French party became his enemies, and it was necessary for him to leave Glarus. Supplying his place with a vicar, he removed to Einsiedeln in 1516, where he remained for two years, during which time, in accordance with the desire of the parish, he drew the salary of the Glarus church.

Einsiedeln was a popular resort for pilgrims. The abbey there had among its treasures a black image of the Virgin Mary, which was said to have fallen from heaven, and which was visited annually by scores of thousands, that they might have healing miracles wrought upon them. Even to this day the image is supposed to work wonders. Residence there gave Zwingli abundant opportunity to see the corruption of the Church in this particular, and he did not hesitate to denounce it.

INDULGENCES IN SWITZERLAND.

During these two years Bernhardin Samson, a seller of indulgences, was making his way through Switzerland, and approached the neighborhood of Einsiedeln. Zwingli denounced the sale as unscriptural and unprincipled, and some have therefore supposed that his reformation began as early as Luther's, and on the same grounds. But the case of Zwingli was not parallel to that of Luther. He preached against indulgences, and opposed them with argument. But his success was due to the bishop of Constance, who desired a monopoly of the sale in his own diocese. There was no nailing of theses to church doors, no excitement throughout the country, and no crisis. In fact, the genial Swiss was developed into a reformer without a crisis of any kind. There was simply a gradual emancipation from the corruptions of the Roman Catholic Church, until, almost unknown to himself, he had become its mighty opponent.

[1] Janssen assails the character of Zwingli in a manner little adapted to leave the impression of historical fairness which he so much professed to cherish. From the petition for the right to marry, which was written in 1522, Janssen infers that from the time of his fall in Glarus to 1522 Zwingli had been practicing this sin, and would even make his married life prior to its public announcement an unchaste intercourse.—Geschichte des deutschen Volkes, iii, 83 ff. Unratified secret marriages were very common in those days, and were regarded as altogether honorable. See Mörikofer, i, 211. The principal modern literature of the subject is found in Janssen's Geschichte, his An meine Kritiker, 1883, and his Ein zweites Wort an meine Kritiker, 1883, with the answers by Ebrard in his Janssen und die Reformation, 1882, and Usteri, Ulrich Zwingli, 1883.

CHAPTER XIX.

LABORS OF ZWINGLI AT ZURICH—THE BEGINNINGS OF REFORM.

After two years in Einsiedeln, Zwingli was called to the great minster church in Zurich, where he began his labors on January 1, 1519, the day upon which he entered his thirty-sixth year. This was on Saturday. The next day he began a series of sermons from the gospel according to Matthew, breaking away thereby from the regularly appointed Scriptures employed for sermons in the Roman Catholic Church, and taking up a line of work peculiarly his own.

In the course of the next four years he preached on the entire New Testament, with the exception of the book of Revelation, which he did not accept as canonical. He had hardly entered on the work in Zurich when a pestilence broke out which carried away twenty-five hundred of the population, or one third of the entire number of inhabitants in the city at that time. Zwingli had been growing in popularity for many years. The people of Zurich had heard him preach at Einsiedeln when they went there on their pilgrimages, and it was on this account that they called the eloquent young priest to the minster church. His work as pastor in Zurich also had given him great popularity, and when, having been away from the city for some little time in order to enjoy a brief opportunity for recuperation, and having learned that a pestilence had broken out, he returned to the city and at once entered on the work of caring for the bodies and souls of those who were afflicted, his influence over the masses became almost unlimited. He finally yielded to the pestilence and was taken seriously ill. After he recovered he wrote a series of three poems, entitled: "The Beginning of the Sickness," "In the Midst of the Sickness," and "The Recovery from the Sickness."[1] It has been thought by some that it was during the pes-

ZWINGLI PREACHES ON NEW TESTAMENT.

[1] The following translation is taken from d'Aubigné's History of the Reformation. The English affords a fair conception of the spirit of the poems:

"THE BEGINNING OF THE SICKNESS.

"Lo, at the door
I hear death's knock;
Shield me, O Lord,
My strength and rock.

tilence that he himself became so deeply pious; and in fact there are those who say that it was during this time he met with a very sudden change of heart. But, unlike Luther, he never experienced any sudden change, and he never passed through any great struggle like that of Luther. His life had not been as pure as Luther's, but he never had the consciousness of sin that Luther had. Instead of a crisis bringing him out into a pure life, his spiritual and moral nature was gradually developed. Nevertheless, we must suppose, as we read these poems, that he did receive an impetus toward holy living arising from gratitude on account of his recovery.

His real work of reformation did not begin until 1522. Some, indeed, affirm that it began fully as early as Luther's. Others claimed at that time, and have claimed since, that he was

"The hand once nailed
Upon the tree,
Jesus uplift—
And shelter me.

"Willest thou, then,
Death conquer me
In my noonday?
So let it be!

"O, may I die,
Since I am thine;
Thy home is made
For faith like mine."

"IN THE MIDST OF THE SICKNESS.

"My pains increase;
Lord, stand thou near.
Body and soul
Dissolve with fear.

"Now death is near,
My tongue is dumb;
Fight for me, Lord,
Mine hour is come!

"See, Satan's net
Is o'er me tost—
I feel his hand;
Must I be lost?

"His shafts, his voice,
Alarm no more;
For here I lie
Thy cross before."

dependent upon Luther for his ideas.[1] Zwingli always regarded the beginnings of his reformatory work as original, and said that even before Luther was mentioned in Switzerland he had been preaching these doctrines of free grace in opposition to the authority of the Roman Catholic Church. We must admit that Zwingli started on his work from an entirely different standpoint from that of Luther. Therefore he did not need the great German reformer to assist him to begin. But we must also believe, from the fact that he read and recommended Luther's works, that he was powerfully influenced and greatly strengthened by the support which he found for his own ideas in the works of his colaborer in Germany.[2]

BEGINNING OF SWISS REFORMATION.

During the Lenten season of 1522 he preached a series of sermons in which he denounced the habit of fasting as unscriptural and as based only upon human authority. This called forth a protest on the part of those who slavishly followed all the regulations of the Roman Catholic Church. It was in the same year that he joined with ten other priests in requesting of the diet of Switzerland the right of marriage for the clergy. For this also he was denounced. In reply to his assailants he wrote the work entitled Archeteles (The Beginning and the End), in which he undertook to prove that the Bible is the final resort in matters of

"THE RECOVERY FROM THE SICKNESS.

"My God, my sire,
Healed by thy hand,
Upon the earth
Once more I stand.

"From guilt and sin
May I be free;
My mouth shall sing
Alone of thee.

"The uncertain hour
For me will come,
O'erwhelmed perchance
With deeper gloom.

"It matters not;
With joy I'll bear
My yoke, until
I reach heaven's sphere."

[1] See Zwingli's estimate of his relation to Luther, and of Luther himself, in Christoffel, Zwingli, pp. 73–76.

[2] See the two men compared in Schaff, vii, 34–37.

faith and practice, and that the Church has only a derived authority, which cannot be set up against that of the Holy Scriptures.

ZWINGLI'S APPEAL TO SCRIPTURE.

Such bitter discussion ensued that the council of the city, being entirely unable to settle the questions at issue, yielded to the request of Zwingli and provided for a disputation in which the Holy Scriptures should be the test of truth, and that whoever could prove his theories from the Holy Scriptures should be regarded as the victor.

Zwingli wrote out sixty-seven "conclusions,"[1] which he proposed to defend according to the Scripture, and on January 29, 1523, the disputation took place in the presence of six hundred people. It was in a large measure a farce, for it was prejudged by the conditions. The patrons of the Roman Catholic view could not claim that they had a more scriptural foundation for their ideas than Zwingli had for his, nor did they believe that such scriptural foundation was necessary, because to them the authority of the Church, which they regarded as being filled and guided by the Holy Ghost, was fully equal to the authority of the Bible. There were, therefore, few persons present to oppose the theses of Zwingli. The only capable representative of the opposition was John Faber, and he did not wish to enter into the discussion, believing that such disputations should be left to the universities, and not be conducted before public assemblies. The disputation was soon ended, and the next day a decision favorable to Zwingli and his party was brought in, whereupon the council declared that there must be no preaching excepting that which could be supported from the Holy Scriptures.[2]

FIRST PUBLIC DISPUTATION.

Practical reforms followed very rapidly. The monasteries soon began to be emptied. Priests absolved themselves from their vows of celibacy and took wives. Nuns became wives of priests and others. The destruction and removal of pictures and crucifixes from the churches soon began, and the lamps which had been kept continually burning were extinguished. All these measures

[1] See these propositions in Gieseler, Ecclesiastical History, iv, 89–91; in Schaff's Creeds of Christendom, vol. iii, 197–207; and abbreviated in Schaff, History, vii, 52, 53. Besides the works of Zwingli referred to in the text see his Von Erkiesen und Freiheit der Speisen, Der Hirt, wie man die waren christlichen Hirten und widerum die falschen erkennen solle, and Ulrich Zwingli's Lehrbüchlein, oder wie man die Jugend in guten Sitten und christlicher Zucht auferziehen und lehren solle. Herausgegeben von Emil Egli. Zürich, 1884. The Baptismal Services of 1523 and 1525 may be found in the Werke, ii, 224.

[2] For full particulars of the disputation see A. Baur, Die erste Züricher Disputation. Halle, 1883.

were executed with the greatest violence and irreverence. Zwingli was strongly opposed to such methods, and tried to persuade the council to agree to accomplish the reforms in an orderly way. That the method and extent of the changes to be adopted might be finally settled, the council called a second disputation, which was held in October, 1523, but which concerned itself with the images and pictures in the churches and with the mass, which also Zwingli had vigorously attacked. The result was the same as that of the first, because it was to be tested by the Holy Scriptures, and it was demonstrated that the Old Testament, especially the second commandment, was decidedly opposed to idolatrous worship.

SECOND DISPUTATION.

The other cantons of Switzerland soon set themselves in opposition to the Reformation that was taking place in Zurich, and hinted to the Zurichers that they were breaking their pledge and their oath. But the courageous followers of Zwingli replied that while they had no thought of breaking their pledge to the other cantons they could not give up their individual belief with reference to these doctrines that were founded on God's own word.[1] At Easter time, 1525, the first observance of the Lord's Supper according to the reformed method took place.

The Roman Catholic administration and reception of the eucharist were connected with an elaborate ritual. After the elements had been consecrated they were elevated for worship, that process being called the Elevation of the Host. After this the communicants came forward, and the priest took a wafer between his fingers and placed it in the mouth of the participant. The cup was never handed to the laity, but was reserved exclusively for the priests. In the reformed celebration the altar was abolished, and in its place tables were arranged, on one side of which sat the men, the women on the other. The tables were spread with white cloths. The ministers entered the altar place and consecrated the elements and then partook of them, after which they handed them to the communicants—the bread upon a wooden tray, the wine in a wooden cup—the people kneeling as they received the bread and wine. A part of the liturgy of the mass was preserved, but the liturgical element of the celebration was very simple. The effect upon the feelings of the participants

REFORMED CELEBRATION OF THE LORD'S SUPPER.

[1] Compare Möller, iii, 50. The answer was written by Zwingli. The action of the other cantons was elicited by Zwingli's Short Christian Introduction, which had been prepared at the suggestion of the Council of Two Hundred, and by it sent to the bishops and the other cantons.

was not unlike that of the best type of modern revival service. People that had been estranged forgave each other and became friends. The members of the congregation were united in bonds of true Christian fellowship, and it could be truthfully said that while all others were engaged in strife these reformed Christians loved one another.[1]

BAPTISMAL RITUAL CHANGED.

Other changes in the forms of public worship were soon made. A simple form of baptism was adopted, omitting the rites of exorcism. The sacrament was no longer covered over and its significance obscured by elaborate ceremonial. To the catechumens the ministers gave simple exhortations to virtue and holiness, in which Zwingli believed confirmation, in its original form, to consist. But while these changes were sober and beneficial, others less liable to commend themselves to our judgment were also introduced. All songs were banished, together with the use of the organ for divine worship.[2] The wonder is, however, not that some extremes were resorted to, but that the reaction was so slight.

[1] See all sympathetically and fully described in Christoffel, pp. 146–150.

[2] Bullinger says the organ was abolished because it did not well comport with the apostolic doctrine of 1 Cor. xiv. Christoffel quotes the language of a layman written shortly before the Reformation: "The popes and the priests have completely oppressed us. Firstly, they have discovered the way to fish out all secrets, namely, by the confessional. They next compel us to go to church, but it is only that we may sacrifice our money. On the other hand, *they* never go to church themselves, except when they hope to get money. Their duty is to come to church to sing, but *that they may be obliged to sing less they have set up the organs to do their work.* There fails but one thing, and for this they work night and day, and that is, that we may go to hell for them." See his Zwingli, p. 151.

CHAPTER XX.

SPREAD OF THE REFORMATION TO OTHER CITIES AND CANTONS.

MEANTIME the Reformation had taken root in other Swiss cities, and several valuable coadjutors had risen up to support Zwingli's cause. In Basel, Capito had devoted himself to the study of the Bible in the spirit of Erasmus, and had freely criticised the abuses of the Church.[1] Hedio and Pellicanus were among the Humanists in Basel who stirred up enthusiasm for Luther after the Leipzig Disputation.[2] More important, however, was Œcolampadius, who as early as 1521 had been an ardent disciple of Luther, and who came to Basel in 1522, where he won great applause by his preaching and his university lectures on the Bible. In vain the bishop forbade attendance upon his lectures.[3] Multitudes were attracted by his utterances. He became a warm friend of Zwingli, whose views he shared on almost every disputed point; and at length, on this account, the friendship which had existed between himself and Luther and Melanchthon was weakened if not destroyed. He continued the proclamation of the pure Gospel and his opposition to the abuses of the Roman Church until, in 1529, he was permitted to witness the introduction of reformed religious services by order of the council.

THE REFORM IN BASEL.

Great was the disgust of Erasmus with these violent proceedings,[4] and he departed from Basel, followed by the Humanists and the university professors in general, who feared that the intellectual revival would suffer from theological and ecclesiastical quarrels. They saw the abuses of the Church of Rome and they were anxious for reform, but they did not want a reformation so radical in its nature as to attract attention away from the Humanistic studies they ardently loved. They believed that the necessary reforms would come about naturally if the studies they were promoting were generally pursued by the people.

The theocratic ideas of the Church and State which prevailed in Basel, as in other parts of Switzerland, led to civil penalties for denial of the tenets of the Apostles' Creed, and for blasphemy.

[1] Möller, iii, 51; Hagenbach, i, 269, 270. [2] Möller, iii, 51.
[3] *Ibid.* Comp. also Hagenbach, i, 275–278.
[4] See part of his letter to Pirkheimer in Schaff, vii, 112.

These penalties were confiscation of property, banishment, and, in extreme cases, death.

HALLER AND MEYER IN BERNE.

Even earlier than in Basel the Reformation had triumphed in Berne. There the gentle Berthold Haller and the pugnacious Sebastian Meyer preached the true doctrine and spread it among the people. On the main questions at issue the council was characterized by indecision, but they were at least agreed that there should be no disputing, and so they banished Meyer,[1] as also his opponents, from the city. Being really, however, more inclined toward the Roman than toward the reformed faith, they ordered Haller to begin again the reading of the mass according to the ritual of the Roman Catholic Church. Although so mild in his disposition he had the courage of a true reformer, especially under the stimulating influence of Zwingli, and he refused to obey the mandate of the council. A new council, favorable to the reformed cause, was chosen in 1527. They appointed a disputation, which was to take place on January 6, 1528. It lasted nineteen days. There was comparatively little response to the invitation to join in the disputation, it being claimed by the Roman Church that for them the questions proposed for discussion had been already settled by the Baden conference. Nevertheless there were enough participants to give the disputation a show of respectability. Ten theses, which had been written by Haller, were adopted by the hearers, and afterward legalized by the council.[2] The Reformation thus brought about in Berne was

[1] For a sample of Meyer's spirit and style see Christoffel, Zwingli, p. 66.

[2] The theses were as follows :

1. The holy Christian Church, whose only head is Christ, is born of the Word of God, and abides in the same, and listens not to the voice of a stranger.

2. The Church of Christ makes no laws and commandments without the Word of God. Hence human traditions are no more binding on us than as far as they are founded in the Word of God.

3. Christ is the only wisdom, righteousness, redemption, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world. Hence it is a denial of Christ when we confess another ground of salvation and satisfaction.

4. The essential and corporal presence of the body and blood of Christ cannot be demonstrated from the Holy Scripture.

5. The mass as now in use, in which Christ is offered to God the Father for the sins of the living and the dead, is contrary to the Scripture, a blasphemy against the most holy sacrifice, passion, and death of Christ, and on account of its abuses an abomination before God.

6. As Christ alone died for us, so he is also to be adored as the only Mediator and Advocate between God the Father and the believers. Therefore it is contrary to the Word of God to propose and invoke other mediators.

afterward adopted in the entire canton by a popular vote, few, comparatively, voting against it.[1]

In St. Gallen images had been burned in 1526, and again in 1528, while services according to the reformed order were introduced in 1527. The abbot having died, the abbey itself was abolished and its property confiscated in 1529. It was an act of violence and of injustice, but it was not out of harmony with the entire conception of the external features of the Reformation as it was conducted in Switzerland. After the battle of Cappel, in which Zwingli's valuable life was destroyed, a reaction took place more favorable to the interests of Rome. Nevertheless, St. Gallen remained a Protestant canton. Among the chief agents in the introduction and establishment of the Reformation in this canton was Joachim von Watt, or, as he is generally known, Vadian, a layman and physician and a poet laureate of Maximilian I. Close beside him stood John Kessler, a minister

VADIAN AND KESSLER IN ST. GALLEN.

7. Scripture knows nothing of a purgatory after this life. Hence all masses and other offices for the dead are useless.

8. The worship of images is contrary to Scripture. Therefore images should be abolished when they are set up as objects of adoration.

9. Matrimony is not forbidden in the Scripture to any class of men, but fornication and unchastity are forbidden to all.

10. Since, according to the Scripture, an open fornicator must be excommunicated, it follows that unchastity and impure celibacy are more pernicious to the clergy than to any other class.

All to the glory of God and his holy Word. See Schaff, vii, 104, 105.

[1] The contribution of the painter and poet, Nicolaus Manuel, to the work of reform in Berne should also be mentioned. The following is a part of his Eaters of the Dead, a comedy enacted by students on Shrove Tuesday, 1522:

"The laymen soon our wiles must see,
If thou wilt not our helper be.
In everything we'll sure be lacking,
For all are to the Scripture packing.
The printers—whom may Satan seize on!—
Are Germanizing all that's reason,
The Testaments, both Old and New—
Would the knaves had their fiery due!
E'en every reading peasant lout
Can put an honest priest to rout."

"The very names of the dramatis personæ indicate the tendency of the poem. There appears Pope Entchristilo [Antichrist], Cardinal Anshelm Hochmuth [Pride], Bishop Chrysostom Wolfsmagen [Wolf's-belly], Prior Frederick Geizsack [Miser], Dean Sebastian Schinddebauren [Flay-the-peasants], Abbot Nimmergnug [Never-satisfied], Purveyor Ohneboden [Bottomless]."—Hagenbach, i, 265.

who preached whenever occasion presented itself, both in the city and country, but who supported himself by his trade, which was that of a saddler. Kessler will be remembered as one of the students who met Luther at the "Great Bear" when the reformer was returning from the exile in the Wartburg to Wittenberg. He had subsequently studied under Luther, and was therefore well fitted to carry on the work of reform.

OTHER CANTONS.

In the cantons of Schaffhausen, Graubünden (where both Roman Catholics and Protestants were tolerated and each forbidden to persecute the other),[1] Appenzell, and the county of Toggenburg, Zwingli's early home, as well as in other places, the Reformation was confirmed and established by force of superior numbers, and its progress followed the usual order: first, of destruction, often literally and violently, and afterward of construction. Perhaps this order was necessary, although it was entirely contrary to the personal development of Zwingli himself, in whose character there was but little of destructiveness. Neither on the one side nor on the other was there proper toleration. To this statement Glarus, where Zwingli first labored as priest, was about the only exception. Here Zwingli had organized a school, from which, among others, there went out three men who were destined to affect greatly the Reformation in that place. They were Ægidius, Peter, and Valentin Tschudi.[2] Ægidius has been called the Swiss Herodotus. Goethe names his History of Switzerland as one of two books which if read and studied would give one a liberal education. His talents received recognition at the hands of the citizens, who placed him in a variety of positions of honor, responsibility, and power. He always adhered to the old faith, though he was tolerant of the new, and his friendship with the reformers was never severed on account of the differences of opinion between him and them. Peter was an ardent follower of Zwingli, but he did not live long enough to carry his work very far. Valentin was a reformer, but tolerant in his spirit toward the Roman Catholics, so tolerant that it became necessary for him to defend his conduct before Zwingli, who doubted the wisdom of his course. The moderation which he displayed at that

THE TSCHUDIS IN GLARUS.

[1] Möller, iii, 74, n. 2.

[2] These young men had all been encouraged in their studies by Zwingli when he was in Glarus. They were his warm admirers to the last. Ægidius wrote to him, "Nowhere do I like so well to dwell as near thyself." Peter wrote from Paris, "Thou art to us like a guardian angel." Valentin said, "Can I ever cease to be grateful to thee for thy great benefits?" See Christoffel, p. 11.

time continues even to this day in the relation between the Roman Catholic and the Protestant portions of the population of Glarus. They use the same church successively on the same Sabbaths in which to hold, first Roman Catholic, and subsequently Protestant religious services. This is a phenomenon which is but occasionally seen in Europe.[1]

[1] The origin of this custom is described in "Die Entstehung der kirchlichen Simultaneen."—Theodor Lauter, Würzburg, 1894.

CHAPTER XXI.

EARLY FRIENDS OF ZWINGLI.

Some friends of Zwingli's early years ought here to be recalled, in addition to those already mentioned as having aided in various places the work of reformation. They may be divided into three classes: those who never favored his reformatory ideas, but always championed the Roman Catholic faith; those who leaned toward the Reformation, but only from the Humanistic standpoint; and those who adopted, and by every means in their power advanced, the doctrines of Zwingli. In the first class we must not fail to include the famous Dr. John Eck, the learned and vociferous disputant on the Roman Catholic side in the Leipzig disputation. It is, however, uncertain whether he was really a friend of Zwingli. The assertion has often been made, but apparently without sufficient foundation, that Eck and Zwingli were friends at Vienna. There is certainly no evidence of special friendship subsequently. In the conference at Baden in 1526 he vociferated against the Swiss Reformation, as at Leipzig against the German. In Cardinal Schinner, however, Zwingli had a real friend, or perhaps we ought to say the Roman Catholic Church had a real friend; for it is impossible to decide whether the papal pension he secured for Zwingli was intended to befriend Zwingli or to bind him to the Church.[1]

JOHN ECK.

The friendship which existed between Zwingli and John Faber has also been traced to Vienna, but without good reason. That such a friendship existed for a time is not disputed. Faber afterward became general vicar of the diocese of Constance. He was a man of learning and a good debater. At the first Zurich disputation he dealt mildly with the reformers, though afterward he tried to cover his defeat by misrepresentations concerning the progress of the discussion. As the Reformation went forward he turned openly and bitterly against Zwingli. In the intensity of his zeal he proposed, subsequently to the conference at Baden, to have both Protestant heretical works and Protestant versions of the Bible burned.[2]

JOHN FABER.

[1] See the particulars somewhat in detail in Christoffel, 13, 14.

[2] Comp. Schaff, vii, 101.

Among the Humanists Glareanus was one of the most important of Zwingli's friends. He, like von Watt, with whom he had studied at Vienna, had been crowned poet laureate by Maximilian I. He was a man of many attainments and of much distinction, greatly admired by Erasmus. To him Zwingli owed his first introduction to and subsequent friendship with the great leader of the Humanistic movement in Switzerland. He helped forward Zwingli's studies by means of books sent from Basel; but he adhered to Roman Catholicism, and while he denounced the corruption of the Church he could not tolerate the reformer. GLAREANUS.

Beatus Rhenanus, another Humanistic friend of Zwingli, had encouraged the reformer in his attacks upon Samson's sale of indulgences. To him Zwingli was indebted for copies of several of Luther's works. One who had gone so far might have been expected to proceed farther, but he became only less impatient than Glareanus and Erasmus with the radical character of the reforms introduced, and was one of those who shook off the dust of his feet against Basel in 1529. BEATUS RHENANUS.

While Erasmus never appeared so warm a friend of Zwingli as some other Humanists, yet the breach between these two men did not become so wide. From the first Zwingli was an ardent admirer of Erasmus, and Erasmus seemed to reciprocate the feeling, at least in some measure.[1] Their friendship began at a period when Zwingli needed just the stimulus Erasmus could give,[2] though as a reformer Zwingli rapidly outgrew his teacher. To Erasmus the reformer owed his increased devotion to the study of the Scriptures, more vigorous opposition to the existing ecclesiastical abuses, and a clearer conception of the exclusive mediatorial mission of Jesus Christ; as also his first suggestion of the figurative interpretation of the words, "This is my body; this is my blood."[3] When Zwingli's real work of reforma- ERASMUS.

[1] Erasmus wrote to Zwingli: "All hail! say I to the Swiss people, whom I have always admired, whose intellectual and moral qualities yourself, and men such as yourself, are training." On this influence of Erasmus upon Zwingli comp. Stähelin, Huldreich Zwingli, i, 76 ff.

[2] It was in 1514, in Basel, whither Zwingli had gone on a visit. In 1523 Zwingli wrote: "I read, eight or nine years ago, a very comfortable poem of Erasmus, in which Jesus complains, in very beautiful words, that one does not seek all good from him, who is the source of all good, the Saviour, the Comforter, the Guardian of the soul. Thereon I reflected, why do we seek help of the creature?"—Christoffel, p. 18.

[3] See Schaff, vi, 617, n. 2.

tion began, however, Erasmus acted rather as a check upon him than as an impetus to greater endeavor.[1]

The Humanists believed that there were great abuses in the Roman Catholic Church, and they pointed them out and ridiculed them unsparingly. They were even more vigorous in this respect than the reformers. But they refused to trouble themselves about it. They were content simply to denounce the abuses, whereas the reformers wanted to correct them. By his satirical diatribes Erasmus stimulated the zeal of Zwingli, who was a reformer as well as a Humanist. But when Zwingli undertook to correct them, Erasmus, together with the Humanists in general, drew back. They did not want their own complacency disturbed, nor their time and thought occupied with action of a practical kind. Where any moral question was involved they believed in correcting the wrong; but with ecclesiastical concerns they refused to meddle, and they did not want others to meddle. Erasmus said to Zwingli, "Fight bravely, but fight prudently." But there are times when prudence is not to be taken into consideration, and Zwingli had fallen upon such times.

Perhaps Zwingli's intimate relations with the Humanists produced in him that milder type of action which distinguished him from Luther. Zwingli respected Erasmus to the last, even after their differences of opinion had become distinctly defined.

More important than Erasmus as a practical assistant was Oswald Myconius, whom Zwingli met for the first time while on a visit to Basel during his residence in Glarus, and who afterward became Zwingli's biographer. It was through this friend that the reformer was called to Zurich. He it was who refuted the objections of those enemies of Zwingli who dwelt upon the immorality of his life and who accused him of heresy. He did not wholly agree with Zwingli in everything. On the subject of the eucharist he differed from both Zwingli and Luther. He sub-

MYCONIUS.

[1] Lezius says: "Erasmus was not impelled to the personal defense of that which he recognized as true and right. He could indeed criticise with great acumen; but if there was danger that he should be driven to action it was easy for him to follow his own selfish inclinations and his better judgment, or even to deny his opinions. He lacked the strength of will and the courage of conviction necessary to a strong character."—Zur Characteristic des religiösen Standpunktes des Erasmus, p. 49. Stichart in his biography of Erasmus (1870) takes even a more unfavorable view of this representative Humanist. Maurenbrecher, on the other hand, in his Geschichte der katholischen Reformation, regards him as a man of strong character. Drummond places him above both Luther and Zwingli as to his ethical life.

sequently became the author of the first Basel Confession of Faith, in twelve articles.

To Leo Juda, however, more than to any other of his early friends, Zwingli was indebted for substantial help. Their acquaintance began at Basel, where both studied at the same time under Wyttenbach. He became Zwingli's successor at Einsiedeln in 1519. Their friendship ripened until their relationship was so intimate that it could be compared to that between Luther and Melanchthon. Indeed, in other respects the parallel holds good, for Juda was ripe in scholarship and prudent in advice, although in scholarship he was as much inferior to Melanchthon as Zwingli was inferior to Luther in the vigor of his reformatory work. At the second Zurich disputation he ably assisted Zwingli, and was his colleague at St. Peter's in Zurich. The Swiss translation of the Bible was largely due to his labors. He was very poor, but also very benevolent, giving largely out of his meager salary to relieve the necessities of others.

LEO JUDA.

Henry Bullinger also deserves mention here, although so much younger than Zwingli, whose successor he became at the great minster in Zurich—as some have supposed, by Zwingli's advice. In disposition he was greatly in contrast with Zwingli, the latter being decided, fiery, incisive, witty, and terse; the former quiet, gentle, thorough, and copious. But the very contrast enabled him to carry on to better advantage the work of reformation, which Zwingli's early death left incomplete.[1]

HENRY BULLINGER.

[1] Such is the language of Pestalozzi, the German of which follows: "Zwingli und Bullinger! welche Verschiedenheit! Zwinglis rasches, feuriges Temperament, Bullingers Ruhe und Gelassenheit; Zwinglis schneidender, stechender Witz, Bullingers einlässliche Gründlichkeit; daher auch Zwinglis Kürze, Bullingers Ausführlichkeit in den Meisten seiner Arbeiten. Wie geeignet zur gegenseitigen Ergänzung!" See his Bullinger, p. 25. Comp. also Schaff, vii, 205–214.

CHAPTER XXII.

BEGINNINGS OF THE EUCHARISTIC CONTROVERSY.

Some idea of the nature of the changes in practice wrought by the reformers has already been given. Images, and even organs and songs, had been banished from the churches and public worship. At Zurich the iconoclast, Klaus Hottinger, who with others had overthrown the wooden image in Stadelhofen, had been visited with banishment.

The work of purifying the churches of "idols" was taken in hand by the authorities. Bullinger says, "Within thirteen days all the churches in the city were cleared. Costly works of painting and sculpture, especially a beautiful table in the Water Church, were destroyed. The superstitious lamented, but the true believers rejoiced in it as a great and joyous worship of God." In the place of altars, candles, crucifixes, relics, pictures, and frescoes, the town architect, together with a number of artisans, under the supervision of a deputation of twelve councilors and three ministers, left bare whitewashed walls. The vandalism was only less marked than that practiced by self-appointed agents, but it had the appearance of respectability on account of the legal authority under which it proceeded. We must not, however, judge too severely the extremes to which they went. The disease was deep seated and demanded a radical cure.

ICONOCLASTIC RESULTS.

The abolition of the mass and the substitution therefor of simple services commemorative of the dying love of Christ, together with the reformation of the rites of baptism and confirmation, have been described. The emptying of the nunneries and the granting of the right of marriage to the clergy produced such results as to elicit the witticism of Erasmus, that however much of tragedy might reside in the Reformation apparently, it always turned into a comedy at last, since it uniformly ended with a wedding.[1] Zwingli had married in 1522, but secretly, and his act was not made public until 1524. But while the satire which Erasmus had so long directed against the Roman Catholic abuses was now pointed at the Reformation, these marriages were honorably contracted, and resulted in the purification of the clergy and the establishment of a

[1] Comp. Drummond, Erasmus, ii, 319; Schaff, vi, 479, n. 4.

beautiful and simple pastoral home life, which reacted for good on the entire population.

Into the details of church government and the relation of Church and State we cannot go.[1] The congregations called their pastors, but the council was the final authority for both municipal and ecclesiastical affairs. They represented the people, who from the beginning had been the determining factor in the introduction or rejection of reformatory measures. As a consequence of this theocratic conception of the relation of Church and State there could be no tolerance of dissent, although the Christlike spirit of the reformers pervaded to some extent the civil authorities and reduced the severity of the penalties, giving a milder tone to the treatment of the dissenters than that which characterized Roman Catholicism. At the beginning the magistracy, not knowing what to do, maintained a certain appearance of neutrality, and hence the tolerance of diverse opinions. But by the time the Reformation in Switzerland had reached the zenith of its influence the Church had been subjected, without recourse, to the State.

RELATIONS OF CHURCH AND STATE.

The delineation of the doctrinal development of the Swiss Reformation must be postponed until the comparison can be made between it and the German Reformation; but there is one point of doctrine which must be now considered, because it was the point at which the Swiss and German Reformations, which had hitherto seemed to move on side by side, met and clashed, and separated forever. The reference is to the pitiable and deplorable eucharistic controversy.

Our first effort will be to trace the independent development of the doctrine of the eucharist in the theology of Zwingli and of Luther respectively, and then to describe the course of the controversy and its results.

Zwingli, like Luther, early came to reject the Roman Catholic mass, with its idolatrous and superstitious concomitants, and to insist upon giving the cup, as well as the bread, to the laity. So far then both Reformations agreed. As in so many of his other ideas, Zwingli was indebted to Erasmus for his conception of the eucharist.[2] To both it was a

ZWINGLI'S DOCTRINE OF THE EUCHARIST.

[1] For a satisfactory statement see Christoffel, Zwingli, pp. 151–166.

[2] "Cinglius mihi confessus est, se ex Erasmi scriptis primum hausisse opinionem suam de cœna Domini." "Zwingli confessed to me that from Erasmus he first derived his idea of the Lord's Supper."—Melanchthon, Corpus Reformatorum, iv, 970.

memorial of the death of Christ, and that only; but it was from Cornelius Honius, a Dutch jurist, that Erasmus originally received the idea of the symbolic interpretation of the copulative "is" in the words of institution.

Zwingli first put his own views into writing in a letter to Wyttenbach as early as June 15, 1523, but, in accordance with his natural secretiveness, privately. In November, 1524, incited by the dawning controversy of Luther with Carlstadt, he again secretly communicated his interpretation to Matthæus Alber, a Lutheran preacher in Reutlingen.[1] In this letter he argued from John vi, 63, that the words of institution must be spiritually, not physically understood, thus really taking sides against Luther with one of Luther's own friends. In his Commentary on the True and False Religion, published in March, 1525, but a few months after his letter to Alber, he openly advocated his view of the eucharist. This is, in brief, all there is of the history of the development of Zwingli's views. He elaborated them, and was willing, for the sake of peace, to modify his language, but he never changed them.

Luther states his opinion on the eucharist, together with the source from which the suggestion came, in his Babylonian Captivity as early as 1520. He says that while reading the works of Pierre d'Ailly,[2] cardinal of Cambray, he observed that that scholastic argued that if the Church had not determined to the contrary it would necessitate fewer miracles, and appear more probable to suppose that the real bread and wine were upon the altar in the sacrament, and not merely their accidents.

From this Luther afterward produced the doctrine that instead of the transubstantiation of the Roman Catholic Church, according to which the bread and wine are transformed into the substance of the body and blood of Christ, preserving only the accidents of bread and wine, the bread and wine remained, and with them was present also the real body and blood of Christ. The difference between this view and that of the Roman Catholics is not great. It turns on the question whether the bread and wine disappear, leaving in their place the body and

LUTHER'S DOCTRINE OF CONSUBSTANTIATION.

[1] A German translation of this letter is found in Walch's ed. of Luther's Works.

[2] D'Ailly's discussion of the subject is to be seen in his Quæstiones super libros Sententiarum, bk. iv, Ques. vi (1490). For the exact language of Luther see his Babylonian Captivity in First Principles of the Reformation, by Wace and Buchheim.

blood of Christ, with the accidents of taste and appearance of bread and wine, or whether the bread and wine remain in substance as well as in their accidents. Luther's doctrine is technically designated as consubstantiation.

In both theories it is held that the communicant literally partakes of the body and blood of Christ. This view Luther clearly taught in 1523 in his work on The Adoration of the Sacrament, addressed to the Waldenses of Bohemia, in which he combated both their figurative theory and the transubstantiation of Roman Catholicism. Throughout the controversy Luther continued to hold this view unchanged, though he supported it by a greater variety of arguments and with increasing strenuousness as time advanced.

In order to get a clear understanding of the controversy it will be necessary to trace the agency of Carlstadt, the former friend of Luther, but since the Peasant War and the excitement preceding it Luther's bitter foe. In 1524 Carlstadt published his peculiar interpretation of the words, "This is my body; this is my blood," making the words prophetic as used by our Lord, thereby leaving entirely out of consideration the question of the presence of the bread and wine, and placing all the stress on the symbolism of the words.[1]

CARLSTADT'S RELATION TO THE CONTROVERSY.

As early as November, 1524, Urban Rhegius replied, and about the same time it was that Zwingli wrote his private letter to Alber.

As Carlstadt occasioned the opening of the controversy, so Strasburg was the place of its origin. Among the reformers who resided there in 1524 were a number of French refugees, as Lambert of Avignon and William Farel. These, together with Bucer and Capito, were much impressed with the modicum of truth in Carlstadt's views; but reverence for Luther prompted them to send him a request for his opinion as to the situation. At the same time they appealed to Zwingli, whose answer in a letter of December 16, 1524, arrived much earlier than Luther's, because of his close proximity to Strasburg. Zwingli's letter completely confirmed the Strasburgers in their symbolic view of the words of institution. Luther's letter was directed rather against Carlstadt than against his opinions, and was followed about the same time, December, 1524, by his work entitled, Against the Heavenly Prophets, in which he rejected the right of reason to enter into the decision of theological

[1] See his many brief writings on the eucharist in Walch's edition of Luther's Works.

questions.[1] At this early stage of the controversy, in which as yet Luther and Carlstadt were chiefly concerned, Luther confessed that he had often, in previous years, wished to adopt the symbolic interpretation, but had been restrained by the words themselves.[2]

Another element in the dispute was introduced by Œcolampadius, who in September, 1525, wrote a work on the eucharist, under the title of The True Meaning of the Word of our Lord, in which he took essentially the view of Zwingli, but based his argument on an appeal to the testimony of the Church fathers in favor of the spiritual rather than the corporeal presence.

Bugenhagen, a Lutheran, replied to Zwingli, Œcolampadius, and others of the same belief in a book entitled, Against the New Errors concerning the Sacrament. To this Zwingli, urged by his friends, answered in person, and the strife was fairly on.

[1] In the last sermon of Luther preached at Wittenberg (1546) the reformer thus expresses himself with regard to reason: "Usury, drunkenness, adultery, murder, and manslaughter, all, even the worldling, regard as sin. But reason, the devil's bride, the beautiful strumpet, comes, and it is believed that what she says the Holy Ghost says. Under such circumstances who can help us? Neither jurist, physician, king, nor emperor. For reason is the devil's chief harlot." "Reason should be drowned in baptism." "Cease, thou accursed harlot! Wilt thou be mistress, even over faith, which says that in the Lord's Supper is the true body and blood of Christ?" Comp. Schaff, vi, 31.

[2] In his letter to the Strasburgers he says: "I confess that if Carlstadt or any other had been able to convince me five years ago that there was nothing in the sacrament but bread and wine, he would have done me a great service. . . . But I am held fast and cannot escape; the text is too overpowering, and will not consent to be torn from its sense by words."

CHAPTER XXIII.

ZWINGLI AND LUTHER IN THE HEAT OF CONTROVERSY.

THE dispute was not confined, however, to the principals already named. The congregations in Zurich, as well as in Strasburg, and even families, were divided. Young men in the university at Wittenberg were so impressed with the importance of the subject, and so fully persuaded of Luther's correctness, that they wrote to their parents accusing them of error and deploring their heresy. The air was thick with accusations of papistry on the one side and equally ugly charges of heresy and hypocrisy on the other; and when the Suabians, to whom Œcolampadius had addressed his work, replied in severe language,[1] Zwingli was roused to bitter indignation. The dangerous consequences of the division became apparent, but all attempts at restoration of harmony failed. Nicholaus Gerbel had kept Luther informed from Strasburg of all that was going on there, but had not in all things confined himself to the truth. Luther's misinformation but poorly prepared him for overtures of peace, and instead of the earlier kindliness he evinced a growing impatience which augured ill for the cause of harmony. To a commission sent to him from Strasburg he replied, "Either you or we are servants of Satan."

THE DIVISION AMONG THE PEOPLE.

The rejoicing of the Roman Catholics may be imagined. They said that this was just what might be expected among the heretics; but Luther saw in the situation the evidence that the Gospel had really come into the world. He affirmed that as long as the pope could control men's minds there would be unity as a matter of course, but when the "strong one" was cast out he would, as the Scripture represents, make much disturbance, and try to prevent the incoming of the true spirit of the Gospel.

Early in 1526 Zwingli's Plain Instruction concerning the Lord's Supper appeared, in which he, of course, defended his own views.

[1] Luther wrote the preface to the German edition of the Syngramma Suevicum. This work of fourteen Suabian theologians, under the leadership of Brenz (Brentius) of Hall, took the position that by the very words of institution Christ imparts his real body and blood to the bread and wine; but in strange self-contradiction denies that in the breaking of the bread the body of Christ is broken. This really places the authors of the work on the side of Zwingli.

About the same time Luther's sermon on the "Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, against the Fanatics," was published.

THE TYPES USED IN THE CONTEST.

In April, 1527, he published a work entitled, That the Words, "This is my body; this is my blood," Stand Fast, Contrary to the Fanatics. In this important polemical work he began with a review of the factions and sects which had arisen in the Church, in order to illustrate the variety of Satan's devices. Satan he calls "the master of a thousand arts."[1] He answers the assertion of Œcolampadius, that the whole question is one of comparative insignificance, by asking why then they make so much of it, and by reminding his opponents that the question is important, since it concerns what God has said. How Christ is in the bread matters not; we do not and need not know, but we must believe God's word. Zwingli, he asserts, was prevented from accepting the plain words of Scripture by his submission to the dictates of natural reason. The ubiquity of Christ's body was defensible. His opponents said that Christ sat at the right hand of God, but God's right hand is everywhere. The application of the words, "the flesh profiteth nothing," could not be to Christ's flesh. If it be asked what advantage is there in eating Christ's flesh, we must answer that God has so ordered it, and therefore the question is not pertinent. Such was the general course of the argument. It was well interlarded with unmistakable intimations that as the devil had inspired so many other errors, so he had inspired these concerning the sacrament. With strange inconsistency he refutes the figurative interpretation of Zwingli by resorting to figurative interpretations of other passages.

Almost simultaneously with the appearance of this work of Luther, Zwingli published his Friendly Exegesis, in answer to Luther's sermons on the sacrament on April 1, 1527. It was perhaps as friendly as one could expect under the circumstances, though very pointed, self-conscious, and vigorous.[2] This Friendly Exegesis he sent, with an unfortunate letter, to Luther, in which he classed him with Eck, Faber, and Murner, rebuked him for his part in the Peasant War, and accused him of having written to Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, that Zwingli and his followers ought to be opposed with the sword. Luther's book, That the Words, "This is my body; this is my

ZWINGLI'S FRIENDLY EXEGESIS.

[1] "Tausendkünstler."

[2] It is interesting to note the differences of judgment as to the friendliness of its tone. Comp., for example, Schaff, vi, 623; Kolde, ii, 286; and Köstlin, i, 410, 411.

blood," Stand Fast, Contrary to the Fanatics, was written in a spirit so bitter that he should not have been surprised at the comparative mildness of Zwingli. Had Zwingli's letter been of a different character the impression made by his Friendly Exegesis might have been more favorable. As it was, it took the dispute out of the realm of pure scholarship and introduced the personal element.

Zwingli had thus answered Luther's sermon. He now proceeded to reply to his book, That the Words of Christ Stand Fast, in a work of similar title, namely, That the Words of Christ, "This is my body which is given for you," have, and always will have, their old and only sense, Contrary to the Pope, and Martin Luther in his latest Book. The very title accused Luther of holding fast to the essentials of the Roman Catholic doctrine. The work was addressed to the Elector of Saxony in June, 1527, and it aimed to answer one by one Luther's arguments. As to the success of the undertaking, opinions continue to differ. It lacked the urbane tone of his former writings, but was by no means so coarse and brutal as Luther's. Zwingli was content to point out the essential identity of Luther's view with that of the Roman Catholics, and to ridicule the Lutheran party as Capernaites, flesh-eaters and blood-drinkers, and referred to the bread of the Lutheran communion as the "baked god." Luther was indignant, and that righteously, at such epithets, although they fell far short of the bitterness against which Zwingli protested when Luther called him and his party "fanatics, devils, murderers, heretics, and hypocrites."[1] Luther warned his adherents against the doctrines of Zwingli and Œcolampadius as against the pest, and called them blasphemers against the word and doctrines of Christ. Zwingli, with his unbounded confidence in the triumph of the figurative interpretation, wrote, it is true, in a supercilious strain, but avoided abuse. The controversy reminds one of the boastings which passed between Goliath and David, but with this difference, that both believed themselves to be the servants of the true God.

BITTERNESS INJECTED INTO CONTROVERSY.

It was not in the nature of Luther to leave this work unanswered. He had been suffering from a bodily ailment, and was in no humor to be contradicted. He thought he had seen increasing evidence of the variation of Zwingli's christology, as well as of his doctrine of the sacrament, from his own. Zwingli had dis-

[1] Vilmar, however, thinks that the deliberation involved in the epithets which Zwingli applied to Luther and his adherents renders them incomparably worse than the worst ever used by Luther.—Luther, Melanchthon, and Zwingli, p. 114.

tinguished sharply between the human and the divine nature of Christ. Luther held to one divine-human nature. Dropping for the time his translation of the Bible, he wrote his book entitled, Concerning the Lord's Supper, A Confession of Martin Luther,[1] March, 1528. He claimed not to write for the purpose of convincing Zwingli and his followers, because heretics they were, and heretics they would always remain; but he wrote to strengthen the weak against the Zwinglian doctrines. As for Zwingli's books, they were "The hellish poison of Satan," and Zwingli himself had become entirely lost to Christ. In this work, with which he proposed to dismiss the subject forever, Luther no longer despised the scholastic explanations as to the method by which the body of Christ was introduced into the sacrament. His doctrine of the ubiquity of Christ's body he defended against the accusation of absurdity, by claiming that all the attributes of the divine and human nature of Christ are participated in by the whole person of Christ, the doctrine known later as the *communicatio idiomatum*.[2] The body of Christ is locally present only in one place, repletively present everywhere, and definitively present wherever he will, thus making Christ's omnipresence to take three distinct forms.[3] Accordingly the body of Christ was present in the sacrament even for the unbeliever. But more and more he had recourse to recondite and unscriptural ideas. For example, he thought that the effect upon the Christian of partaking of Christ's body was that it lent him a kind of immortality and made the resurrection at the last day possible.

LUTHER'S LONG CONFESSION.

It would be difficult to see the distinction between the mode of reasoning employed by Luther and the scholasticism which he had so often condemned, and, unfortunately, his whole confession was marked by a coarseness and brutality shocking even to people of that day. The writings of his adversaries are compared to poisonous adders, their doctrines are lies and nonsense, the authors are in the bonds of Satan; they are heretics who, according to Tit. iii, 10, must be rejected. Zwingli's christology, Luther asserted, really denied Christ's redeeming work by referring his sufferings to his human nature.

But back of all the passion involved in the dispute there lay the

[1] Sixteen years afterward he published a "small" Confession, after which this one was called the Great or Long Confession. Comp. Schaff, vi, 627.

[2] Comp. Krauth, The Conservative Reformation, p. 477 ff.

[3] It is well stated in Möller, iii, 77.

difference in the personal endowment and development of the two men. Luther felt the need of some tangible means of grace by which he could come into direct communion with God. This he found in the Lord's Supper. To him this need of divine communion was so pressing that he scarcely thought of the human act of memorial. Zwingli, whose personality and providential training were totally diverse from Luther's, could not understand the need of his antagonist, to whom the opposing view seemed to rob the sacrament of all significance. To this must be added that the similarity between Zwingli's opinions and those of Carlstadt rendered Luther suspicious. Luther came to make membership in the true Church dependent upon the acceptance of certain doctrines, thereby ruling Zwingli out of the Church. The Swiss, on the other hand, thought Luther's doctrine of the sacraments to be only a variety of Roman Catholicism.[1]

THE PERSONAL EQUATION IN THE STRIFE.

[1] See Möller, iii, 78.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE MARBURG COLLOQUY.

THE dispute had become so heated and public that the evangelical party was divided into two well defined and unfriendly camps, only less fearing and hating each other than they feared and hated the common foe. The division gave most of the cities of the Suabian Circle[1] to Zwingli, but with a Lutheran party everywhere active. Zwinglianism extended from Basel along the entire course of the Rhine and into the Netherlands, and even into East Friesland, thus dividing Lutheran Germany on the questions under discussion.

Not only did the division give occasion to scandal in the eyes of the Romanists, but it absorbed energies which were needed in spreading the Gospel, while it lifted to undue prominence a matter of subordinate import. The relations between the emperor and the pope were becoming more friendly every day, and the fear increased lest soon the power of the emperor would be hurled against the divided Protestant peoples. This fear was augmented by the decisions of the diet of Spires in March, 1529, which, while they did not directly require the execution of the edict of the diet of Worms, so long delayed, yet proposed to execute it within the Roman Catholic territories, to prohibit farther reforms in the territories of the evangelical party, to give freedom of worship to the Roman Catholics everywhere, to exterminate the Zwinglians and Anabaptists, and to forbid the withdrawal of submission, the confiscation of property, or the refusal of taxes to any Roman Catholic spiritual superior. The inequality of these decisions and their influence upon the progress of the Reformation and the religious liberties of the evangelicals could not be overlooked. On April 19 the evangelical princes entered a solemn protest. Among these princes there were only John of Saxony; Philip, Landgrave of Hesse; George of Brandenburg; Ernst of Lüneburg; and Wolfgang of Anhalt; while fourteen cities through their representatives joined in the protest. Among them were such important cities as Strasburg, Nuremberg, Constance, and Ulm. This protest, which

ORIGIN OF THE NAME PROTESTANTS.

[1] See Freeman's Historical Geography, p. 216.

was handed in on Sunday, April 25, in its more formal shape, gave the name of Protestants to the Lutheran party.[1] It was an act which had the same significance for the Reformation as the Declaration of Independence for the American Revolution. Before that time the Lutherans had claimed to be a part of the Church; now began the movement which ended in their formal recognition as an independent ecclesiastical organization.

The Protestants saw the significance of the act and of the league which they at the same time formed for self-defense. The extreme desirability, not to say necessity, of a harmonization of the divided parties of the Reformation was evident to all not wholly blinded by passion. Luther at first raised objections,[2] and the Elector John was inclined to side with him, for political reasons, but the Landgrave Philip, who was greatly inclined toward Zwingli's views, pressed so energetically for an attempt at harmony that, reluctantly, the Wittenbergers agreed to a conference. Philip had cautiously said nothing about inviting Zwingli along with Œcolampadius, but he, together with other representatives of the figurative interpretation, as well as Luther, Melanchthon, and their adherents, was invited to the colloquy, which was to open on Friday, October 1.

CONFERENCE AGREED UPON.

Great was the joy of Zwingli and high his expectations of a union between himself and the Lutheran party. His reasons for desiring such a union were not wholly religious, but partly political; for he aimed at a great Protestant alliance against Roman Catholicism. His prayer before the opening of the colloquy is very touching, including earnest petitions that the passions and misunderstandings of the past might be allayed and removed. During the colloquy he conscientiously strove to conduct himself in the spirit of the prayer.

The Wittenbergers hesitated to accept the invitation because of the low opinions they entertained of the Zwinglian party. They could not well meet on equal terms those whom they regarded as heretics. Besides, Luther and Melanchthon both believed that a compromise for the sake of political advantage would be essentially

[1] See Möller, iii, 88, 89; Schaff, vi, 690, 691; Ranke, History of Germany in the Time of the Reformation, iii, 113. The substance of the protest and appeal is found in Gieseler, iv, 130, 131.

[2] Luther, in a letter to Elector John, May 22, 1529, called the Zwinglians "audacious enemies of God's word, who fight against God and the sacraments."—De Wette, iii, 455. Comp. Schaff, vi, 693, n. 1, and Möller, iii, 90.

wicked. God was able to care for his truth without human combinations for its support. Nevertheless, under the command of the elector they departed for Marburg, where, in the Landgrave's castle, the colloquy was to take place. It was, in fact, the last of the tragical scenes of Luther's life, which from that time on began to decline in power.[1]

PRIVATE CONFERENCE OF LEADERS.

At the suggestion of the Landgrave, who wished to avoid too great appearance of divergence in public, Luther met Œcolampadius, and Zwingli Melanchthon, in private conference before the public colloquy began. The Lutherans had long suspected that Zwingli and his followers were not sound in their doctrines concerning Christ and sin. The effect of the private conference was to remove, at least partially, this suspicion. For his part Zwingli's explanations showed Melanchthon how greatly he had misjudged him, and in accordance with his natural disposition he agreed to the Lutheran forms of expression on these subjects.

THE PUBLIC DISPUTATION AT MARBURG.

The public disputation took place in the presence of all the representatives on both sides, and several others who had been especially invited.[2] Contrary to Zwingli's wish, the colloquy was conducted in German. Nothing new was elicited,[3] but there were some dramatic scenes worthy of notice. Luther was first to speak. Declaring that he would never yield, he wrote on the table in large characters the words, "*Hoc est corpus meum.*" In his heat he said that if God should command him to eat crab apples, rotten apples, or dung, he could not doubt that it would be salutary, and he should obey. The great man could not understand his opponents, and when Zwingli made some reference to the breaking of Luther's neck, he took it literally, and threatened to "let fly at Zwingli's snout" (schnauze) until he repented. The Landgrave rebuked him for taking such easy offense. On the third day Feige, the Landgrave's chancellor, tried to persuade the disputants to come to an understanding; but Luther said this would be possible only

[1] See an interesting comment on the three great historical appearances of Luther in public, in Schaff, vi, 635.

[2] Zwingli had just returned from the first war of Cappel, and to the astonishment of all appeared at the colloquy rather as a soldier than as a preacher of the Gospel of peace.—Vilmar, p. 107, n.

[3] See the substance of the colloquy in Christoffel, pp. 350–358, and in Schaff, vi, pp. 640–644. The account in Christoffel is preceded by a summary of the private conferences between Zwingli and Melanchthon, and Luther and Œcolampadius.

on condition that his opponents should come over to his view. When they affirmed the impossibility of this Luther abandoned them to God's judgment, with the prayer that he would enlighten their darkened hearts. Immediately, however, he begged pardon for his harshness, whereupon Zwingli, with tears, entreated Luther's forgivenes, and declared his earnest desire for harmony. But Luther had again fallen back into his accustomed hardness, and replied, "Your spirit is different from ours," and ended by refusing to acknowledge them as members of the Christian Church, or as brethren, declining Zwingli's proffered hand of fellowship.

The English sweat, a dangerous contagion, had broken out in Marburg and was spreading rapidly. The representatives were anxious to depart, but by the efforts of the Landgrave they were detained long enough for Luther to write a confession, which should, if possible, stand as a memorial of the essential harmony between the opposing factions. The confession contained fifteen articles, afterward known as the Marburg Articles, covering the essential doctrines of the evangelical faith.[1] The Swiss reformers, for the sake of peace, agreed to Luther's terminology in fourteen of the fifteen articles, although had they been written by them the language would have been much modified. In the fifteenth article they agreed that the sacrament should be administered in both kinds; that the eucharist is not a sacrifice; that the Lord's Supper is a sacrament of the true body and blood of Christ; and that the spiritual manducation of the body of Christ is a necessity to the Christian. The divergence concerning the corporeal presence remained, but it was agreed that

THE MARBURG ARTICLES.

[1] They may be seen in Christoffel, pp. 358–362. We give the fifteenth article in full: "We believe and hold, all of us, in regard to the Holy Supper of our dear Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, that it ought to be dispensed in both kinds, according to the institution of our dear Lord Jesus Christ. That the mass is no work by which one can acquire or obtain for another, be he dead or alive, mercy and the forgiveness of sins. That the sacrament of the altar is a sacrament of the true body and blood of Christ, and that the spiritual partaking of this body and blood is a matter of especial need to every Christian. In the same manner we agree in regard to the use of the sacrament, that the sacrament, as well as the word delivered and ordained to us of God, moves weak consciences, through the Holy Ghost, to faith and love. And although we cannot come to a union of opinion as to whether the real body and the real blood of Christ are bodily present in the bread and wine, yet each party ought to manifest Christian love toward the other, in so far as conscience permits it, and both ought earnestly to supplicate the Almighty God that he would confirm by his Spirit the true understanding of his word in us. Amen."

each party should exhibit to the other Christian love. To this Luther assented, with the proviso that this love was to be exhibited only so far as their consciences would admit. The significance of this reservation was seen later in the fact that when the participants separated the Lutherans would only give the Zwinglians the hand of friendship, and that coldly; not at all the hand of brotherly fellowship. Luther subsequently, in 1533, defined the love he had toward the Swiss as that which maintains peace with enemies and prompts us to pray for them.

The Swiss laid the principal blame for the failure to come to a better understanding upon Melanchthon. Bucer, a little later, declared that Melanchthon was prevented by a desire to gain the favor of Charles V and his brother Ferdinand for Luther's cause.[1] Both parties claimed the victory. Luther saw in Zwingli's appeal for brotherly recognition a practical yielding of the points at issue. He could not understand how brothers could differ. The Lutherans seem to have made no important converts, but Zwingli completely won Philip to his doctrine and to his plan for a Protestant alliance of the Swiss and German cities and territory with France, Denmark, and Venice, against the pope and the empire.[2] He also won to his side the scholarly Lambert of Avignon, and Ulrich of Würtemberg, then an exile at the court of Philip.

While the attempt at harmonization was a disappointment to Philip, the chief promoter of the colloquy, it did in some measure reveal the quantum of common truth, both to the disputants and to the Roman Catholic world. It checked the expectation of the speedy fall of Protestantism as a result of its own quarrels. But, more than all, the failure gave to the world two distinct types of Protestant Christianity instead of a single one based upon a compromise. However much we may admire Luther we must rejoice that the reformed type, which by this controversy began to be clearly defined, was not swallowed up by the Lutherans.

RESULTS OF COLLOQUY.

Lest the impression be made that Luther would do nothing for the sake of harmony, attention must be called to the fact that almost

[1] Schaff, vi, 638, n. 4. Melanchthon's previous concessions both to Œcolampadius and Zwingli, together with his refusal to participate in the discussion at Marburg, indicate that he was not zealously interested in Luther's view of the question. Hence his refusal to show a brotherly spirit toward the Swiss must have been founded on fear of the attendant consequences. In later life he often advocated silence for the sake of peace.

[2] The proposed alliance with France and Venice failed. See Gieseler, iv, 161, n. 31.

immediately after the colloquy had ended he rewrote the Marburg Articles, giving them a much more decidedly Lutheran tinge. This was done because his purpose was in this case not to show how much he had in common with Zwingli against Rome, but to define his doctrines as against the Zwinglians. From this fact we must judge that in writing the original Marburg Articles he softened his expressions as much as seemed to him consistent with the truth.

The real controversy rested here until 1544, when, incited by a variety of reasons, and less able than ever, on account of sickness, weakness, and age, to control himself, Luther wrote his Short Confession on the Holy Sacrament. Even from the standpoint of that day the book appeared atrocious. Zwingli and Œcolampadius were dead, and could not defend themselves, yet he described them in terms of condemnation which knew no bounds. Their hearts, he said, were possessed by the devil, permeated by the devil, and overpowered by the devil; and their lying mouths and hearts were full of blasphemy.[1] He doubted whether Zwingli was saved.[2] In 1546, in a letter to Pastor Probst, of Bremen, he says, "Blessed is the man that walketh not in the counsel of the Sacramentarians, nor standeth in the way of the Zwinglians, nor sitteth in the seat of the Zurichers." In view of these utterances it is hard to believe that he said just prior to his decease, as was reported, that the matter of the Lord's Supper had been overdone, and that he requested Melanchthon to do what he could after Luther's death to undo the mischief. Had he ever made such a request of Melanchthon we should have heard of it from Melanchthon himself, both by word and deed; for Melanchthon gradually departed more and more, even during Luther's lifetime, from the Lutheran understanding of the Lord's Supper, and approached, though he never adopted, that of the Zwinglians. He had every motive, therefore, to call in the support of Luther

LUTHER'S SHORT CONFESSION.

[1] "Ein eingeteufelt, durchteufelt, überteufelt, lästerlich Herz und Lügenmaul." Luther had defended, though not advocated, the adoration of the host. In 1542 this custom was finally abolished in Wittenberg. This fact gave rise to the rumor that Luther's views had undergone a change. Schwenkfeld he called Stenkefeld (Stinkfield), and "a condemned, lying mouth of a beast." He says that as he is about to go to the grave he wishes to leave the testimony that he has avoided the Zurichers and their sympathizers, and condemned them with all earnestness, according to Tit. iii, 10.

[2] In 1532, in a letter to Duke Albert of Prussia, he had admitted that in his mercy God might have saved Zwingli, but he emphatically denied him the martyr's crown.

for his position, had the reported words of Luther ever been uttered in his presence.[1]

For the present the farther course of the controversy must remain untouched while we follow the progress of the German Swiss Reformation to the death of Zwingli.

[1] Schaff reluctantly discredits the story—vi, 659. Stähelin, in a long and able note, defends its genuineness. In view of all the facts he thinks that to deny is to make either Melanchthon or Hardenberg a liar.—Johannes Calvin, first half, pp. 228, 229. But there may have been, as Köstlin suggests, some misunderstanding, ii, 627. The reasons we have given seem conclusive.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE SWISS REFORMATION TO THE DEATH OF ZWINGLI.

POLITICAL necessities secured for Zwingli, and for the Swiss Reformation during its early years, freedom from papal interference. Zwingli had been one of the most earnest of those who favored the hiring of the troops to the pope rather than to the French. His services in this respect had won for him the papal regard, and it was only after he was well along with his reformatory work that the pope turned against him. Besides the papal pension which he drew from 1515 to 1520, he was offered in August, 1518, by the papal nuncio, Pucci, the papal chaplaincy and a pension of one hundred guilders, double the amount he had been receiving, and a canonry in Basel or Coire.[1] The consideration for all this was to be that Zwingli should to the utmost promote the papal cause. The conditions were such as would have hindered Zwingli in the freedom of his preaching, and he declined all these flattering and pecuniarily needful honors and emoluments. His independence is here distinctly displayed, for he was glad to retain the pension of fifty guilders which was bestowed without condition. The rejection of these offers of ecclesiastical preferment was soon followed by opposition to the hiring of the troops even to the pope,[2] as he had formerly opposed their employment in the interest of the French. He also gave up, in 1520, the papal pension, and about the same time began to dispute the right of the Church to collect tithes. All these things he really did as a patriot.[3] It is characteristic, however, that the Roman Catholics defended the mercenary warfare which Zwingli condemned as unchristian and dangerous to the morals and the religious and civil liberties of the Swiss.

ZWINGLI'S INDEPENDENCE.

[1] The letter of the papal nuncio making these offers is dated August 24, 1518; the appointment is dated September 1, 1518.

[2] Others than himself had already seen the evils of mercenary warfare. Expression had been given to the thought at the diet of Lucerne as early as 1495. See Gieseler, iv, 76, n. 6. Anshelm said that the influence of these foreign wars had been to introduce at home extravagance, luxury, and a general moral deterioration.—Berner Chronik, 1521, vi, 91.

[3] He said: "Next to my concern for the word of God, the interests of the confederacy lie nearest my heart." See Christoffel, p. 42.

Although his agitation against these things secured him the ill-will of many of the clergy and laity, he still held to his opposition. Indeed, the papacy dealt very differently with Zwingli than with Luther. When the former denounced Samson's sale of indulgences the pope favored his cause and withdrew Samson from Zurich. This was not because the pontiff had altered his mind, or because he any the less needed the funds which he would thereby have received, but because of his experience with Luther, and because both the bishop of Constance and the council of Zurich favored Zwingli, and the pope did not wish to injure his cause in Switzerland. To this must be added that Zwingli held relatively a much higher place in Switzerland than that occupied by Luther in Germany, and thus was more necessary to the pope. Even the excitement caused by his opposition to fasts, and the assertion, maintained in a printed work, that the authority of the Scripture was higher than that of the Church, did not wholly destroy the papal expectations concerning him; for in January, 1523, six days prior to the first Zurich disputation, the situation not being accurately known at Rome, Adrian VI wrote Zwingli a letter, calling him his "beloved son," praising his merits and services, and offering him all manner of benefits if he could confine himself within proper limits.[1] The case was different, however, from what it would have been had the pope not foreseen the danger of losing Zurich to his cause. Adrian wrote, not only to Zwingli, but also sent his legate, Ennius, to Zurich, with a letter to the city, in which he praised its services to the papal chair and strove to bind its people to himself.

THE POPE'S REGARD FOR ZWINGLI.

Not only was the progress of the Reformation in Switzerland affected favorably by the desire of the pope to retain the good will of Zurich, but also by the action of the Zurich council. The utmost point to which the Elector Frederick the Wise went in the cause of Luther, especially in his earlier years, was to protect him from violence. His relations to the emperor were such that he could not well do more; but Switzerland was, in effect, free from the emperor, and Zurich as one of the confederate cantons had its own rights independent of the others. Zwingli's influence over the magistracy was such as to give him the practical dictation of religious affairs. This was not entirely owing to their accessibility to the Gospel truth, but in part at least on account of the patriotic spirit which prompted Zwingli in

ZWINGLI'S POLITICAL INFLUENCE.

[1] Zink, the papal chaplain at Einsiedeln, was present when Pucci, the legate, had his conversation with Zwingli, and he told Myconius that Pucci offered Zwingli "everything, even to the papal throne."—Schaff, vii, 33, n. 4.

his opposition to the Church, a motive which could not be overlooked by the council. Had the council not interfered in the interest of the Reformation in Zurich, it would doubtless have been different in its historical development.

THE BADEN DISPUTATION.

The diet of the Swiss cantons, however, composed of the nobility, and not representative of the people, opposed the Reformation. On January 1, 1524, the diet of Lucerne decided to maintain the Roman Catholic faith as against the Reformation, and sent an embassy to Zurich with complaints and warnings. Through the efforts of Eck the Roman Catholic party demanded a disputation, which was held at Baden in Aargau, in May, 1526. The conditions of the disputation were such as might have been expected from the Roman Catholic side. The appeal was not confined, as at Zurich, to the Bible, and the reformers were therefore deprived of their advantage. The principal disputants on the Roman Catholic side were Faber, Eck, and Thomas Murner.[1] On the side of the Reformation they were Œcolampadius and Haller. Zwingli was not present, partly because the conditions of the disputation were disagreeable to him and partly because of the opposition of the council of Zurich to his attendance, they fearing that his life

[1] Murner aided the Roman Catholic side by his satirical poetry, especially in his Vom grossen Lutherischen Narren.

He had, however, previously satirized the follies of the Church in Die Narrenbeschwörung (1512). A specimen from that work is here given (edition Pannier, Leipzig, 1884):

"Herr Christus ging am Bettelstabe
Und hatt' nicht, zeitlich Gut und Habe,
Wie hohe Geistlichkeit jetzt hat,
Und hatt' auch weder Land noch Stadt.
Das anders ward: die Geistlichkeit
Jetzund gelemet hat den Streit
Um üpfig Gut und zeitlich Geld
Wodurch fast alles nun zerfällt.
Wird ein Prälet jetzund gemacht,
So hat er grosse Sorg' und Acht,
Der Kirchen Nahrung recht zu plündern
Und seinen Vettern, seinen Kindern
Vom Kirchengute zu verschaffen
Und selbst auch Beute zu erraffen."

At Baden he called the Zwinglians "tyrants, liars, adulterers, church robbers, fit only for the gallows."—Schaff, vii, 101. See also Götzinger, Zwei Kalender vom Jahre, 1527, Schaffhausen, 1865. It was the rough usage the three men gave Zwingli in his absence that so angered him. But it was all the more insulting therefore for Zwingli to compare Luther to Murner and others, as he did in his letter accompanying the Friendly Exegesis.

would be endangered.[1] The result could be easily foreseen. By twenty-two votes the victory was declared to belong to Eck, while only ten gave it to Œcolampadius. As the disputation had been arranged by the Swiss diet the decision reached seemed binding upon the confederate cantons. Zwingli was excommunicated and Zurich was required to silence him, while every effort was to be made henceforth to suppress the reforms which were being so rapidly introduced. The prospects of the Reformation seemed suddenly blighted. But the truth cannot be determined by the number of votes, and many there were who saw that right was on the side of the reformers, although the noise and display were on the side of the Roman Catholics.[2] The victory, therefore, was not of long duration, and soon Berne, Basel, Glarus, St. Gallen, and several other cities and cantons of Switzerland declared for the Reformation.

THE FOREST CANTONS.

The five forest cantons, Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Lucerne, and Zug, situated about the lake of Lucerne, steadily maintained their loyalty to the Roman Catholic Church. The cantons of Solothurn and Freiburg and the allied territory of Wallis joined their fortunes with the forest cantons, which had constituted a league in 1527–1528, and in 1529 had formed an alliance with Ferdinand, Duke of Austria, who was anxious for the political dismemberment of Switzerland. These warlike prepara-

[1] Möller assigns the former—iii, 73, Schaff the latter reason—vii, 99. Both were really combined. Comp. Gieseler, iv, 156, n. 6.

[2] Schaff quotes from the Eck's and Faber's Badenfahrt of Nicolaus Manuel, the Protestant painter-poet, a verse in English translation descriptive of the style of argumentation employed by Eck:

"Eck stamps with his feet, and claps with his hands,
He raves, he swears, he scolds;
'I do,' cries he, 'what the pope commands,
And teach whatever he holds.'"

And from Bullinger two verses of a witty poem, in which Eck and Œcolampadius are contrasted as disputants:

"Also fing an die Disputaz:
Hans Eck empfing da manchen Kratz,
Das that ihn übel Schmerzen,
Denn alles, was er fürherbracht,
That ihm Hans Husschyn (Œcolampadius) kürzen.

"Herr Doctor Husschyn hochgelehrt
Hat sich gen Ecken taffer gwert,
Oft gnommen Schwert und Stangen.
Eck floh dann zu dem röm'schen Stuhl
Und auch all sin anhangen"—vii, 100, 101.

tions were promptly met by a league of the reformed cantons. The bitterness, jealousy, and hate of the two parties grew rapidly. In May, 1529, Jacob Kaiser, a Zurich preacher, was caught in Schwyz and burned at the stake. Thenceforth Zwingli's voice was for war. He defended his warlike sentiments against those who favored the maintenance of peace by declaring that the peace which they sought was warfare and the warfare which he sought would lead to peace. He had before distinguished between mercenary warfare, which he had condemned, and war for the defense of truth and freedom, which he had always maintained to be right.

After some delay Zurich sent four thousand armed men into the field. Berne furnished five thousand troops, but with the proviso that they were to act only on the defensive, Berne being opposed to the civil war which was apparently about to break out. Mühlhausen also supplied a force of troops. The army was stationed partly at Cappel, a town about six miles from Zug, and lying therefore in the territory of Roman Catholic cantons and partly on the borders of the enemy's territory. The reformers, therefore, had actually invaded the Roman Catholic territories with an armed force. Zwingli himself, contrary to the wish of the magistracy, put on his armor, mounted his horse, and went with the Zurich troops to the field. But he did not go as a leader of the forces, nor even as a private soldier, but as chaplain. As chaplain, however, he not only ministered to the spiritual necessities of the troops, but acted the part of a patriot, stirring their enthusiasm and arousing their fears lest they should lose their liberties at the hands of the enemy.

FIRST WAR AT CAPPEL.

The two armies were actually face to face with each other, although each hesitated to strike the first blow. Had it not been for the interposition of Landammann Æbli, of Glarus, where the Roman Catholics and the Protestants lived together in peace, blood would probably have been shed. Æbli pleaded so earnestly that at least a short space of time might be given in which efforts at peace might be made, that Zwingli reluctantly gave way. He did so, however, with the remark to Æbli that he would be held responsible for the future consequences, which he believed would be the loss of their personal and religious liberties in the near future. Zwingli finally consented to peace upon conditions which were subsequently in part fulfilled. The treaty actually adopted between the two parties consisted of eighteen articles. They provided among other things that the Roman Catholic and reformed faiths should be mutually tolerated; that, according to Zwingli's

FIRST PEACE AT CAPPEL.

demand, the Roman Catholics should pay the expenses of the war; and that the widow of Jacob Kaiser, the first martyr of the Swiss Reformation, should receive a pecuniary compensation. The treaty of the five forest cantons with Austria was at the same time abrogated, and the paper upon which it had been written cut to pieces by Æbli in the presence of the army of Zurich. Thus the first war of Cappel ended without the shedding of blood. It is impossible to determine what would have been the result had Zwingli's advice been followed and had a war actually broken out at that time.[1]

The first peace of Cappel was effected in June, 1529. Zwingli's labors and trials during the two years of life which yet remained to

[1] While the peace negotiations were in progress Zwingli wrote the poem which we give below from Cochran's translation of Christoffel, where the original may be found. Schaff gives a translation so different as to be almost unrecognizable as the same poem—vii, 173. Cochran much better preserves the spirit and meter of the original:

"Lord, raise the car
From out the ditch of war,
Or black as night
Will be our plight.
Our evils flow
From those that sow
Base treachery;
Who thee despise,
And 'gainst thee rise
Insolently.

"Lord, shake off those
That are thy foes;
But thine own sheep
Guide thou from off the steep
To pastures wide;
Within thy fold may they abide
Who thy laws keep.

"Ordain that wrath
No longer burn;
That we to truth's old path
Again return.
These armies then shall raise
United praise,
And ever sing
To thee, Eternal King."

R. Stähelin compares the poetry, and especially the hymns of Zwingli, with those of Luther, to the disadvantage of the former.—Huldreich Zwingli, p. 164. The above poem has been injudiciously compared with Luther's "Ein' feste Burg." The two poems have almost nothing in common.

him were multifarious and burdensome. Many of his most valuable writings were produced in this period.[1] But he had constantly to contend against the indifference of the people, both of Zurich and Berne, to the dangers with threatened the welfare of the Reformation. In Zurich many were opposed to him because of his political activity. His fault was that he was a patriot as well as a theologian, and that he had the vision of a statesman. Wearied and discouraged by the opposition to his political plans, he appeared before the great council of the city and resigned his ministry, leaving the hall in which the council met with tears.[2] The council refused its consent to the separation and encouraged him to believe that hereafter they would cooperate with him more perfectly. As a result he was constrained to withdraw his resignation, and he once more began his work.

ZWINGLI'S LAST YEARS.

While there was nominal peace between the Roman Catholic and Protestant factions the bitterness really had increased. Both sides were stubborn and aggressive. Neither party lived up to the agreement of mutual toleration.[3] The Roman Catholic cantons were burning under the conditions imposed upon them by the treaty of 1529. They sent an embassy to the diet of Augsburg, who were received with tokens of great favor, while the confession sent by Zwingli was never even so much as presented to that body. Luther and the Roman Catholics alike turned against the Swiss reformers and made common cause against them. Zwingli saw no way out except in war. Berne, however, opposed his measures, and instead of war proposed to cut off the supplies from the forest cantons until they should allow free access of the Gospel to all the bailiwicks, or common lordships. Zwingli opposed this as more cruel than war and as entirely out of harmony with the true spirit of Christ. Indeed, more cruel than

FRICTIONS AGAIN INCREASING.

[1] His two confessions of faith, the one sent to the diet of Augsburg in 1530 and his confession addressed to Francis I of France, together with his work on Divine Providence and his commentaries on Isaiah and Jeremiah, fall in this period. The confession sent to Charles V at Augsburg was never laid before the diet. The one sent to Francis I contained the expressions concerning the possible salvation of sincere brethren which so shocked Luther. The substance of this confession may be found in Schaff's Creeds of Christendom, i, 368 f. Both are given in the German in the second part of Christoffel's H. Zwingli, Leben und ausgewählte Schriften, pp. 237–298. That work will afford its readers a sufficiently full idea of Zwingli's faith and practice in reference to the Church and education.

[2] See his language quoted in Schaff, vii, 181.

[3] Bluntschli thinks Zurich was less true than the five forest cantons.—Schaff, vii, 180.

war it was, for it involved in the suffering not only men, but innocent women and children. Zwingli foresaw the desperation which this act would arouse in the five forest cantons, but he was powerless to alter the conclusion. The influence of Berne was stronger with the council of Zurich than his own.

The excitement became so intense that all manner of visions and apparitions were witnessed. Even Zwingli saw a warning specter, robed in white, departing into the water as he emerged from the council chamber. About the same time Halley's comet became visible, and was interpreted by Zwingli and others as an omen for ill. Among the public in general it increased the apprehension of danger. Blood was seen to spurt from the very earth itself, but so far from frightening the beholders into efforts at peace the effect was to drive them, as by a mad fatality, into war. The five forest cantons, although censurable for resisting the conditions of the peace of 1529, were not to blame for endeavoring by force of arms to protect their families from starvation.

MOVEMENT BY FOREST CANTONS.

While Zurich was divided in its opinions the inhabitants of the forest cantons unexpectedly appeared with an army of eight thousand men on the borders of the territories of Zurich, near Cappel. The Zurichers were unprepared. The entire force which they could summon was but fifteen hundred men. These were commanded by experienced leaders, but one of them, at least, was suspected of treachery in the interest of the enemy. Full of forebodings, but determined to share the fate of his countrymen, Zwingli went forth to battle. But personally he lifted no weapon against the enemy, although he remained in the thick of the fight. While kneeling over a wounded soldier, to whom he was administering Christian consolation, he was felled by a stone hurled from the hand of one of the enemy. As he rose he was pierced with a lance. While bleeding he uttered his last recorded words. They were: "What matters this evil? They may kill the body; the soul they cannot kill." He was seen by several persons as he lay in agony upon his face, or with eyes upturned to heaven, with his hands folded in prayer across his breast. It remained for Captain Vockinger to thrust him through with a sword after he had twice refused, by movement of his head, to call upon the saints and confess to a priest, and thus take the life of the "obstinate heretic."[1]

DEATH OF ZWINGLI.

[1] Doubtless the "honest old Christian," as Solat calls Vockinger, thought he had treated Zwingli with great consideration in twice offering him opportunity to repent. As he applied the sword he exclaimed, "Die, obstinate heretic."

His body was afterward put to the indignity of being quartered and burned, while his ashes were scattered, with those of swine, upon the air. [1]

The war continued but a short time after the battle of Cappel. The Zurichers were disunited; the Bernese had advocated and carried through half measures more cruel than war; while the five cantons opposed to them had everything at stake. As a result the reformed cantons were obliged to submit to a dishonorable peace. inimical to the welfare of the Gospel and the progress of the Reformation.

We leave the Reformation in Switzerland in this state of chaos to indulge in a few reflections relative to the life and character of Zwingli. He was a man of remarkable clearness of thought, free from the influence of vague emotions, with a tendency to observe the practical outcome of everything he undertook. His interests were wider than the Church, or, rather, his conception of Christianity included the entire range of human relationships. His religion made him a patriot. More peaceful than Luther in private as well as in public life, he yet favored war as the only solution of the political situation. As a reformer he claimed independence of Luther. He was led to make this claim partly in self-defense against those who wished to effect his ruin by placing him in the same category with the German reformer, and partly by the instinctive sense of self-respect so prominent in his life. Luther always assumed that Zwingli was his follower and imitator, and hence resented any departure from his doctrines and example. But while we must admit the powerful influence which Luther exerted upon Zwingli, the latter was never conscious of it. His claim to having preached the pure Gospel as early as 1516 cannot be maintained. That it appeared so to him arose from the fact that he never could point to any time when his eyes were suddenly opened; and the progress toward the truth which he had undoubtedly made at that early day appeared as a complete emancipation from Rome under the reflected light of the later years. In fact, he had the Gospel truth in his possession at that time, though only in the germ. It needed but to be developed and to displace the error with which it was mixed to make him all that he afterward be-

CHARACTER OF ZWINGLI.

[1] Schaff mentions the "uncertain and improbable tradition" preserved in Myconius's Life of Zwingli, according to which the heart of the reformer was saved from burning as by a miracle (mirabile dictu), taken to Zurich, and then thrown into the river to prevent idolatry. It would require an immense amount of credulity to believe that there is any truth whatever in the story.

came. His judgment may have been at fault in reference to the trying questions which agitated Switzerland in his latest years, but it must be confessed that all went well so long as the reformed cantons followed his advice. Perhaps he will never rank so high in the estimation of mankind as Luther, but while he lacked the strength he also lacked the faults of his greater contemporary. The encomium of the poet that

> "The fittest place for man to die
> Is where he dies for man,"

will be reflected backward upon the fame of Zwingli to the end of time.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE REFORMATION IN FRENCH SWITZERLAND.

THE Reformation in French Switzerland is a part of the French Reformation. Not only was it carried on among French-speaking peoples, but it found its chief propagators among the Protestants of France, and in turn it gave form and direction to the movement in the mother country. France gave Calvin, and Calvin Geneva, to the Protestant world. Had the Reformation in France utterly failed to establish itself, its contributions to the cause in Switzerland, Germany, and England would place us under immeasurable and enduring obligations to Lefèvre, Briçonnet, and their colaborers. When the star of the Zwinglian Reformation set, another was about to rise which should mount higher, shine with brighter radiance, and shed its rays more widely over the earth. What was lost by the death of Zwingli was more than compensated by the advent of Calvin. The later movement in the French cantons was destined to outstrip the earlier among the German. Even the name which such vast numbers of French Protestants have been proud to bear sprang from Switzerland.[1]

RELATION TO FRENCH REFORMATION.

Of the three principal reformers in French Switzerland, two, Guillaume or William Farel and John Calvin, were natives of France; while the third, Peter Viret, though born at Orbe, in the Pays de Vaud, received his theological education in Paris, but before he left that city had been converted to Protestantism. So it may be truthfully said that French Switzerland was evangelized by French Protestants.

Too little attention has been given to the labors and merits of Viret. Upon his return to Paris from Switzerland he was induced by Farel to begin his work in Orbe. He was but twenty years of age when he entered upon his labors (1531), but in a short time his eloquence and learning enabled him to win his parents and about two hundred others to his side.

PETER VIRET.

[1] The word *Eidgenossen* (literally, sworn comrades), applied to the Swiss confederates, was corrupted into *Eignots* and then into *Huguenots*. Its original significance was purely political, but when the French *Eidgenossen* (Huguenots) came to be preponderantly Protestant the word was extended to include their coreligionists in France. The epithet Huguenot displaced that of Lutheran.

The canton of Berne ordered a disputation for October, 1536, in Lausanne, which lay within its territory. The theses under discussion were prepared by Viret, and he was one of their principal defenders.[1] The Protestant party prevailed, and Lausanne became legally connected with the Reformation, November 1, 1536. Viret was teacher and principal pastor until 1559, when he was deposed by the Berne council for too great strictness in discipline and on account of his predestinarian opinions.[2] But the work he accomplished there, both for the city and for the cause at large, was of first importance. At the age of forty-eight, upon leaving Lausanne, he received an appointment as teacher in Geneva, whence he made successful evangelistic tours into every portion of France, serving the French Protestants in a variety of ways. He died (1571) at Orthez in Bearn, France, where he had been engaged as a teacher in the academy under the patronage of Jeanne d'Albret.[3] Beza was his assistant in the academy at Lausanne from 1549 to 1558, but would not brook the opposition of the Berne council to his Calvinistic views, and therefore went to Geneva one year earlier than Viret, where he became the successor of Calvin at the latter's death. The attachment of the Bernese for the Zwinglian, or their detestation of the Calvinistic doctrine, must have been powerful indeed that it should have been allowed to deprive them of two such men.

WILLIAM FAREL.

Farel was the real pioneer of the Reformation in French Switzerland. His life is like a long romance, though filled with great intensity of earnestness. He was with Lefèvre and Briçonnet at Meaux, already a master of arts, and a man of thirty-two years of age.[4] His disposition was intrepid, his purpose determined, but he lacked self-control. His fiery impulses prompted him to acts of iconoclasm which brought him into disrepute and failed to benefit the cause.[5] Originally an ardent Ro-

[1] See, for an extended account of this disputation, Ruchat's Histoire de la Ref. de la Suisse, iv, 181–364.

[2] The canton of Berne could not tolerate the Calvinism of Viret and lent but reluctant aid to Geneva in its struggle for reform.

[3] The daughter of Margaret of Angoulême and Henri d'Albret, titular king of Navarre.

[4] He was born in Gap, a town of Dauphiny in southeast France, in 1489.

[5] He was surnamed the Elijah of the French Reformation and the scourge of the priests.—Schaff, vii, 237. When accused of troubling the Church he replied like Elijah to Ahab, "It is thou, and not I, who disturbed Israel." Godet compares Farel and Calvin by saying that the former was born for conquest and the latter for conservation and discipline. Lefèvre had said to him as early as 1512 that God would renew the world and that Farel would live to see it.—Histoire littér. de la Suisse française, p. 51.

manist, more popish than the pope himself, blindly zealous for the faith of his fathers,[1] he became equally earnest but more intelligent in his devotion to Protestantism. When his untempered zeal made his longer stay in Meaux impossible he returned to his native Gap, but was soon driven away.

We find him next in Basel, where, in February, 1524, he was instrumental in converting the learned Franciscan monk, Pellican. Erasmus was then in Basel, but his prudence appeared like cowardice to Farel, who did not hesitate to charge that grave defect upon the distinguished scholar. As a result the council banished the impertinent Frenchman from the city. A year spent in Strasburg and Montbéliard was marked by the same tumultuous opposition which greeted him everywhere. He lacked the power of conciliation. He accomplished everything either by force of superior learning or of stronger will. Sometimes indeed his violence was his only hope of success, as when his threatened curse of God overcame the timidity of Calvin, who was thus held in Geneva. Restless in his activity, he now appears in Aigle, which was in the subject territory of Berne. Here, under the assumed name of Guillaume Ursinus, he performed the duties of a schoolmaster until 1528, when, upon the formal reception of the Reformation by Berne, that city commissioned him as a sort of evangelist within its territories. His incessant labors were conducted in private houses and in the open air, in places of public resort and in private, but everywhere they were attended by confusion and excitement; although in Neuchâtel, where he was destined to spend his last years in the comparatively peaceful pursuit of pastoral duties, he met with eminent success.

FAREL'S LABORS.

After the introduction of the Reformation into Neuchâtel his labors there were interrupted for a term of years, during which he brought Geneva over to Protestantism.[2] But in 1538 he became the principal pastor in Neuchâtel. During the twenty-seven years of his pastorate he not only labored amid much opposition to introduce the severe discipline of Calvin, but, true to his native restlessness of disposition, he made frequent and rapid journeys into Alsace and Lorraine, visiting their cities and converting Romanists, confirming the faith of the Protestants and comforting the numerous refugees of his own country. Four years prior to his death, when he was seventy-two years of age, he re-

FAREL AT NEUCHÂTEL.

[1] He even began to write the lives of the saints, so devoted was he to them.

[2] His achievements in Geneva will be farther treated as introductory to the work of Calvin in that city.

turned by invitation of his countrymen to Gap, where the four brothers whom he had led to Protestantism after his flight from Meaux had become a strong congregation. In defiance of royal orders he preached to the many Protestants of the town.

Farel's friendship for Calvin was touching, and he followed him speedily to the grave. He died September 13, 1565, at the age of seventy-six, surrounded by his friends and the witnesses of his heroic and self-sacrificing toils. He was a strange mixture of aggressiveness and self-distrust. His course was not the result of self-assertion, but of adherence to convictions of duty. He knew his limitations and well judged what to dare and what to avoid. Though positive in his own faith he was gentle in his deportment toward those Protestants with whom he could not agree. His terrific blows were all aimed at those who hindered the progress of the Reformation. That he should have induced Calvin to remain and subsequently return to Geneva would have been merit sufficient for the labors of a lifetime.

FAREL AND CALVIN.

The brightest chapter in the history of the French Swiss Reformation is the life and labors of John Calvin in Geneva. The city had achieved its independence of Duke Charles of Savoy by the aid of Charles's nephew, Francis I, but a short time prior to the advent of Farel in 1532. Farel was accompanied by Matthew Saunier,[1] and the two evangelists were visited on the day following their arrival by a body of prominent citizens, to whom they explained the Protestant doctrines. It was held out to them as an inducement to the acceptance of these new ideas that they would thereby the more effectually establish their new-found liberties. The presence of these two men in the city so alarmed the authorities that the council ordered them to depart. With much difficulty and with many bruises they escaped the mob of priests and their followers and found their way to a place of safety. In January, 1534, however, Farel held a disputation with Guy Furbity, a doctor of the Sorbonne. The victory was not very decided, but something at least had been gained for Protestantism. Berne took up Farel's cause and protected him and his companions, Viret and Froment,[2] while they preached the

CALVIN AND FAREL IN GENEVA.

[1] Saunier had defended Jacques Pauvan, who for his heresies was burned at the stake in 1526.

[2] Froment was a disciple of and companion in labors and persecutions with Farel. His career was downward, although he seems to have repented in later life, and was finally received back into Geneva, whence he had been banished for adultery in 1562. He was earnest but unstable.

truth in Geneva. So effectual was their ministry that in August, 1535, the Reformation was legally introduced by order of the Council of Two Hundred. The usual restrictions as to papal usages followed, but also certain disciplinary measures of an unusual character. These fell far short, however, of the severity afterward insisted upon by Calvin. As yet the type was that of Zurich. Geneva was soon to take the lead and to mark out a path for itself.

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See M. Mauris in Pop. Science Mon., Nov., 1877; Martyrdom of Servetus in Unit. Rev., Jan., 1883; J. H. Allen, Servetus, in New World, Dec., 1892 (i, 639 ff.); C. W. Shields, Trial of Servetus, in Presb. and Ref. Rev., July, 1893; J. W. Richard, The True Story of Servetus, in Chr. Lit. Mag., i, 23; S. C. Mitchell, A Stricture on Schaff's Account of Servetus, in Am. Journal of Theology, i, 450 ff. (April, 1897). A transl. of the Restitutio into German, ed. by B. Spiers, appeared at Wiesbaden in 1896. See G. Kawerau, in Th. Litz., 1896, No. 5.

CHAPTER XXVII.

JOHN CALVIN TO HIS SETTLEMENT IN GENEVA.

THE leadership of Geneva was to be brought about by John Calvin, than whom perhaps no great leader of the Church has elicited more profound esteem, not to say affection, nor deeper abhorrence. Perhaps it should be a function of history in the present age to mitigate the severity of the judgments which have until recently been entertained concerning him and his history, by placing him in our thought in juxtaposition with his own times. Had he breathed the atmosphere of a gentler era he would not himself have been so severe. And it is only when he is viewed in certain aspects that he appears really stern and relentless. Although he lived so little in the realm of sentiment, his correspondence reveals him as an affectionate husband and a tender and sympathetic friend. Yet, after all allowance is made, it must be confessed that there was in his fiber a hardness which, while it fitted him for his work, will ever prevent the world from paying him the homage bestowed upon many inferior souls. With all his love of learning he was little affected by the spirit of Humanism, which almost universally prevailed among the scholars of his time.[1] His nature was composed of such stern elements that it could not easily be softened by surrounding influences.

But it will be better to let his life speak for him. Born in Picardy, in the town of Noyon, July 10, 1509, he was twenty years younger than Farel, who prepared his way at Geneva. Of his earlier life we have but meager records in his own writings. We know that his father was a man who commanded the respect of all classes, and who by his character and ability was able to secure from the Church revenues sufficient to maintain the boy in school.[2]

[1] To this statement his first book, A Commentary on Seneca's De Clementia, is no exception. It is characteristic that he should have made his only Humanistic effort along the line of the Stoic morality.

[2] The influence of the father, Gerard Calvin, or Cauvin, was such that when Jean was but twelve years old he secured for him the chaplaincy of the Chapelle de la Gesine in connection with the cathedral, with a part of its revenues, and at the age of eighteen the cure of St. Martin de Marteville. Such disregard of canon law was not uncommon at that time. For numerous examples see Schaff, vii, 301.

Destined by his father for the priesthood, he was sent to Paris, where, in the College de la Marche, he studied Latin, and subsequently philosophy and theology in the College de Montague. His morals at this time, as through all his life, were severe. Addicted to the duties of religion, he was studious to make the most of his opportunities, and there is no reason to believe the evil reports of the cowardly Bolsec, which were not published until Calvin had been thirteen years in his grave.[1] From Paris he went to Orleans, where he studied law under the future president of parliament, Pierre de l'Etoile, his father having changed his purpose concerning the youth because of his suspected qualifications for legal pursuits and the better earthly prospects which would thus be opened to him.[2] So proficient was he here that he was sometimes called upon to lecture in the absence of the professor, and was offered the doctor's degree without the usual charge.[3] This proffer he declined, however, and proceeded to Bourges, where he pursued his legal studies under the Milanese, Andrea Alciati, the most celebrated lecturer on law, if not the most distinguished jurist of his day.

CALVIN'S EARLY LIFE.

In the providence of God this eager pursuit of the law was to place him in a situation in which his mind would be drawn in a new direction. Turned away from the priesthood by his father through considerations of temporal welfare, Melchior Wolmar (or Volmar), professor of Greek and Hebrew at Bourges, was to lead him back again to a true priesthood. For while this German Protestant and former pupil of Lefèvre probably did nothing more than to turn his attention to the study of the Greek New Testament, this it undoubtedly was which both opened Calvin's eyes to the errors of Romanism and prepared him for the doctrinal and practical labors of later years. Subsequently to the death of his father, whom he attended in his last illness, he resumed his interrupted studies, but this time in Paris, where,

CALVIN'S CHANGE FROM LAW TO THEOLOGY.

[1] Bolsec's quarrel against Calvin arose on account of a difference on points in theology. He was a "pestilent fellow" whom neither the Genevese nor the French would tolerate. He reported that, for the crime of sodomy, Calvin had been branded with the fleur-de-lis, this milder punishment being substituted for the proper one of burning, at the suggestion of the bishop of Noyon. There is absolutely no ground for giving credit to the slander. See a long note on the subject in Schaff, vii, 302, 303.

[2] See the Preface to his Commentary on the Psalms.

[3] He was so well versed in legal lore even at this early date that he was consulted about the divorce of Henry VIII of England. His opinion was favorable to Henry.—Burnet, Hist. of the Ref. Church of England, bk. ii, pt. 1.

in 1532, he published his Commentary on the De Clementia of Seneca. Even this book exhibited no trace of a change in his religious convictions, and it is highly improbable that it was intended as an apology for the Protestants or as a plea for the royal clemency in their behalf.

Just when Calvin's conversion took place we do not know. He attributes it to the providence of God, and says that his obstinate devotion to the superstitions of popery rendered his extrication from that profound and miry abyss difficult, and that therefore God suddenly converted and thus subdued his intractable mind. The most that he credits this change with doing for him was the impartation of "some taste and knowledge of true godliness." But he says that this imflamed him with such a desire to make progress therein that in its interest he was led to pursue his other studies with less ardor.[1] Whether this was at Bourges, under the influence of Wolmar, or at Paris, where he must have heard the reformed preachers, it is impossible to discover. Certain it is that before November, 1533, he had made such advances in his new ideas that he could write the bitter attack of Rector Cop against the doctors of the Sorbonne and the theology which they held. The delivery of this address and the discovery that it was composed by Calvin produced very great excitement and led to the adoption of severe measures against the Protestants. The address maintained the doctrine of the forgiveness of sin and the gift of eternal life as having their source alone in God's grace, and not as a result of the merit of good works. The theologians of the Sorbonne were attacked as ignorant sophists who taught nothing of faith, the love of God, the remission of sins, grace, or justification, which they did not at the same time undermine by their sophistries. Cop fled to Basel and Calvin to Angoulême, where he was protected for a time by Louis du Tillot, the canon of the cathedral. Tillot had collected a large library, which Calvin was permitted to use. Here he taught Greek to his protector and mingled on honorable terms with the literary men of the place. Perhaps, also, he here began his Institutes, which work was to lift him to sudden fame, and certainly he wrote the Preface to the first edition of the French translation of the Bible by his cousin, Robert Olivetan. In May, 1534, being completely converted from the errors of Romanism, he resigned his ecclesiastical benefices, thus formally cutting himself off from the Roman Catholic Church. It is a striking coincidence that in the same year Ignatius Loyola founded the order

CALVIN'S ATTACK ON THE SORBONNE.

[1] See his Preface to the Commentary on the Psalms.

of Jesuits. These two men, who had studied at the same time in the college of theology in Paris, were now at once taking divergent ways. The movements headed respectively by them, though different in aim and method, vary but little in spirit, both inculcating the most rigid adherence to convictions of duty. The difference in aim, however, has made one a blessing and the other a curse to every community in which the products of their genius have appeared.

The causes which led Calvin at length to forsake his native land have been misunderstood. He did not flee to Switzerland for safety, but for leisure.[1] The desire to continue his studies was stronger than the purpose to aid in bringing about a reform. Indeed, it is possible that had he been left to himself he would never have assumed the rôle of a reformer. Notwithstanding his extensive acquirements, he was timid and self-distrustful. His ideal was lofty and, it is to be feared, unsuited to a world of reality. But in a way little suspected by himself God was leading him to the field of his highest usefulness. He was to do more than employ his pen in attacks upon Rome and in defense of the Reformation.

Departing from France, which he was to visit but once again, he found his way, in company with his friend, pupil, and patron, du Tillot, through Metz to Strasburg, and thence to Basel late in 1534, where, under Simon Grynæus, he studied Hebrew. Here in 1536 he published to the world the first edition of his famous Institutes in Latin.[2] This work, which gave its author at the age of twenty-six a position second to none in the Protestant theological world, was intended as an apology for Protestantism. The original purpose of Calvin had been to provide for his countrymen a suitable form of instruction in true religion. The baseless scandals of the enemies of Protestantism having intensified the fires of French persecution, he thought it best to address his book to Francis I, in the hope that that sovereign, seeing the real nature of the reformed doctrine, might be induced to protect its innocent and loyal adherents. Should he continue to listen to the malevolent whispers of their enemies, however, and refuse the accused an opportunity to speak for themselves, the

FIRST EDITION OF INSTITUTES.

[1] Preface to Commentary on the Psalms.

[2] The work was not so early published in its final form, but was much elaborated and strengthened through a series of years. Yet, in its original form, it was a marvelous work. The Preface to the Institutes has been classed, together with the Preface of de Thou to his History of France and of Casaubon to his Polybius, as one of this trio of greatest prefaces known to literary annals. Schaff gives lengthy extracts in English—vii, 332–334. On pp. 336–343 he gives extracts from the body of the work.

terrible ordeals to which they were put might continue for a time, but the Lord would assuredly stretch forth his hand for their deliverance and for the punishment of their persecutors.[1]

The savage and unreflecting fury of Francis could not be modified by so calm and dignified an appeal for justice. But while the Institutes failed in their secondary object, they accomplished the primary purpose of their author. They were read not only in France, but throughout all Europe. A French edition, published soon after, opened the ideas of the book to the common people, for whom they were originally intended. By this and by his writings in general he contributed to the formation of the French language almost as much as Luther's writing influenced the German.[2] However men may differ from his tenets concerning predestination and election, there is no one competent to judge who would deny the scholarly strength and philosophic ability displayed in this theological masterpiece of the French Reformation. It gave its author the title of "The Aquinas" of the Reformed Church, which, coming as it does from the Romanists themselves, is intended to signify the greatness of the work and the intellectual power and spiritual insight of Calvin.

FRENCH EDITION OF INSTITUTES.

The motives which led Calvin to leave Basel and visit Italy we can only conjecture. That his sojourn was at the court of Renée, Duchess of Ferrara,[3] would indicate that he must have gone at her invitation. She was accustomed to gather about her the most cultivated men of the age, and she may have heard of Calvin through Margaret of Angoulême. However this may be, he gained an ascendency over her mind, already so favor-

CALVIN IN ITALY.

[1] So ran the plea in the famous Preface, ending with a note of defiance.

[2] For testimonies on this point see Stähelin, Johannes Calvin, ii, 363 f. Stähelin quotes Sayous, Etudes littéraires sur les écrivains français de la Réformation, Paris, 1854; F. Bungener, Calvin, sa vie, ses œuvres, et ses écrits, and the Roman Catholic literary historians, Lacroix and Nisard.

[3] Renée, or Renata, was the daughter of Louis XII of France, and a godly and brilliant woman. Some have supposed, though without any proof, that his Institutes had given him such fame as to cause him to be invited. Beza indicates as Calvin's motive the desire to see Italy and to become acquainted with Renée. A useful book on Reneé is Strack's work, trnaslated by Catherine E. Hurst under the title of Renata of Este: a Chapter from the History of the Reformation in France and Italy, Cincinnati, 1873. According to an article in the Bulletin de la société pour l' histoire du protestantisme français, 1860, p. 168, Calvin made a deep impression by his preaching, both on the French and the Italians at Renée's court. He seems also to have attracted the favorable attention of Titian.—Stähelin, ii, 6, 7.

able to the Reformation, which led her to adopt him as her future spiritual guide, an office which he filled with conscientious zeal and effectiveness.

We pass by Calvin's traditional visit to the valley of Aosta. Certain it is that he was compelled to flee from Italy. Arrived again at Basel, he left du Tillot and made a last visit to France, where he settled his financial affairs, and, taking his brother Antoine and his sister Marie with him, bade a final farewell to his native land, intending to settle in a foreign country, and there pursue his chosen life as a student of the things of God, in the hope of furthering the cause of reform at home. The little party directed their journey toward Basel, but the war between Charles V and Francis I closed up the direct route and made a detour by way of the territories of the Duke of Savoy and the Swiss confederate cantons necessary. Thus, contrary to his purpose, Calvin was brought to Geneva.

LAST VISIT TO FRANCE.

By what a devious path was God leading him to his sublime mission! Du Tillot had left Basel and was spending a year in Geneva. He chanced to see Charles d'Esperville, as Calvin now called himself,[1] and recognized in him the author of the Institutes and his old-time friend. Hastening to Farel, he told him of the presence of the great theologian in Geneva. Calvin's purpose to remain in the city but one night was thereby altered. Farel knew that another than himself could better establish the work which he had begun. Long and earnestly had he prayed God to raise up a suitable instrument. He now believed that his prayer had been answered. Laying before Calvin the difficulties which he could not himself surmount, and endeavoring to make him see the hand of God in the call, Farel expected a favorable answer at once. But Calvin could not so quickly yield his cherished plans. He felt that he lacked alike the age, the experience, and the tastes demanded for the practical work of a reformer. His must be, he thought, the more modest task of aiding the cause with his pen. Had we no other evidence, the result of Farel's course would demonstrate the presence of something far higher than self-will in the violence of the mighty iconoclast. Something more awful than the mere manifestation of a human purpose must have been evident in the curse which Farel now called down upon Calvin if he preferred his own way to the clearly designated providential path. Somehow Farel made the impression upon Calvin

PROVIDENTIAL MEETING WITH FAREL.

[1] At various times Calvin traveled under this and other assumed names.

that he was the mouthpiece of heaven, the hand of God, which he dared not resist.[1]

One to whom God was less real or who failed to recognize the awful consequence of disobedience to divine command would have entered upon so important a work under such conditions with certainty of failure. But the strong-willed Calvin was just the man to feel the force of the Almighty will and to acquiesce in it. His duty was clear, whatever his own judgment of his fitness might be. His inclinations must yield to the sense of divine obligation, for duty was supreme. The entire Genevan period of his life can be best understood when considered as the product of an unfaltering loyalty to the sovereign will of God rather than as a congenial task. He submitted to God's stern will, and the Genevese must submit to him as the agent of God. However it might crucify the flesh, the commandments of the Lord must be observed, whether by John Calvin or the inhabitants of Geneva.

[1] See a letter of Farel to a friend under date of June 6, 1564, in Farel's Du vray usage de la croix, Geneva, 1865, pp. 314 ff.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE REFORMATION IN GENEVA TO THE EXPULSION OF CALVIN AND FAREL.

HAVING yielded, Calvin entered upon his work, not, indeed, with zest, but with a firm conscientiousness which, though it lent a certain hardness of outline, yet supplied a superhuman energy for his efforts. With all possible haste he made his expected visit to Basel, and in a very short time was at work in Geneva. His first duties were those of the teacher of theology, to which were soon added those of the pastor and preacher. In a short time there were in Geneva, besides Farel and Calvin, Courault, who replaced Viret upon the transfer of the latter to Lausanne in 1536; Saunier and Cordier, who were active in the work of teaching; and Calvin's brother Antoine, and his cousin Olivetan, all engaged in propagating the doctrines of the Reformation.

SEVEN CHIEF WORKERS.

The thoroughness and variety of Calvin's studies now began to prove themselves. But his growth in the admiration and affection of Geneva was not to proceed without trial and interruption. Among the first to cause him trouble was one Pierre Caroli, who had outwitted Beda, the syndic of the Sorbonne, and who subsequently in Geneva gave his adherence to the Reformation. He had married in Neuchâtel and spent some time in Basel, after which he was called as assistant to Viret at Lausanne. But his was a jealous, turbulent, and ungrateful nature, and he soon fell into difficulty with Viret, whom he hesitated to obey. Taking advantage of Viret's absence in Geneva, he began to teach publicly the necessity of prayers for the dead. Calvin and Viret hastened to Lausanne to quiet him, lest the unity of the Reformed Church might be disturbed. He was obliged to yield the point at issue, although through Calvin's intercession he was saved all unnecessary humiliation. Burning under the sense of defeat, however, he rose up in the assembly and declared that there was upon his conscience something which he could no longer suppress. Calvin, Farel, and Viret were, in short, unbelievers in the Trinity, and in reality Arians. This he asserted on the ground that the words "person" and "trinity" were not used in the Genevan catechism.

TROUBLE WITH CAROLI.

Calvin was greatly distressed, not for himself but for the sake of the cause, which was already suffering from the accusation of its enemies that the reformers were divided in their opinions. Besides, while aware of his own orthodoxy, he was too little known to the Swiss not to need a good record in this as in other particulars. The very success of his work depended upon his reputation. A synod at Lausanne gave the accused an opportunity to demonstrate their orthodoxy, but not until the anger of Calvin had been stirred by the obstinate and relentless conduct of Caroli. The great reformer's defense was couched in the bitterest terms, but it also contained arguments which fairly annihilated his opponent. The synod justified the reformers and declared Caroli a base slanderer, unworthy of the ministerial office. Caroli appealed to the general synod, which was then in session at Berne. But here the victory over him was still more complete, and Caroli was banished from the domain. He returned to the Roman Catholic Church, was absolved from his marriage vows, and spent his last years in opposing the Reformation.

While the victory before the general synod had been so decisive, the suspicions of the more thoughtless masses were not allayed, and the feeling, especially in Berne, was such as to prepare the way for continued opposition or indifference to Calvin and Geneva from that time forward.[1] Similar difficulties confronted the reformers in the presence of the Anabaptists, who after much care and anxiety were overcome and expelled from the city. More pleasing was the disputation with Romanists at Lausanne, which ended in winning that city for the Reformation. Here, as in all his disputations, Calvin's learning stood him in good stead.[2] Not in vain had he labored with such diligence in the various fields of philosophy, theology, and law.

OTHER DIFFICULTIES OVERCOME.

These events, however, were only incidental to the principal work of the Reformation. Geneva was morally debased and Calvin was not content with the mere preaching of the truth. The theocratic conception of the relation of Church and State held him enchained. He prevailed upon the council to make sworn subscription to the formulated utterances of the reformers a test of citizenship. Whoever would not take the oath was denied his

[1] Comp. Stähelin, i, 132–139.

[2] At the Lausanne disputation he kept silence during the first five days. But when the other Protestant debaters were unable to discuss the questions in dispute from the authority of the fathers, Calvin, by the aid of his prodigious memory, was able to save the day.

civil rights. Whoever opposed these doctrines was to be subjected to ecclesiastical and secular penalties. The Lord's Supper was thenceforth to be celebrated every month alternately in each of the three principal churches. The ministry were to have the right to refuse the communion to the unworthy, and to the congregation was granted the power of excommunication. A committee of pious and capable men were to watch over the communicants, rebuke those who went astray, and finally, if repentance did not ensue, to exclude them from the table of the Lord. Spiritual songs were to be introduced as a means of lifting the soul to God, and a choir of children trained to take the lead until the melodies had been learned by the people. Religious instruction of children was made obligatory, and parents who refused to conform to this order were stricken from the roll of citizens. Marriage was regulated according to the word of God, and not according to Roman Catholic ecclesiastical law. The Lord's Day was to be kept holy. Theatricals were forbidden, and improper songs were no longer indulged in public places.

MORAL REFORM IN GENEVA.

The execution of these measures knew no distinctions of age, sex, social standing, or official dignity, and but little between degrees of offensiveness. Some persons who had instituted a masquerade were compelled to plead for pardon in the presence of the whole congregation assembled in St. Peter's Church. A dressmaker who had decked out a young woman in an immodest garment, the mother and two friends who assisted her to don the objectionable clothing, and then went out with her, were all obliged to spend two days in jail as a punishment. An adulterer was led, with his sinful accomplice, back and forth through the streets, and then expelled from the city.

If these regulations and punishments appear childish, it must be remembered that they fell in an age and a city in which men practiced sin with all the lack of self-control characteristic of children. Geneva licensed prostitution, and had a legally constituted queen of the brothel as the official head of the institution. The public dances generally ended in the most shameless excesses. The light-minded, frivolous character of the populace demanded severe restraint,[1] and while Calvin did not regard all the amusements forbidden as in themselves harmful, yet because they were so sure to

[1] An illustration of the condition of affairs in Geneva may be found in the fact, mentioned by Stähelin, that certain prominent citizens professed their willingness to swear subscription to the Confession and Catechism, as required, but not to the Ten Commandments, which were too difficult to observe.

be abused he would forbid them altogether. At first it appeared as though this stern enactment would meet with little opposition, but the time would soon come when new and worse trials than any they had yet endured were to confront the reformers. The joy of success was granted but for a little time.

Many of the inhabitants had recalled their oath, still others had not sworn, and all of both classes were defiant. The elections of the early spring of 1538 resulted in the choice of syndics opposed to the regulations of Calvin and Farel. Berne, desirous of uniformity, and instigated by Kunz, chief pastor and a strong Lutheran, appealed to Geneva to do away with some of the peculiarities which had been introduced and to conform to Bernese customs. A synod at Lausanne dealt with the new difficulties. The Genevan reformers were willing to submit themselves to a general synod which was to meet at Zurich in May, but the enemies of the preachers in Geneva had stirred up such an excitement that no serious attempt could be made to administer discipline. The streets resounded again with obscene songs, and where order and decency had been, confusion and wickedness now prevailed. The civil authorities ordered the preachers to administer the sacrament with unleavened wafers, as at Berne. They, in turn, insisted upon employing only ordinary bread. Thus the sacred Easter period approached. The council sent word to Calvin and Farel that others than themselves would be employed on Easter to administer the sacrament. But these were not the men to be intimidated, and, surrounded by their friends, they appeared in the pulpit on Easter Day. The sacrament they refused to administer in any form because of the moral condition of the city; it would be a sacrilege of which they would not be guilty. Instead, they charged upon their enemies the responsibility for the evident deterioration of the city's morals. Although swords were drawn against them and angry countenances were on every side, they concluded their discourses, Calvin in St. Peter's, Farel at St. Gervais's, and reached their homes in safety. Early next morning a meeting of the council was held in which the refractory preachers were deposed and ordered to leave the city within three days.

BANISHMENT OF CALVIN AND FAREL.

CHAPTER XXIX.

CALVIN IN STRASBURG.

THE first sensations of the banished ministers were those of relief. Especially to Calvin the burdens were almost intolerable. The iron had entered his soul. For every sin committed by one of his parishioners he had felt himself in a measure responsible. He trembled inwardly whenever, in after years, he thought of Geneva. But he also saw that his own feelings were not alone to be consulted. Not only was Geneva in danger of being lost to the Reformation through its recapture by the ever-watchful Rome, but with it the best means of influencing the work in France and Italy. God had called him to the work; he would not allow man to depose him from it. He would apply to Berne, which had been measurably to blame for the disruption, in the hope of securing through that city a peaceful adjustment.

The order for their expulsion had been issued on April 23, and so prompt were Calvin and Farel that by the 27th the council of Berne had sent an earnest letter of remonstrance to Geneva, which, however, was without avail. Defeated here, they turned to the general synod at Zurich, now in session, and to which they had originally designed to refer the questions in dispute. This synod favored their cause, and deputed Berne to secure if possible the restoration of the preachers under the express condition that they were to have greater power than ever if they returned. Berne sincerely strove to bring about a reconciliation and the introduction into Geneva of suitable reforms. But the ill will of Kunz rendered all endeavors vain. He made it appear to the Genevese that the reformers despised their council and considered the Genevan church their own possession over which they had the right to exercise despotic authority.[1] Farel was called to Neuchâtel July, 1538, where he spent the remainder of his life, and Calvin went to Basel, where Grynæus received and cared for him.

CALVIN IN BASEL.

Here Calvin spent about three months of quiet and confident waiting for the discovery of God's will. It had now become plain to him that his original opinion of himself was correct, and that he was

[1] See Calvin's letter to Bullinger, given in Henry's Biography of Calvin, Appendix, 9.

incapable of the work which he had undertaken at Farel's earnest wish.[1] This judgment was probably not erroneous. Time and occasion for growth and development were to be granted him in the providence of God. But subsequent events also proved that Farel had made no mistake. The Genevese must be led to appreciate in his absence the agent of God whom they had despised when present.

When Bucer learned that Calvin was no longer employed at Geneva he at once endeavored to secure his assistance in the work at Strasburg. But Calvin's experience in Geneva had made him more reluctant than ever to undertake a new ecclesiastical responsibility. Long and persistently did Bucer strive with him, but he as persistently refused. At length Bucer compared him to Jonah, and warned him of the punishment which would follow his sin.[2] Once more he yielded to the call of God, contrary to his own inclinations; and with the same suddenness which had characterized his settlement in Geneva he departed for Strasburg. His first sermon was preached to the little congregation of French refugees in Strasburg, on the second Sunday in September, 1538. His sojourn of three years was filled with arduous duties, performed with most commendable fidelity. His first duties were those of pastor of the French church, numbering about three hundred souls. To these were added, later, academic lectures on the Gospel of John and on Romans.[3] All these functions he performed with eminent diligence and success, busying himself meanwhile with the perfecting of his Institutes and with other literary labors.

CALVIN GOES TO STRASBURG.

But his sojourn in Strasburg had a far broader significance than this. Here he tasted of the Reformation as a world-wide movement. Strasburg lay at the point where all the streams of intellectual influence springing from the Reformation converged and mingled. The Protestants of this imperial city were neither Lutherans nor

[1] Letter to du Tillot, in Bonnet, i, 47.

[2] Calvin describes his situation in the Preface to the Psalms.

[3] Calvin is to be credited with having introduced the grammatical-historical method of exegesis into theology, particularly in its relation to the Old Testament. He found no sure support for the Trinity in Isa. vi, 3, nor for the deity of the Holy Spirit in Psa. xxxiii, 6, and Isa. xi, 4, nor for a prophecy of Christ in Gen. iii, 15. See other examples in Stähelin, i, 189 f. Richard Simon, the father of Old Testament criticism, and a Roman Catholic, denied Calvin any knowledge of Hebrew. Stähelin characterizes this judgment as laughable, and quotes Meyer as to his minute knowledge of that language—pp. 188, 189, n. But his Old Testament commentaries were published at a later period of life.

Zwinglians in reference to the Lord's Supper; rather from them proceeded the efforts at reunion. Calvin had followed the controversy between Luther and Zwingli; now he was to participate in it. To his mind it was not the truth but the error in their views which had divided the two great reformers. Zwingli held too exclusively to the memorial character of the sacrament, while Luther made too much of the literality of the words of institution. Calvin maintained, contrary to Zwingli, that Christ was present in the supper, but, contrary to Luther, only in a spiritual way. All this he had in fact developed independently in his Institutes. He was now prepared to mediate between the two parties.[1] For this purpose he wrote his work on the Supper of the Lord. The result was that the Swiss and some of the Lutherans accepted his interpretation, while other Lutherans rejected it, thus giving the Reformation in Germany a divided opinion and separate communions, which continued until, in 1817, the union was effected under Frederick William III.

CALVIN'S WORK IN STRASBURG.

A variety of duties and occupations pressed upon him. Among them was his mission as one of the representatives of Strasburg at the diet of Frankfort (1539). Here he met Melanchthon, whom he had previously known only by reputation and through correspondence. The friendship which was thus begun was continued, in spite of certain differences of doctrinal opinion, through life. He also represented Strasburg in the congresses of Hagenau, Worms, and Regensburg, where, as he had anticipated, nothing of a practical character was accomplished.[2] In his contact with the Anabaptists in Strasburg he was successful in winning many of them back to the sobriety of the Reformation. Caroli, however, wearying again of the Roman Church, had returned to Switzerland and was forgiven by Farel. But, as other Protestants in Neuchâtel declined to receive him, he came to Strasburg, where he gave Calvin no end of trouble, even raising doubts among his best friends there as to his trinitarian orthodoxy.[3] It was during his sojourn in Strasburg,

[1] Stähelin well says: "His doctrine of the Lord's Supper did not spring from the wish to mediate between the Lutherans and the Zwinglians, but his position as mediator arose from the nature of his doctrine of the Lord's Supper" —i, 212.

[2] It was while here that Melanchthon, observing his remarkable learning and theological ability, called him by way of eminence "the theologian," a title which was universally conceded to be appropriate.

[3] Calvin himself acknowledged that he and Farel had made a mistake in refusing to sign the Athanasian creed at Berne, as Caroli had demanded.—Stähelin, i, 257.

also, that he married Idelette de Bure, widow of Johannes Storder, one of the converted leaders of the Anabaptists.[1]

Among the inhabitants of Geneva there were many who favored his ideas and obstinately persisted in the purpose to separate themselves from the body of the Church. This Calvin opposed with every argument he could command; but the frivolous, skeptical, ignorant and inefficient character of the preachers who had taken the places left vacant by Calvin and Farel made the task of holding these earnest souls in the Church difficult. They could not bring themselves to take the communion from the hands of such men. The indiscriminate distribution of the elements to the most ungodly of the populace shocked every sense of propriety. So much, however, did Calvin fear a division of the Church that he put forth every effort, and with final success, to hold his adherents in restraint. Indeed, the magnanimity of his disposition was never more manifest than in his dealings with the city which had so ungenerously thrust him out.

CALVIN'S FRIENDS IN GENEVA.

The condition of affairs in Geneva went from bad to worse. During the first year the magistracy maintained a semblance of purpose to enforce order, but the penalties were graded according to the locality of the offenders. For dancing and other amusements those who dwelt in the city were merely rebuked, while the villagers were severely condemned and punished.[2] In the next year punishments were inflicted only for crimes. Those who had been fined demanded reimbursement. The populace claimed release from the oath of confession. This was not formally granted, but the silence of the council had given consent, and none except those who wished to do so made any pretense of further regard for the oath.[3] There was no unanimity nor earnestness in the faith of the councilors. Immorality grew apace. The church edifices were neglected. The Lord's Supper, observed according to Bernese rites, came to be despised, and the school which Calvin had founded passed out of existence.[4] Matters had assumed essentially the aspect which they wore prior to the advent of Calvin, whose hand, though of iron, was needed to hold the impetuous and unrestrained Genevese in check.

The situation was as favorable as possible for the Roman party,

[1] Calvin's married life was happy, but neither in Calvin nor in Zwingli was there any such evidence of romantic affection as in the case of Luther.

[2] Gaberel, Histoire de l'église de Genève, i, 302.

[3] Stähelin, i, 291.

[4] Gaberel, i, 299; Stähelin, i, 291.

and roused the hope that the city might be regained for the faith.

EFFORT OF ROME TO REGAIN GENEVA.

A conference of archbishops, bishops, and cardinals met in Lyons to consult as to the best method to pursue. James Sadolet, bishop of Carpentras in Dauphiny, was intrusted with the task of bringing about the desired result. His moderation toward the reformers would commend him to the Protestants, and he was well fitted for the task. Of mild disposition, he was polished in manners and persuasive in speech. He addressed a lengthy communication to the city in which he but mildly censured the people for their apostasy from Rome, and laid the principal blame upon the hated and banished reformers. In the most plausible language he presented the claims of the Roman Catholic as the true Church of Jesus Christ, and dexterously insinuated the wickedness of separation from the papal fold. The danger was great that this epistle would accomplish its design. The council, to whom it was directed, publicly expressed its gratitude for Sadolet's interest in the welfare of the city.

The Reformation had its friends in Geneva, however, who were not to be blinded by polite words. A copy of the document was sent by a special messenger to Calvin with an earnest request that he answer it. At first he was disinclined to comply, but, notwithstanding the humiliation to which the Genevese had subjected him, and the revulsion which came over him whenever he looked back on his residence among them, he could not see them return to the Roman Church without an effort on his part to prevent it. In the short space of six days he wrote a reply which so completely overthrew the arguments of the wily cardinal that the entire attempt was given up as hopeless. It was a remarkable recognition of their dependence upon their banished pastor that the council had Calvin's answer published in Latin and French at the public expense.[1]

The events which led to Calvin's recall are soon told. It was observed that those who had been the leaders in the purpose to banish the preachers were also those who were most active politically in the attempt to subjugate Geneva to the authority of Berne. Their

POPULAR DEMAND FOR CALVIN'S RETURN.

measures to this end were well-nigh complete, when in June, 1540, the populace, unwilling to yield their civic independence, raised such a storm as resulted in the arrest or flight of the leaders, and thus brought their machinations to an end. The pastors of the city proposed that

[1] Gaberel, i, 312. See lengthy extracts from Calvin's Responsio, in English, in Schaff, vii, 403–412.

the conditions existing four years before should be restored. The people indeed, seeing the danger which they had just escaped, felt the necessity of carrying out the proposition, but naturally realized that they had erred in driving away those who had been instrumental in bringing their city to that high place which was now only a memory. They were determined that the preachers who now served them should not enjoy what they had hitherto aided to destroy. Regret, accompanied by genuine repentance for their injustice to Calvin and Farel, grew deeper and spread wider from day to day, and with the change of sentiment came a demand for their recall.

When Calvin heard of this movement he wrote to Farel exhorting him to do his utmost to prevent its consummation. He would rather die than be nailed again to that cross. He questioned the genuineness of their repentance, or at least the steadfastness of their purpose. He was willing to labor for their welfare when absent, and was not without a certain feeling of affection for his former charge, but from the thought of assuming his former relationship to them his whole being recoiled. When the magistracy actually deputed one of the most honorable of the citizens to secure the return of Calvin, they little dreamed that another year would elapse before he would be with them again. Calvin at first made the excuse that he was just starting on his mission to Worms, and that it would be impossible for him to consider their call until after his duties there had been performed. But the Genevese were as earnest for his recall as they had been determined upon his expulsion. He demanded that Farel also should be invited, but the people of Neuchâtel would not give him up, and Farel felt no obligation to leave them for the sake of the Genevese. The council interested in their behalf the cities of Zurich and Basel, and tried to secure the cooperation of Strasburg. But the latter city felt that Calvin could not be spared as yet. The situation was so important, not only for themselves, but for the Reformation in various countries, that a man of Calvin's eminent talents was much needed.

CALVIN'S RECALL AND RETURN TO GENEVA.

Farel repeatedly strove to secure Calvin's consent to a return. At length a deputation from Geneva followed Calvin to Regensburg, whither he had gone in the hope of aiding a reunion between the Roman Catholic and the Protestant Churches. So earnest were they in their plea that Calvin relented, and finally accepted the call to return. Some months, however, elapsed before his final departure from Strasburg, and it was not until about the middle of

September, 1541, that he again took up the work which, three years before, he had most unwillingly laid down. The Strasburgers had written a letter to Geneva in which they expressed the expectation that Calvin's absence would be of only brief duration. But the Genevese retorted in emphatic language, giving the Strasburgers to understand that they had no intention of again letting go their hold upon the only man whose hand was firm enough to control the affairs of the infant Church.

CHAPTER XXX.

TRIALS AND FINAL TRIUMPH OF CALVIN IN GENEVA.

Upon the resumption of his duties Calvin lost no time in introducing his peculiar ideas into the Church. By November 20, only two months after his return, his "Ecclesiastical Ordinances," somewhat modified by the council, had been put in force. Church and State were theoretically distinct. It was the office of the Church to furnish pastors, doctors or teachers, and elders, who were expected to watch over the morals of the Church, and deacons, who were to care for the poor. Purity in doctrine, in the administration of the sacraments, and in church discipline, with special emphasis upon the last, were demanded. Only one faith was to be tolerated in Geneva, from which it was a criminal act to apostatize. The secular authorities were to punish heresy and compel uniformity of faith. This led to many hardships, and resulted in fastening upon the name of Calvin a blemish so deep as to deserve more extended notice. It was occasioned by the burning of Michael Servetus at the stake on October 27, 1553.

MICHAEL SERVETUS.

This stubborn and aggressive antitrinitarian was born at Tudela or at Villanova, either in the year 1509 or 1511. His own utterances leave us in doubt as to these data. In 1530 he formed a friendship with Œcolampadius, who tried to correct his antitrinitarian views. In 1531 he published in Strasburg, while a guest of Capito, his book entitled Trinitarian Errors, on which account the Strasburgers and the Swiss denied him their farther fellowship. In order to escape the odium which his writings had brought upon him from both Romanists and Protestants he forsook Germany and traveled under an assumed name. He studied medicine in Paris, and practiced his art for a time in Charlieu and afterward in Vienna.

Both in France and Austria he busied himself with literary pursuits, and in Vienna published his Christianismi Restitutio—in reality only a version of his earlier work. In 1545 and 1546 he and Calvin had some correspondence concerning the thoughts which were to enter into this book, and Calvin then declared that if Servetus should come to Geneva and fall under his authority his life would not be safe. He had renounced all affiliation with Servetus.

The date of the publication was 1553. Calvin denounced Servetus to the Roman inquisitor at Lyons, but the heretic denied the authorship of the book and his identity with Servetus. His name, he said, was Villanovus. Calvin sent forward the letters of 1545–1546, and certain comments which Servetus had written upon a copy of the Institutes, sent to him by Calvin and returned by Servetus. His arrest followed, and by pretending to have merely played the part of Servetus with Calvin he undertook to escape identity with the author of the Errors and the Restitution.

Condemned, however, to death, he escaped from prison, and after many vicissitudes landed in Geneva. Calvin had him arrested, and was never contented until Servetus had been executed. Indeed, he made it a condition of remaining in Geneva that Servetus should be put to death, although he wanted him beheaded, not burned.[1]

This direful event, whose heartrending scenes we cannot here reproduce,[2] and which has marred the history of Protestantism almost as much as it blackened the memory of Calvin himself, needs some further elucidation. True it is that the various churches in Switzerland agreed to the decree of execution, and even the gentle Melanchthon justified the act as right and necessary. But while this cannot be denied, it must also be kept in mind that the thought of greater toleration was not unknown to the people of that day. Particularly were the Italian Protestant refugees horrified at the death penalty as a Protestant punishment for heresy.

BURNING OF SERVETUS.

The Italians were themselves, however, generally heretics. Calvin had been compelled to fight almost continuously against one or another form of heresy, indifference to which would not only have brought Protestantism into greater disrepute than ever with Rome, but would have been contrary to every existing sense of Christian duty. Besides, the freedom which Protestantism had proclaimed was being exercised in such a variety of ways as to withdraw attention from the practical concerns of religion, and, by dividing

[1] Notwithstanding the fact is well established, Beard still lays the blame for the burning of Servetus on Calvin. He says, "He (Calvin) wanted to give the world at large, and the papacy in especial, an assurance of the fact that such heresy as that of Servetus was no more tolerable in Geneva than in Rome, and bade men read his witness in the smoke that went up to heaven from the fagots of Champnel."—The Reformation in Relation to Modern Thought and Knowledge, p. 254.

[2] For the full and horrible details see Schaff, vii, 757-786; Stähelin, i, 422–457; and Henry, Life of Calvin.

sentiment, prevented the spread of the real benefits of the Reformation. In actual life it is not uncommon that the principles of right have to be limited in application until their employment can be intrusted to a generation capable of appreciating them. The long ages of compulsory faith had accustomed men's minds to intellectual slavery until it appeared righteous, and had rendered the Protestants, just out of bondage to Rome, unfit to make proper use of their freedom. It was the Romanism remaining in Protestantism which produced all the Protestant persecutions.[1] Under such conditions, had there been perfect tolerance, it is likely that, with every man's hand against his neighbor in matters of belief, Protestantism would soon have destroyed itself. Protestant liberty is only safe among a people whom Protestant principles have molded.

Nothing can justify the burning of Servetus, nor even Calvin's aggressive attitude toward him; but the conditions just mentioned help us to understand the spirit and motive of Protestant persecutions. Besides, Calvin told Servetus that he never had been actuated by motives of personal feeling toward him, and reminded him that he had at one time risked his life to convince him of his errors.[2] There can be no reasonable doubt that Calvin was impelled wholly by the feeling of loyalty to the truth; for Servetus was not merely a believer in these antitrinitarian views, but an active propagator of them. In his zeal he had been most abusive toward Calvin and his doctrines. He had made common cause with the Libertines, the party in Geneva who strenuously opposed the strict discipline which Calvin advocated for the city, and thus gave his case a political turn which it was impossible to disentangle from its religious aspects. Hence the secular authorities, who were at first little inclined to proceed with violence against him, gradually came to discover his dangerous character, and in the same measure grew to dislike him. The efforts of Calvin and Farel combined were not sufficient to persuade them to modify the harsh sentence of burning. Indeed, it is probable that had

CALVIN'S PART IN EXECUTION OF SERVETUS.

[1] To say, as Kabe does, that the parity of religious confessions was not an inner consequence of the Reformation, and that parity and the Reformation have no inner connection, is utterly erroneous. See his Ueber Parität, Freiburg i. B., 1895, pp. 7, 9.

[2] Just prior to Calvin's final departure from France he and Servetus had arranged a disputation to take place at Paris. Calvin appeared, but Servetus did not.

Servetus been left unmolested, as a strict interpretation of religious tolerance would have required, Calvin's work in Geneva would have been once more and forever destroyed. It was a life and death struggle between Calvinism and Servetism. Servetus went so far as to propose the death of Calvin in case the Libertine party should gain the ascendency. Nevertheless, it remains a fact that Calvin had threatened Servetus with death if he came to Geneva, and that he defended the execution of heretics in after life. Romanism had not been eradicated from John Calvin. The traditions of centuries can only be completely overcome by time.

Much historical prominence has been given this event because it illustrates the strictness of Calvinistic principles on the doctrinal side. Equally severe were the principles which controlled the government and discipline of the Church. This was the work of the consistory, or court of elders. It was composed of the six ministers of the city and twelve members of the council, but in spite of its preponderating lay element it was a mere instrument in Calvin's hands. It proposed to govern in civil, domestic, and social life. It could censure, correct, impose penance, require the offender to kneel and beg pardon of the congregation, or excommunicate. The secular authorities recognized the Church and its order of discipline, and added farther penalties than those which the court of elders could inflict. God's word was to govern not only Church, but State. The secular power was the servant of the Church. All manner of amusements which could result in harm were abolished. Theaters, card playing, and dancing were forbidden. While these might appear to the pleasure-loving populace as hard regulations, they resulted in the development of a city whose reputation for virtue and prosperity went everywhere. Calvin's legal studies had doubtless enabled him to form such wise and minute legal enactments as were necessary to this end,[1] and his conception of religion as regulative of the whole life has gone forth to bless all nations where his doctrines have been preached.

THE CONSISTORY IN GENEVA.

But this triumph was not achieved without severe struggles against many foes. The difficulty with Servetus had been preceded by bitter disputes with other opposers of Calvin's theology. Among

[1] Henry gives a number of documents showing the minuteness of the regulations provided by Calvin—ii, 67; Appendix, 3. Compare, for a briefer account of the same, Stähelin, i, 348.

the first and most important was the controversy with Castellio, the talented instructor of Geneva. Like so many others who saw the influence to which the ministry raised its members, he desired to be enrolled in their number. His variations from the accepted belief concerning the Scriptures and the doctrines of salvation were of such a character that Calvin opposed his reception into the ministerial ranks. Although the great reformer had manifested the greatest regard for Castellio, in spite of his heresy, and had done all he could to secure him a situation elsewhere when voluntarily he left Geneva in order to escape Calvin's "tyranny," yet upon his return to Geneva Castellio accused Calvin of an outrageous violation of ministerial and Christian honor. That Castellio was the blameworthy party in the controversy is evident from the fact that he made himself as obnoxious everywhere as he had been at Geneva.[1]

DISPUTE WITH CASTELLIO.

A more serious difficulty was that with Jacob Gruet. This bitter enemy of Calvin was prompted chiefly by the spirit of the Libertine party in the desire for freedom to sin as he pleased. In an anonymous letter to Calvin he threatened him with death if he and his colleagues proceeded any farther. The discovery of the authorship of this letter was accompanied by the revelation of a plot, in which Gruet was a leader, to yield the civil freedom of the city in order to rid themselves of the hateful rule of the preachers. Besides this, Gruet was found guilty of blasphemy against the Scripture, the Virgin Mary, the holy personages of both the Old and New Testament, and even the Redeemer himself. Under torture he confessed enough to convince his opponents that death was the only proper penalty.[2] This was executed on June 26, 1547, by means of the sword.

THE GRUET EPISODE.

Of a similar nature, though with a less tragic ending, was the controversy with Trolliet, a young Genevese who had lived the life of a hermit in Burgundy, but who had returned and become a Protestant. He, too, had desired to become a preacher, and had been recommended by the council for the first vacancy that might occur. Calvin opposed this suc-

TROLLIET ATTACKS CALVIN.

[1] Möller seems to sympathize with Castellio, as, indeed, in his whole treatment of Calvin he appears not to remember the reformer's great patience in the midst of severe trials—iii, 166. On the other hand, Stähelin is too much disposed to justify the conduct of his hero.

[2] Political as well as religious considerations prompted his execution—a fact sometimes overlooked. Nor were the religious causes those which arose from his heresy, but from his blasphemy.

cessfully, and thereby gained the ill-will of Trolliet.[1] Favorable circumstances enabled Trolliet to get possession of certain letters of Calvin in which he had spoken of the depravity of the people and the hypocrisy of the council of Geneva. By publishing these he nearly brought ruin to Calvin (1548). Farel and Viret interposed in his behalf, pointed out that it was Calvin's manner to say what he thought, that he had spoken in a similar way of Luther and Melanchthon, that Trolliet had dealt very dishonorably with Calvin's correspondence, and that if they wished the services of Calvin they would have to take him as he was.

This ended, for a time, the danger from this source. But in 1552, when Calvin had just ended a dispute with Bolsec concerning the doctrine of predestination, Trolliet appeared once more with the accusation that his doctrine made God the author of sin, and indeed that God compelled men to sin. The council, to whom the accusation was addressed, was composed chiefly of Libertine enemies of Calvin. Nothing that the reformer could say was sufficient to satisfy them, but now the populace rose up in his defense and saved him from the council, their representatives. Meantime he had been openly attacked in the church by Jerome Bolsec, but, unknown to his accuser, Calvin was present and heard all that was said. Rising in the congregation, he refuted Bolsec in such a manner as to astonish even those who knew him best. Bolsec was arrested and driven from the city. He wandered about restlessly for some years, and then returned to the Roman Catholic Church, after which he wrote his celebrated but slanderous Life of Calvin.

JEROME BOLSEC.

More bitter were Calvin's struggles with the council, the populace, and especially with the party of Libertines, in carrying out his ideas of Church discipline. At first the people, glad of his return, had adapted themselves willingly to his wishes, and excellent results had followed in individual cases. The other ministers gave him no assistance, but really worked against him. His strong will, his steadfast perseverance in the execution of his purposes, and his triumphs over opposition, led those

CONTINUED STRUGGLES.

[1] It may excite surprise that Calvin should have been so strenuous against the reception of unsuitable persons into the ministry when he tolerated the wholly unworthy men who had taken the places left vacant by the banishment of himself and Farel. He was tolerant of them out of a desire to be magnanimous. But when new preachers were chosen he wished them to be helpers, not, as the others, hinderers of his work. The spirit displayed by those whom he opposed is the best evidence of the correctness of his judgment.

who, in the ministry and laity, wished for power, to regard him as a dangerous tyrant. Attendance upon the services of the sanctuary was compulsory; no trifling with sacred things was permitted. The consistory was impartial, dealing with high and low alike. Marriage regulations entered into the minutest details. Such matters as clothing and wedding presents were regulated by law. All who were capable were required to labor for a support, and begging was forbidden.

The Libertines, a religious sect which held to the doctrine of absolute freedom as to conduct, denying the personality of God, the reality of the Christian history and of sin, were the chief instigators of opposition to these strict regulations. Calvin was not opposed to all forms of amusements, but he saw the tendency to abuse such as were permitted, and hence discouraged them. Dancing had been indulged in by some of the principal families, and Calvin insisted that the laws concerning penance must be executed in their case. The manner in which the Gruet affair ended gave the Libertines the consciousness of having gained the victory,[1] and as a consequence crime and immorality grew apace. The power fell into the hands of Calvin's enemies.

Even the consistory, the one remaining source of safety for the Calvinistic Reformation in Geneva, came within a little of being overthrown. The Libertines, not content with meeting Calvin with argument and allowing the people to decide between him and them, employed the language of ridicule, contempt, and denunciation, to destroy his influence with the populace. They were struggling for the right to indulge their passions; he was striving to lift the city to the condition of true adherence to the Gospel in its theoretical and practical aspects. They did not hesitate to conspire against civil liberty, nor to employ the most detestable agents for their purposes. Calvin was almost wearied out with the struggle. He had returned to Geneva for the city's good. He more and more felt that he was likely to fail after all his endeavors. But at length his pains were rewarded by the complete overthrow of his enemies in 1554. For ten years he was to have peace and the joy of seeing his plans executed for the benefit of the city, the Reformation, and the world.

CALVIN'S FINAL VICTORY.

[1] It was the first death sentence which had been executed under Calvin's régime, and his enemies strove to make it appear that Gruet suffered as a martyr to religious freedom. Hence, while Gruet was out of the way, a reaction had set in against Calvin, which undid the beneficial effects the execution was expected to produce.

The relation of Geneva and Calvin to the Reformation in other countries is a picturesque panorama of world-wide fame. Geneva came to exercise a controlling influence upon all Switzerland. Calvin was successful in establishing higher educational institutions, including a preachers' seminary, in which many young men were educated for the French ministry. His labors on behalf of the French Reformation and his care of the refugees and consolation of the French martyrs are among the brightest pages of reformatory history. In Italy, Poland, Germany, the Netherlands, England, Scotland, and the American colonies taking shape in New England his influence was powerful, and measurably directive. Geneva received an impulse for good which has been manifest from that day to this. Farel was right, God had called John Calvin to the work of a reformer in Geneva;[1] yes, and beyond seas and centuries.

[1] Calvin was a poet of no mean order, although he left but few poems. The following stanzas from one of his hymns furnish a fair specimen:

I GREET THEE.

"I greet Thee, who my sure Redeemer art,
My only trust, and Saviour of my heart!
Who so much toil and woe
And pain didst undergo,
For my poor, worthless sake;
And pray thee, from our hearts,
All idle griefs and smarts,
And foolish cares to take.

"Thou art the King of mercy and of grace,
Reigning omnipotent in every place;
So come, O King! and deign
Within our hearts to reign,
And our whole being sway;
Shine in us by thy light,
And lead us to the height
Of thy pure, heavenly day.

"Thou art the Life by which alone we live,
And all our substance and our strength receive:
Comfort us by thy faith
Against the pains of death;
Sustain us by thy power;
Let not our fears prevail,
Nor our hearts faint or fail,
When comes the trying hour."

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CHAPTER XXXI.

BEGINNINGS OF THE REFORMATION IN FRANCE.

THE lack of a great personality who for a long term of years should stand as a representative of the Reformation in France marks one of the striking differences between the movement in that country and the parallel movements in Germany and Switzerland. The Reformation in France was an exotic upon which the warm sun shone for a time, but which could not prosper under the succeeding heats of persecution. For several decades the French Protestants drew their chief inspiration from Germany and Switzerland, not from their native soil. The names of Lefèvre, Briçonnet, and Farel are not sufficient to prove an exception to the general need of masterful leadership. For the first and second did not remain true long enough to give the cause its needful guidance, while Farel early fled to Switzerland, where he swelled and also mingled with the stream of reformatory activity. The political situation of the kingdom differed from that of both Germany and Switzerland, so as to afford the Reformation a less favorable field for operation. It was difficult to influence a sufficient number of the members of Parliament to warrant the expectation of protection from that source. The king indeed claimed absolute authority, and for a time it appeared as though he might assume essentially the same attitude toward the Reformation in France which Frederick the Wise occupied in Saxony. Had he done so there can be little doubt that the flow of reformatory progress would have been both accelerated and broadened. Considering the circumstances, therefore, the successes of the Reformation in France are almost more astonishing than in Germany and Switzerland; while in romantic and pathetic interest the French far surpasses either the Swiss or the German movement.

THE DEARTH OF LEADERS.

Jacques Lefèvre of Etaples,[1] a village of Picardy, has the high honor of having introduced the Reformation to French soil. Born about 1450, he was nearly seventy years of age when Luther began his reformatory work; yet whether it be regarded as an inevitable result of historical development or

LEFÈVRE.

[1] Better known as Faber Stapulensis, the Latin of his own name and of his native place.

as a special divine providence, his earlier birth did not enable him to anticipate the famous galaxy which almost simultaneously in many lands heralded the reintroduction of the long-exiled Gospel of Christ. But while he did not long precede Luther in the discovery, he nevertheless published the doctrine of the insufficiency of works and the necessity of justification by faith five years earlier than the great German.

His Humanistic studies, pursued under many disadvantages of defective early training, had led him, like Erasmus, Reuchlin, and a host of others, to the study of the divine word. In 1508 he published a commentary on the Psalms, and in 1512 a commentary on the epistles of Paul. It was in the latter work that he clearly enunciated the doctrine of justification. But, as in Luther's case, his doctrine did not at first open his eyes to its logical consequences, and he had no idea of a breach with the Church, to which step, indeed, he never advanced. His views were not so much the symptom of a recoil from the flagrant abuses as an evidence of the independence and originality of his mind. Luther's doctrines were first published for the purpose of destruction; Lefèvre's for the more positive and constructive end of developing truth. As a consequence Lefèvre neither saw the antagonism between his faith and his practices nor called down upon himself the indignation of the ecclesiastical authorities. His doctrine of justification, proclaimed to the world in 1512, did not hinder him from worshiping pictures and images as late as 1514 ; while in 1516 Luther thought him deficient in clear apprehension of spiritual truth.[1] Saint worship and prayers for the dead he continued until 1519. In 1526 an anonymous writer declared that "the greater part of Meaux was infected with the false doctrines of Luther," and made the priest and scholar, Lefèvre, responsible because he had, as vicar general of the diocese, removed the pictures and images from the churches, forbidden the use of holy water, and rejected the doctrine of purgatory.[2] This was a distant remove from his original excessive loyalty to all these superstitions, and must be attributed, in a large measure, to the influence of the Reformation in Germany, with the progress of which his information kept pace.

[1] Baird, History of the Rise of the Huguenots of France, i, 75. Luther so expressed himself in a letter to Spalatin under date of October 19, 1516.

[2] Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris, p. 277. See also Baird, i, 75. Lefèvre, originally professor at the University of Paris, had removed to Meaux in 1516, at the invitation of the newly appointed Bishop Briçonnet. His appointment to the office of vicar general did not follow until seven years later. See Herminjard, Correspondance des Réformateurs, i, 71, 157.

It is a striking fact that while Lefèvre's doctrine of justification, including the rejection of the efficacy of works, aroused no special antagonism, he met with opposition as soon as his biblical studies led him to deny any of the less essential tenets of the Roman Catholic faith. The Church generally accepted the identity of Mary, the sister of Lazarus, Mary Magdalene, and "the woman that was a sinner," and had proclaimed this belief by its arrangement of the gospel lessons. In the course of Lefèvre's investigations he reached a more rational conclusion, and published a work supporting the view that these three were not identical with one another. The excitement, though local, was intense. Three years later the Sorbonne declared the interpretation of Lefèvre to be heretical, and it would have gone hard with him had the king not interfered in his behalf. But the destructive work, which was so necessary a part of the Reformation in every land, had now begun. He had already opened the way for the "renovation of the world," which, as by a prophetic instinct, he had long and frequently foretold.[1]

LEFÈVRE'S VIEW OF THE MARYS.

But he was about to perform a task of far wider consequence than any in which he had hitherto engaged. His doctrines had been drawn from the Bible, and he determined to give that divine book to the French people in their native tongue. It is characteristic of the Reformation that it emphasized the authority of God's word as against ecclesiastical tradition, and that one of the chief agencies for the spread of ideas destructive of Roman Catholicism was the Bible in the vernacular in the hands of the people. Lefèvre's New Testament appeared in 1523 and his Old Testament in 1528. Before the latter year he had left Meaux, but he was permitted to remain there long enough to witness the joy with which the common people read the New Testament in their own language and heard it read in the churches. Lefèvre himself described the effects in a letter to Farel under date of July 6, 1524, a little more than a year after the publication of the gospels.[2] He is authority also for the statement that all through his diocese the epistles and gospels were read in the services, both on feast days and Sundays, and that the reading was accompanied with exhortations at the discretion of the priests. All this was done by the favor of Bishop Briçonnet, and

LEFÈVRE'S NEW TESTAMENT.

[1] See the confirmation in Baird, i, 71. Such prophecies were not uncommon in that period. See Berger, Kulturaufgaben der Reformation, pp. 52, 53.

[2] The gospels appeared in June, the remainder of the New Testament in the autumn of 1523.

was defended by the king in spite of the antagonistic efforts of the Parliament. He was soon to be forced from the scene of his reformatory labors and to become an exile in a foreign land.

BRIÇONNET.

But the history of the Reformation in Meaux, and indeed the history of Lefèvre, cannot be written without notice of Briçonnet, the bishop of the diocese. He had been Lefèvre's pupil as he was now his friend. He had enjoyed a series of ecclesiastical dignities, prior to his elevation to this important see in March, 1516. Among these were two diplomatic visits to Rome, where, like Luther, he saw the need of reform. In the exercise of his episcopal authority he undertook the work of reformation in his own diocese. Although later he tamely submitted to the dictation of his official superiors, he now gave every evidence of his sympathy with the Reformation, both as to its doctrines and its practices. He gathered about him a brilliant company of reformers, including Lefèvre, Farel, Gerard Roussel, and Martial Mazurier, whom he employed as preachers in preference to those who adhered to the old faith. He had forbidden the Franciscan monks to preach in his diocese, and the successes of the Evangelicals aroused the jealousy and the animosity of the Dominicans. It was under his protection that Lefèvre began his translation of the Bible, and to his generosity many of the poor of the diocese were indebted for free copies of the New Testament. It was he who introduced the amazing novelty of the reading of the Scripture in the churches in a language which the people could understand. He listened with obedience to the letters and advice of the German and Swiss reformers, and was consciously responsible for the progress of the new ideas in his diocese during a term of eight or nine years.

But there came a time when he could no longer stem the tide of opposition which rolled violently against him. He now turned upon those whom he had formerly protected and was transformed from a champion of the Reformation into an advocate of the old doctrines and practices. He was the first of a considerable list of the brilliant coterie at Meaux who either retracted their doctrines or so modified their activities as to avoid the inevitable clash with the civil authorities.[1] One after another of the reformers forsook the diocese. Farel, then Lefèvre and Roussel, fled. Farel remained true, but his labors were chiefly confined to Switzerland, whence he

[1] Mazurier may have preceded him. It is said that this most vociferous of the evangelical preachers of Meaux was the first to recede, and that he was largely instrumental in overcoming the scruples of Briçonnet. See Baird, i, 82.

profoundly influenced the work in France. But Lefèvre and Roussel, the scholar and the eloquent preacher, gradually tempered their zeal until there was nothing left except a memory, or at least a private maintenance of what they had once eloquently proclaimed. Both of them came to think it unnecessary to antagonize the existing order too vigorously. Religion was a subjective state which they could enjoy in spite of the recognized abuses of the Church. The selfishness of their conduct, not to say its pusillanimity, was in startling contrast with their former desire to have all enjoy the truth which they possessed. Lefèvre is said to have reproached himself bitterly in his old age for his failure to stand courageously for the truth he had preached to others, and for which they had suffered.[1] The lack of determination on the part of so many of the earliest French reformers is one of the most painful features in the history of the movement. We can contemplate with melancholy pleasure the heroism of those who suffered death for their faith, but the cowardice of those who had not courage even to apostatize, yet who endeavored to maintain in their hearts the truth of God which they denied by their public profession, can produce no sentiment more mild than sadness.

CHECK OF REFORM.

But if Briçonnet forsook the cause, he had at least favored it for a sufficient length of time to give it a place in the hearts of those more constant than himself.[2] Particularly did the laboring classes of Meaux maintain their loyalty to the new faith. They found in it a solace of which the rich and great did not so much feel the need. Through his agency also the Gospel found its way into the heart of at least one of the royal family. It was he who had led Margaret of Angoulême, the talented sister of Francis I, to the Bible as the original and only source of true spiritual wisdom and nourishment. She remained a firm friend of the reformers to the day of her death, and exercised an immeasurable influence for good in the propagation of the truth. And while both in the king's palace and the hut of the laborer the Gospel found a welcome place, there were also many of the more favored of the middle classes, and even of the nobility, who had accepted the Reformation.

The theologians of the Sorbonne had condemned the writings

[1] It must not be supposed, however, that Lefèvre ever again became an adherent of the papal party, as they had hoped. See Herminjard, ii, 386.

[2] He had once exhorted them that if he should ever change his faith, they at least should remain steadfast.

of Martin Luther on April 15, 1521, three days before he stood for their defense at the diet of Worms. In November of the same year they had condemned Lefèvre's view of the relation of the three Marys. These facts are sufficient to show the spirit which prevailed there. The Parliament, in matters of religion, was their subservient instrument. Francis I had no decided religious convictions, but he desired to stand as the representative of the new learning, whose adherents supported, in varying degrees, the reformed ideas. His sister Margaret, by conviction a follower of the reformed faith, employed all her influence with him in the interest of the Reformation.

ATTITUDE OF THE SORBONNE.

As long, therefore, as political considerations made it seem to him possible, he did not interfere with the reformers, but rather protected them. But when Francis, expecting to be absent from the country for some time, placed his mother, Louise of Savoy,[1] on the throne as regent, the sorrows of the Protestants began. She appears at one time to have favored the much-hated Lutheran doctrines. Almost immediately upon her ascent to the throne she began to inquire of the Sorbonne as to the best means of purifying the kingdom from the taint of Lutheranism. They advised the strict and thorough enforcement of every enactment against the heretics; the surrender of the Lutheran books to bishops in their several dioceses; the prohibition of support, in any form, by anyone, of the abominable doctrines. Those who claimed that they were unjustly accused must prove their innocence by the active defense of the old order.

QUEEN REGENT LOUISE OF SAVOY.

It was time, indeed, that energetic measures should be taken if the heresy was to be stamped out; for in every portion of the country the writings of Luther were being read with approval, and converts among all classes were being rapidly gained. The Franciscan monk, Francis of Avignon, whom we saw figuring in the introduction of the Reformation into Hesse and elsewhere, was one of the acquisitions of this period. He had laid aside his cowl and married, defending himself publicly in writing, in 1523. In Paris and Lyons the cause was espoused by Margaret;[2] in Cambray by Pierre Caroli, a lecturer

SPREAD OF REFORM DOCTRINE.

[1] The queen mother, Margaret, and the king constituted what Louise fondly called their "Trinity." Compare Francis I and his Times, by Clarisse Coiquet. English by Fanny Twemlow, p. 140.

[2] The case of Leclerc (see below) revealed the fact that in Paris and vicinity the converts were numerous. See Bulletin de la soc. de l'hist. du prot. français, iii, 23.

in the college and the rival in learning of Beda, syndic of the Sorbonne. The case of Louis de Berquin, a nobleman of Artois, had given much anxiety both to the theologians and the Parliament, and on the immediate borders of the French territory and among French-speaking peoples the Reformation was advancing with rapid strides.

Nevertheless, there is no evidence that the queen regent had, except by inquiry, diverged from the moderate course hitherto pursued by her son. But upon the arrival of the news that Francis had been captured at Pavia, in February, 1525, influenced partly by the superstitious fear that the disasters of Francis were attributable to the divine vengeance for the royal toleration afforded the heretical doctrines, but more probably stirred by the desire to secure the aid of the pope in effecting her son's release, she assumed at once an attitude of hostility which induced a period of frightful suffering for the helpless adherents of the true faith.

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE FRENCH REFORMATION TO THE YEAR OF THE PLACARDS.

THE plan which the advisers of Louise suggested to Parliament included the entire removal of trials for heresy from the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical authorities, who seemed to be powerless to prevent the spread of the strange doctrines. A commission appointed by the Parliament, consisting of two of its own members and two doctors of the Sorbonne, was to have sole charge of proceedings against heretics. This indeed took the cases out of the hands of the French papal inquisitor, but it established a national inquisition in its stead. The commission was empowered to proceed in secret against the Lutherans, "by personal summons, by bodily arrest, by seizure of goods, and by other penalties;" and, in order that there might be no delay which could mollify the direful fate of the convicts, the decisions of the commission were to be equally binding with those of the supreme court, and to be executed without appeal. The bishop of Paris had voluntarily surrendered his jurisdiction in heresy cases to the Parliament, which body now ordered all the more important bishops to do the same. The one thing yet needful was the sanction of the pope, who, although he destroyed the immediate power of his own clergy, did not reject the provisions of the regent and Parliament. In a letter to the Parliament he urged the commissioners to all possible zeal, in view of both the rapid spread and the fatal character of the new madness. Accompanying the letter was a bull addressed to the commissioners themselves, in which the pope formally transferred his own rights and those of the clergy to them.[1] They might search out, try "without noise," execute, and consign to eternal damnation persons of almost any and every grade of dignity in Church or State, and they might confer upon any faithful Roman Catholic who chose to exercise it the right to seize and hold for himself the lands and property of the heretics, and to reduce them to perpetual slavery.

THE COMMISSION OF INQUISITION.

It was not strange that Parliament should take charge of eccle-

[1] From the decisions of the commission there was no appeal, even to the apostolic see.

siastical affairs, but it may excite some astonishment that the pope so readily acceded to their plans. In truth, he gained more than he lost; for the dangers arising from the spread of Lutheranism were greater than those from the encroachments of the Parliament, which reflected, not on the pope, but on the French clergy. And in his bull he had conferred powers upon the commission which the Parliament did not originally contemplate, but which they virtually accorded him the right to confer by placing his bull upon record. Thus the pope had captured the commission, and thenceforth it was under even greater responsibility to him than to the Parliament. Furthermore, he had assumed the authority to dispose of the property of French citizens at will. What France had hitherto so jealously guarded was now granted in another form without protest.[1]

A PAPAL GAIN.

One of the very first to be cited before the new commission was Briçonnet, whose defection we have already described. Lefèvre and Roussel had been driven out of France by the fear of the commission, which indeed was to prove, as the pope expected, his right arm of power in the kingdom. Those of the reformers who did not take refuge in flight were subjected to many annoying suspicions, and restrictions of religious liberty. It is probable that the trial of Briçonnet and the establishment of the commission were hastened by the rash act of Jean Leclerc, a wool-carder of Meaux, who tore down a bull of Clement VII which had been attached to the cathedral doors. The bull was as innocent as possible, and had for its end the peace of Christendom. Yet Leclerc could not tolerate, but secretly removed it, adding the farther indignity of posting an attack upon the pope in its place. Upon his conviction he was sentenced by Parliament to be whipped on three successive days in Paris, and as often in Meaux, branded on the forehead with the words "fleur-de-lis," and then banished from the kingdom.[2] But if such acts as Leclerc's awakened the hostility which led to the appointment of the commission, that body failed not to perform its functions with corresponding energy. Jacques Pauvan, of Boulogne, Picardy, a pupil and assistant of Lefèvre in Meaux, was burned at the stake early in 1526, and the unknown "Hermit of Livry"

ENERGETIC POLICY OF THE COMMISSION.

[1] The French had declined to allow a papal inquisitor to arrest or detain a French citizen without consent of secular authority.

[2] He was afterward (July 22, 1525) frightfully tortured, mutilated, and then burned, at Metz, for an even more rash act of sacrilege. His seeming irreverence was reverence for the true God. For full details see Baird, i, 87–89.

met a like fate, though with less ceremony, because of his obscurity, about the same time.

The first real crisis, however, did not arrive until, by the treaty of Madrid and the subsequent negotiations, Francis I was set at liberty, and once more took up the reins of government in 1526.

FRANCIS I AND BERQUIN.

Previous to this time he had rather favored than obstructed the Reformation. The Sorbonne had brought several complaints against him, showing that those theologians recognized the favorable attitude of the king toward Lutheranism. Even after his release he recalled and protected Lefèvre and Roussel, who had been driven into exile under the regency of Louise.[1]

A good illustration of the change in his policy may be found in the comparison of his treatment of Louis de Berquin, the intrepid and persistent champion of the Protestant cause, with his later conduct. When this nobleman, who had originally been a devout Roman Catholic, began to show his unequivocal indorsement of the new ideas, he was arrested, in 1523, tried, and thrown into prison. By the command of the king he was released in spite of the opposition of Parliament. Being arrested once more, he was condemned as a relapsed heretic, but, through Margaret's influence, Francis, with great determination and after considerable effort, set him free, and warned the Parliament not to interfere with scholars such as Berquin. All this occurred before Francis had returned from his imprisonment at Madrid, or soon after.

Whether he would have saved his favorite a third time we do not know,[2] but his own changed conduct and language it was which emboldened Berquin's enemies once more to arrest and finally to execute the incorrigible heresiarch. In December, 1527, Francis had assured the assembly of notables that he was determined not to endure heresy in his kingdom, but to wholly extirpate it. To the archbishop of Lyons he wrote in 1528 that he had always abominated the accursed sect of Lutherans, and that he would employ all possible means for its

FRANCIS I CHANGES HIS POLICY.

[1] Lefèvre he appointed tutor to three of his children, who thus received the seed of reformatory ideas. He was subsequently royal librarian at Blois, and finally died at Néroe, in Gascony, whither he had gone at the invitation of Margaret, that he might be free from the annoyances of his enemies. Roussel died as bishop of Oléron, though he remained subjectively true to the doctrines of the Reformation.

[2] Upon his third conviction Berquin appealed to the king. But his execution was hastened lest Francis might be induced again to interfere in his behalf. His execution, attended by many horrors, occurred in April, 1529.

destruction, which object lay very near his heart. And he took a conspicuous part in the expiatory processions and ceremonies in atonement for the atrocities committed upon the images of the Virgin Mary and other saints. The king, indeed, continued to protect Margaret, who as late as 1532 still succeeded in having the Gospel preached, even in Paris, by her favorite evangelical ministers. When she was subjected to various annoyances and insults on account of her faith, Francis indignantly proceeded against the perpetrators of these outrages. But his protection did not extend beyond his royal sister, and when the canton of Berne endeavored to secure his clemency in the interest of the exiled Farel's accused family, he replied in language which practically told the council not to meddle with his affairs, and which assured them that he had no idea of tolerating heresy in his realms;[1] while a little later in the same year he took the lead in efforts to stir up both the Parliament and the clergy to greater energy in the extirpation of what he was pleased to call "that accursed Lutheran sect."[2] These acts he performed that, as he told the council of Berne, he might preserve his character as "the very Christian king."

This mild severity, which was bolder in words than in deeds, can only be explained by the king's political necessities. The change from his early policy occurred upon his return from Madrid in 1526, when he needed the support of the Roman Catholic party. It had pleased his majesty, as well as his counselors, to repudiate the solemn treaty of Madrid, and Francis, absolved by the pope from his oath, once more took up arms against the emperor, his allies being Clement VII and the city of Venice, under the title of "The Holy League of Cognac." Money was needed, and the clergy were willing to supply their share if only the king would pledge himself to unite with them against the Lutherans. To their most vigorous measures he assented, and to retain the support of the Church he was obliged to maintain at least an outward semblance of determined purpose.

POLITICAL MOTIVES OF FRANCIS I.

But selfishness had eaten out his very heart, and he did nothing from conviction. As a consequence there was as yet no energy in his restrictive measures, and when the time did arrive in which he proceeded with vigor there was no evidence of unfaltering resolution, but rather of the irrational severity becoming to a madman.

[1] Herminjard, Correspondance, iii, 95 f. The chancellor of the canton indorsed on the letter the words, "Rude lettre du roi."—Baird, i, 156, n. 2.

[2] Bulletin de la soc. de l'hist. du prot. français, i, 437; Herminjard, Correspondance, iii, 114–116.

On the one hand he was ready to aid the Protestants of Germany in the overthrow of Charles V, and on the other he concluded a marriage contract between his son Henry, duke of Orleans, and the pope's niece, in the hope of securing thereby the pontiff's friendship. When, however, his holiness proposed a crusade against the adherents of Luther and Zwingli, in which Francis, the Roman Catholic princes of Germany, and the emperor should combine their armies under the blessing of the pope, Francis refused.[1] The king desired the friendship of both the pope and the Protestant Germans against Charles, but he could not consent to submit himself to his imperial enemy even to root out heresy.

These considerations plainly exhibit the fundamental disregard of Francis for questions of religion. But he could be excited and aroused by personal appeal or insult, and such was the result within a brief time after the events just mentioned. During the year 1534 a novel method of religious disputation was resorted to by both the Roman Catholic and the Protestant party. Placards defending the views of their authors and denouncing those of their opponents were posted almost nightly upon the walls along the thoroughfares of Paris. They naturally attracted the attention and awakened the interest of the more ignorant populace.

This had gone on until the masses of the city were thoroughly aroused, when, on the morning of October 18, a lengthy Protestant diatribe against the mass was found posted in every portion of the city. It was composed of the most impassioned utterances in condemnation of the blasphemous character of the most central and sacred ceremonies of Roman Catholicism, and employed every expression adapted to manifest the ill-will of the author toward the pope, cardinals, monks, bishops, and priests, who were denounced as "false prophets, deceivers, apostates, wolves, false shepherds, idolaters, liars, execrable blasphemers, murderers of souls, renouncers of Jesus Christ, of his death and passion, false witnesses, traitors, thieves, and robbers of the honor of God, and more detestable than devils." Not content with this vituperative language, the placard in heated terms and with biting sarcasm produced solid arguments against the mass, demonstrating its unscriptural, blasphemous, and absurd character.

PLACARD AGAINST THE MASS.

The indescribable excitement and fury of the Roman Catholic populace scarcely exceeded that of Francis himself when he discovered that a copy of the placard had been placed upon the door

[1] Baird, i, 149, 150.

of the royal bedchamber the very same night. The impertinence of the offender was attributed to the Lutherans as a body. The miscreants who had mutilated the images of the Holy Virgin, and displayed their disapprobation of the worship of saints and of the glittering ceremonies of the Church, had now been bold enough to bring their spleen to bear upon his majesty directly. He would have his revenge.

Well would it have been had the reformers in France had some strong spirit like Luther, who by his personal influence could have checked these excesses, and thus have demonstrated, as Luther did in Germany, that such conduct was not a part of the reformed program. But the Reformation had been deserted or forsaken by its more intelligent leaders, and the masses, left to themselves and ever incapable of moderation, manifested their zeal in a manner which showed how little of the spirit of the Gospel they sought to possess had penetrated their hearts.

But if the rashness of the inconsiderate friends of reform is to be deplored as imprudent, it was not left unavenged by the king and his emissaries. Impelled by a sense of personal injury, and by the fear that if so flagrant an insult to the Church were left unpunished the pope would forsake him, Francis refused to listen either to the entreaties or to the arguments of Margaret, who, though mistakenly, suspected that the Roman Catholics had themselves been guilty of posting the placard for the sole purpose of arousing the anger of the king.[1] Professed Lutherans who had been arrested affirmed the purpose of the reformers to assassinate the Roman Catholic populace of Paris while at their devotions. One of the former Lutherans who knew the names and residences of many of the sect revealed them to the authorities in order to save himself. Those who had been guilty of attaching the placards, and those who were found with copies of the document in their possession, were burned.

FRANCIS I STUNG TO ANGER.

Francis was so furious, even after the lapse of three months, that he then declared that if his own children were to become contaminated he would have them immolated.[2] Only a few months earlier he had issued the famous edict prohibiting printing in France. This rash procedure he was indeed compelled to recall, but the spirit manifested was effective in adding intensity to the persecu-

[1] Such had been the Roman Catholic policy in at least one instance, recorded by Baird, i, 169, n.

[2] Voltaire vainly tried to cast doubt upon this utterance, which he pronounces abominable.

tions. Not content with the burning of many victims at the stake, the *estrapade* was brought into requisition. This was an instrument by means of which the victim was suspended over the fire and lowered upon it until well roasted, when by the same instrument he was lifted above the flames and then after a time again lowered, the action being repeated as often as possible prior to the death of the culprit, thus prolonging the agonies of the horrible doom and more perfectly appeasing the brutal instincts of the Romanists. From October, 1534, to July, 1535, these barbarous atrocities were practiced in the name of the religion of the meek and lowly Nazarene. The number of the victims it is impossible to tell. Many they were, but many also escaped by flight. Although we must ascribe their rashness to ignorance of the true spirit of the Gospel, we can but admire the fortitude with which those who had been convicted suffered for what they believed to be right.

BRUTAL PERSECUTIONS.

In July, Francis was induced to abate his animosity so much as to issue the so-called Declaration of Coucy,[1] in which he slanderously reported that the executed adherents of Protestantism had abjured their errors and died good Christians and Roman Catholics. He evidently wished to make his peace with the more civilized sentiment of the world by this statement, and at the same time to mollify the harshness of his boast in the same document that by the divine clemency, and his own diligence in punishing the heretics, the errors had now ceased to be taught. In view of the success of his efforts he invited all fugitives to return and abjure their errors within six months, in which case they were assured of the royal pardon. But the Zwinglians and all those who denied the bodily presence in the mass were excluded from this offer of mercy. At the same time all persons were forbidden under severe penalty to promulgate in any way doctrines contrary to the Roman Catholic faith.

DECLARATION OF COUCY.

The royal hypocrite in his passion had endangered his prospects with the German Protestants. They had heard of his deeds, and were not pleased with the reports. It was necessary to explain to them that he had proceeded, not against their Lutheranism, but against their lawlessness—this notwithstanding he had often spoken in the bitterest terms of the Lutherans as a body. When his efforts to effect a doctrinal union with the Germans failed, he at once re-

[1] Some have attributed his edict to the influence of Pope Paul III, who was reported to have opposed the severity of Francis; others, with more probability, to the amnesty granted by Charles V to the Flemish heretics.

sumed his unfeeling treatment of the heretics, who had not all fled and who had not yet all been burned.[1] He cared not for the Protestants in Germany nor for those in his own land, but had he been able to effect a doctrinal union he might have become a Protestant for political purposes as long as that policy would have served his objects against Charles V.

[1] Through his privy councilor, du Bellay, he undertook to bring about a compromise of doctrine with Bucer in Strasburg (1533). In 1535 he even went so far as to invite Bucer and Melanchthon to Paris to treat with the theologians of the Sorbonne. Melanchthon, who was at this time clutching at every hope of doctrinal union, was anxious to go, and Luther favored it for Melanchthon's sake. But John Frederick had political reasons for declining to allow Melanchthon to respond.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

PROTESTANTISM IN FRANCE TO THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA.

From the year of the placards onward for nearly a century the history of Protestantism in France is one of blood. The persecutions in which Francis I avenged the aggressions of the reformed party were followed in 1545 by frightful cruelties visited upon the Waldenses. Upon the accession of Henry II, in 1547, personal and political feuds began to mark the relations between Protestantism and Romanism, and led to a series of religious civil wars, during which the Protestants suffered untold horrors, but which resulted in the edict of Nantes and other later provisions for the religious freedom of the Reformed Church.

Henry's queen, Catherine de'Medici, a niece of Pope Clement VII, was influential during the reign of her husband, and especially of her son, Charles IX. The constable, Montmorency, was Henry's prime minister and commander in chief. Both Catherine and Montmorency were bitter enemies of the Protestants. They were powerfully supported by the Guises, of whom Charles was archbishop of Rheims, and Francis count of Aumale. This was a strong political combination in favor of Romanism. But on the other side there were Margaret of Angoulême, until her death in 1549, and her talented daughter, Jeanne d'Albret, together with her husband, Prince Anton of Bourbon, king of Navarre, and his brother, Duke Louis of Condé. They had the constant and powerful support of Admiral Coligny, one of the noblest of the Huguenots, and his brother, Francis de Coligny. The Guises and the Bourbons represented therefore, respectively, the Roman Catholic and the Reformed faith.

CATHERINE DE'MEDICI.

It is characteristic of the French Reformation that while the new faith was hated, and its adherents maligned, by the common people, it was favored by an ever-increasing number of the nobility. The lack of a popular leader on the one side, and the attitude of Margaret on the other, doubtless account for this peculiarity. For a time Henry's political relations with the German Protestants gave the French Reformation an opportunity for growth. But after the treaty of Passau, in 1555, by which Henry and the pope became better friends, the Guises led in a persecution of the rapidly grow-

ing and consolidating Reformed Church. Henry died in 1559, before he could carry out his plan to join Philip II of Spain in a crusade against Geneva. The brief reign of Francis II (part of 1560), who was a minor, was controlled by the Guises, and characterized by the burning of heretics. The conspiracy of Amboise, under the lead of the prince of Condé, and in which Protestants and Roman Catholics joined to rid the land of the Guises, ended unfavorably for the Protestants.[1]

CHARLES IX.

Upon the accession of Charles IX, in 1560, his mother, Catherine de'Medici, became queen regent. She took at first a middle course. To the conspirators of Amboise was granted amnesty, and Anton of Navarre, an outspoken Protestant, was made lieutenant general. The colloquy of Poissy, arranged by Catherine and participated in by Beza and Peter Martyr, led to nothing but the increased self-consciousness of the Huguenot party, and a special royal council, under the leadership of the chancellor, l'Hôpital, granted them a restricted religious freedom, gratifying in the main the Protestants' wishes. Francis, duke of Guise, declared that he would resist that measure by the sword, and in March, 1562, engaged in the massacre of the Huguenot congregation at Vassy, thus occasioning the first of the long series of religious and civil wars. In the first of them Francis of Guise paid the penalty of his rashness with his life.

ADMIRAL COLIGNY.

Not alone did these wars seem to guarantee the rights of the Protestants. Coligny became a favorite with the king, and was influential enough to displace the queen mother and Henry of Anjou. One of Coligny's plans was to reconcile the different parties by the marriage of Henry of Navarre, son of Anton and of Jeanne d'Albret, with Margaret of Valois, the king's sister. The wedding took place on the 18th of August, 1572, and was attended by vast numbers of the Huguenot nobility from various portions of France. Instigated by jealousy of Coligny's influence, Catherine and Henry of Anjou employed an emissary to attempt the life of the admiral. He was wounded, but not killed. The king suspected the Guises, together with his mother and brother, as the projectors of the deed. At first very angry, he finally allowed himself to be persuaded by them that Coligny had on hand plans for the overthrow of his majesty's government, and that the Huguenots were preparing for such a conflict all over France.

[1] Gieseler gives a brief but clear, though not always trustworthy, account of the French Reformation, with valuable copies of original documents—iv, 294–308.

They suggested that it would be sufficient to have Coligny murdered.

Charles, weary of religious wars, and accepting without investigation the statements of his mother and brother, declared that Coligny should not die alone. While the wedding festivities were still in progress, on the night of St. Bartholomew,[1] the fearful massacre began with the murder of Coligny. The king, his mother, and brother watched the scene. The Guises, under pretense of obedience to the king's command, and as though contrary to their own wish, led the assault. In every quarter of Paris the blood of Protestants flowed in streams. The number of killed in the city alone has been variously estimated at from one thousand to ten thousand. From the capital the massacre spread to the provinces. The news of the king's wish that the Huguenots should be exterminated traveled faster than his orders to stop the massacre. The Protestants were without their accustomed leader; he was the first victim of the bloody tumult, and they had no time to rally for defense. The entire number of the victims is reckoned at from ten thousand to one hundred thousand.

NIGHT OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW.

With just what degree of premeditation this frightful affair was planned and conducted it is impossible to determine. Varying reports were authorized by the government according as was thought best. At Rome and in Spain it was represented as premeditated. To the Germans the blame was laid at the door of the Guises. To the Parliament it was declared to be necessary in self-defense. Romanism had so utterly failed to inculcate the virtue of veracity that it is impossible to distinguish the true from the false in the whole affair. This, however, is sure, that the Huguenots had not planned any such scheme as Catherine and Henry professed to reveal to the king.

The pope, Gregory XIII, indeed, was innocent beforehand of the massacre, but when he heard of it he congratulated the king, illuminated Rome, instituted processions in honor of the event, caused *Te Deums* to be sung, and in every possible way expressed his joy at what had occurred. The attempt to make the affair purely political under such circumstances is impossible. The principal cause of the massacre was religious hate and intolerance, and the pope gave the sanction of the Church to the awful crime.

THE POPE'S CONGRATULATIONS.

[1] See a full description of the massacre, and all the events leading up to and following it, in Soldan, ii, 429–480, and Baird, History of the Rise of the Huguenots in France, ii, 426–569.

Charles had professed to hope that by such a massacre he might save himself from farther religious wars, but it rather embittered those which were to follow under his own rule and under that of Henry III. The Huguenots became, strictly speaking, a political as well as a religious party, and while the first religious war after St. Bartholomew (the fourth of the entire series) ended unfavorably for the Huguenots, owing to their enfeebled condition, others which followed compelled for them increasingly better conditions.

In 1589 Henry of Navarre ascended the throne as Henry IV. His sympathies were with the Protestants, but he could not do as he would, and was compelled to become nominally a Romanist. But in 1598 he succeeded in securing the Reformation by the issue of the edict of Nantes. According to this famous document the Roman Catholic was the ruling religion of the State, and its festivals were to be observed by all, but the Reformed Church was no longer to be persecuted. In and around Paris for a distance of five miles, in Rheims, Toulouse, Dijon, Lyons, and in the army no reformed public religious services were to be held. But an exception was to be made in those departments of the army in which adherents of the reformed faith were in command. The church tithes and the marriage laws were binding upon all. But to the reformed were granted access to all civil offices, while special parliamentary commissions, one half of whom were in every case to be Protestants, were provided. Public services were permitted wherever they had been in existence prior to 1597, and buildings were allowed for the purpose, while those which had been forcibly taken from them were to be restored. The children of reformed parents might not be compelled to accept Roman Catholic training. During eight years their fortresses and cities of refuge were granted to them. The Romanists, on the other hand, were permitted to restore religious services to two hundred and fifty cities and two thousand villages.[1]

EDICT OF NANTES.

From this point forward for many years the Reformed Church, regarded as a "State within a State," was able to secure its rights and to grow with great rapidity. There were those who returned to Rome, and the Jesuits, driven away, were permitted to return. Louis XIII, in 1620, forcibly reintroduced the Roman Church into Bearn, the most reformed of the French reformed districts. Richelieu strove to destroy the city of La Rochelle, the last remaining city of Protestant refuge, which was captured in 1628. The new edict of Nismes was issued in 1629, according to which

[1] See the excellent summary of the edict in Möller, iii, 299, 300.

the political significance of the Huguenots was broken, but which confirmed every religious and civil right accorded by the edict of Nantes. The next stage of French Protestant history lies beyond the Reformation.

INFLUENCE OF CALVIN.

The internal development of the French Church was mostly controlled by Calvin, whose frequent messengers and letters, and whose influence upon the French refugees and students for the ministry in Geneva, made his personal presence in France almost unnecessary. He kept himself informed of all that was in progress in his native land, and exerted an extraordinary influence for the welfare of the struggling Reformed Church and its martyrs. One of the characteristics of his influence on the French Protestants was his insistence upon an open and decided form of confession. He firmly opposed participation in the superstitious ceremonies of Roman Catholicism, and had no patience with those who held in secret to the reformed faith (the so-called Nicodemites). He strenuously opposed a resort to arms on the part of the French Protestants.[1]

ORGANIZATION OF REFORMED CHURCH.

The first efforts at a regular organization of reformed congregations, with public places of worship, were made in Paris in 1555. The royal edict of 1557, which commanded the secular courts to punish with death the public or private exercise of any but the Roman religion, resulted in the shedding of much blood, but did not prevent the rapid spread of the Gospel and of the new Church. In 1559 was held in St. Germain the first national reformed synod. Here were adopted the so-called Gallican Confession and a Church Discipline. The spirit of Calvin was evident in both.[2] The principal difference between the provisions of the Reformed Churches of Geneva and of France lay in the different relations sustained toward them by the State, in Geneva—that of protection and assistance; in France, that of opposition and, at most, tolerance. But there was the same stringency of doctrine and practice in France as in Geneva, and the same system of disciplinary power (the Consistory) was employed in both Churches. After the promulgation of the edict of Nantes the French Church was able to complete the ecclesiastical structure. Especially from that period dates the activity in the opening of reformed educational institutions, as at Sedan, Saumur, Montpellier, Montauban, Nismes, and Pau.

[1] See Henry, Life of Calvin, vol. iii, Appendix 14, p. 153 ff.

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CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE REFORMATION IN THE NETHERLANDS.

A VARIETY of causes led to a ready acceptance of the Gospel in the Burgundian possessions of Charles V. The country was rich and flourishing, the cities maintained a spirit of independence, and Erasmus had aroused antagonism to the clergy and awakened the desire for the Bible in the native tongue. Flanders, Brabant, and Antwerp, as well as Holland, manifested their sympathy with the Reformation. Luther's writings were early translated and widely diffused among the people.[1] The Augustinians furnished the principal preachers of the Gospel, among the most prominent of whom was Jacobus Spreng (or Præpositus). He was imprisoned at Brussels, where he made a forced recantation, after which he again preached the reformed doctrine in Bruges, and fled to Wittenberg, and finally became pastor in Bremen. There was also Heinrich von Zütphen, who was imprisoned, but delivered by an uprising of the people, after which he fled, but finally suffered martyrdom.

Charles V was determined to suppress heresy in these his hereditary lands, and was not hindered, as in Germany, by political conditions. In the execution of his purposes he was ably seconded by the representatives of the scholastic theology, especially in the person of Professor Jacob Latomus, of the Louvain faculty, and by the Dominicans, the envious opponents and rivals of the Augustinians. An edict issued on May 8, 1521, from the diet of Worms, relative to the Reformation in the Netherlands, was followed by another in April, 1522. These, together with numerous other edicts[2] condemning Protestants and Protestant writings and Bible translations, were of little avail. The emperor appointed his privy counselor, Francis van der Hulst, as judge in all heretical cases, and some most arbitrary acts were performed by him.[3] The pope joined with the efforts of the emperor

EMPEROR AND POPE UNITE TO CHECK REFORM.

[1] The theological faculty of Louvain, which condemned the writings of Luther in February, 1520, gave as a reason for the act their general diffusion.

[2] The substance of them may be seen in Gieseler, iv, 311, n. 7.

[3] For writing a preface to the work of John of Goch on Christain Freedom, Cornelius Grapheus, secretary of the city of Antwerp, was imprisoned at Brussels, sentenced to recantation, confiscation of property, deposition, and banishment.

by setting up an inquisitorial council for the Netherlands in 1524; but all their attempts to check the growth of the truth were vain.

It was not long until a number of able native advocates of the Reformation were raised up, while the authorities in the cities and provinces, although Roman Catholic, were jealous of the foreign interposition of the pope, and, so far from proceeding violently in the execution of the decrees, even favored the renovation to a certain extent. Bibles were printed with the names of the publishers on the title-page, and in 1532 the imperial agents were forbidden by the magistracy in Deventer to come there to search out Lutherans. Nevertheless, Jacob Liesveld was accused in 1545 because he had issued a Bible with a comment to the effect that human salvation is wrought alone through Jesus Christ.[1] Margaret of Savoy, also, Charles's aunt, was not disposed to be as severe as the emperor. On the other hand, she declared to the priors of the monasteries that she well knew the common people were inclined to Protestantism, because of the indiscreet sermons of the preachers; and they were warned not to allow any to preach, henceforth, except those who were thoughtful, wise, of good morals, and capable speakers, while she told them to desist from the relation of improper fables in their public addresses.[2] She was followed in 1530 by Charles's sister, Maria, the widow of the king of Hungary. The latter was so favorable to the Reformation that the pope complained of her to the emperor.

MARTYRS FOR REFORM.

All these things gave the Reformation an opportunity for development, in spite of the emperor and pope. Many severe struggles, however, were endured for the faith even in this early period. In July, 1523, the first martyr blood of the Reformation was shed in Brussels by the burning of two young Augustinians, Heinrich Voes and Johann von Essen (or Esch). Luther wrote to the Holland Protestants a most touching and consolatory, yet inspiring letter, even more worthy a place in literature than his hymn composed on the occasion, beginning,

"Ein neues Lied wir heben an."[3]

As a poem its merits are not great. It is a recital of the events

[1] "De saelicheit der menschen alleen kompt door Jesum Christum."

[2] Brandt gives the substance of the document sent to the heads of the cloisters, September 27, 1521, in which it is declared that the divisions among the people have arisen from the indiscreet sermons of the preachers, religious and other. —Historie der Reformatie en andere Kerkelyke Geschiedenissen, i, 97. Gieseler, iv, 311, n. 8.

[3] The line may be translated, "We raise once more the voice of song."

connected with the execution, together with the circumstances leading to it, and an estimate of the martyrs and the results of their sufferings. These two young men were the first of a vast company of Protestants, in many lands, who were butchered or burned in the name of Christ by the Holy Catholic Church.

The Reformation in the Netherlands in the early period suffered from the divisions and fanaticism of the Protestants. The Zwinglian idea of the Lord's Supper soon began to displace that of Luther. The Anabaptists carried forward the propaganda of their extreme views, leading not only to their forcible suppression, but to danger for the social order. These were paralleled by a sect whose tenets were destructive of both true religion and morality, the sect of the Free Spirit.[1] Another change in the faith of the Protestants was more salutary. The Lutheran doctrine had suffered from its contact with Zwinglianism, which almost wholly disappeared before Calvinism. English refugees during the reign of Mary (1553–1558) aided the natural inclination of the masses toward the Calvinistic doctrines, and in 1559 a confession of faith, which was passed around to be criticised and revised by various theologians, was finally approved at Geneva, and submitted (1572) to Philip II, in the hope that he might thereby be brought to a more favorable opinion of the Protestants. A similar effort by Calvin with Francis I might have taught them the futility of all such attempts. The preface of the confession (the Belgic) gave the number of Protestants of Calvinistic faith in the Netherlands as one hundred thousand.

DIVISION OF PROTESTANTS.

With the advent of Philip II (1555) a more energetic effort was to be made to destroy the Protestant movement. In order to a more complete ecclesiastical supervision, fourteen new dioceses were created. This act was regarded with great disfavor by the inhabitants. When, in 1559, Philip left the Netherlands never to return, he left behind him as his vice regent his half sister, Margaret of Parma, and as her privy counselor Anton Granvella, son of the emperor's chancellor. He was the bishop of Arras, and now became archbishop of Mechlin, and strove to carry out Philip's ideas relative to Church and State. His presence was objectionable to the nobles, and he was recalled in 1564. During his administration the struggle was political rather than religious, and the attempts to give the Netherlands civil freedom began at this time.

PHILIP II.

[1] See their principles stated in Gieseler, iv, 312, n. 11, and in de Wette, iii, 60, where Luther's letter, parts of which are quoted by Gieseler, may be found.

Granvella was scarcely out of the country when the Calvinists began to agitate against the bishoprics. Philip would not yield, but demanded the acceptance of the results of the council of Trent, which had just closed. A league of nobles,[1] formed in 1566 in the house of Philip of Marnix, adopted what was known as the Compromise, demanding the removal of the placards against heretics and the calling of the States General, and proposing to employ violence in opposition to the Inquisition. The league of consistories was formed simultaneously, and the organization of the Church was begun. The refusal of Philip to grant any amelioration of existing religious conditions led the populace to deeds of disorder, but not of blood. The wholesale condemnation of the papal Church and its idolatry had indeed awakened the feelings to which these disorders gave expression, but aside from this the reformers had no part in them. Nevertheless, Margaret held them responsible, and punished them accordingly. On the condition that the Calvinists should be tolerated, William of Orange headed a movement to quiet the disturbances.

REFORMED CHURCH ORGANIZED.

It had become plain that Philip would not remit his zeal for the Church, nor his determination to maintain the Spanish tyranny. On December 1, 1566, therefore, the league of nobles formed a union with the league of consistories, but were overcome by Margaret's troops. It was at this point that the bloody duke of Alva appeared on the scene (1567). He demanded the destruction of heresy and the restoration of absolute Spanish rule, even at the cost of all civil rights. To support his purposes he brought with him a Spanish army. He arrested Egmont, whose fate has been so powerfully described by Goethe, and established the "council of blood," at whose order thousands fell, and which persecuted heresy as high treason.

THE DUKE OF ALVA.

The result of such tyranny was to cause the nation, without regard to religion, to resist him. After having destroyed eighteen thousand lives Alva forsook the country, 1573, without having accomplished his object. On the contrary, by the treaty of Ghent (1576) the Walloon districts united with the North for the expulsion of the Spaniards. Gradually Belgium became Roman Catholic, the Protestants having fled from the dreadful persecutions of Alexander of Parma (1581–1585). In the North, however, the

[1] They afterward proudly bore the title of Beggars, given them in scorn by a counselor of the regent. They were destined to give their enemies no end of trouble.

cause of Protestantism was destined to prevail, though with untold suffering beforehand. The union of Utrecht, formed June 23, 1579, comprised most of the States of the North. It declared itself free from the rule of Philip, and chose William of Orange as general in command. He had recently followed his Protestant education and left the Romanists. Had he not been assassinated, in 1584, he would have been chosen king. Under his son Maurice the Netherlands were able to assert their freedom against the proud Spaniards, who in 1609 were compelled to grant a truce of twelve years. With the peace of Westphalia the country was definitely and finally granted its independence.

THE UNION OF UTRECHT.

During all this time the Reformed Church was making rapid strides. Leyden had so heroically defended itself against the Spaniards, that to the city was given the choice between the possession of a university and freedom from taxes for a term of years. Wisely she chose the former. Besides this university others were established at Franeker (1585), Groningen (1612), Utrecht (1636), and Harderwyk (1648). The power of Calvinism may be seen from the fact that, though its adherents were in the minority, they succeeded in depriving the Romanists of their civil rights. This may indeed be regarded as reflecting on the character of both Calvinism and Holland for religious tolerance; but those were not the times of absolute religious equality before the law, and, besides, only thus could the prevailing party maintain itself and the country in peace. At first the Church was free from the State, but it was finally brought under the control of the civil power by the aid of the Erastian doctrine that, in order to secure dogmatic tolerance, the State should control in the matter of confessions. The State Church was Presbyterian in organization.

THE POWER OF CALVINISTS.

The most vigorous opposition which Calvinism met was that of the Arminians.[1] The Calvinists had already divided into a sublapsarian and a supralapsarian party when, in 1590, James Arminius was called upon to defend the doctrines of Calvin and Beza. In the course of his investigations with this end in view, he reached the conclusion that the doctrine of predestination was false. Becoming professor in Leyden in 1603, he was soon drawn into a controversy with his colleague, Professor Francis Gomarus. The parties which were formed around these two leaders were known as the Arminians and Gomarists. The

ARMINIUS.

[1] The details belong to the history of doctrine, but its general relation to the progress of the Church in the Netherlands calls for mention here.

latter insisted upon the formulated creed of Calvin, and upon independence of the State from the Church. The Arminians, on the other hand, desired to have no binding creed in human language, insisting upon the Bible as the only rule of faith, and wished to see the Church subjected to the State.

Upon the death of Arminius, in 1609, Simon Episcopius and John Uytenbogaert wrote a remonstrance[1] to Holland and West Friesland, with such effect that these States took up their cause and strove to secure them toleration. Barneveld and Grotius, who had succeeded in securing the twelve years' truce with Spain, together with the Arminians, who supported the States in this matter, were alike accused of treason and of accepting bribes. To condemn the Remonstrants, therefore, the synod of Dort was called, and invitations were sent to the Reformed Churches in all the countries, excepting Anhalt. The synod was held in 1618 and 1619, and condemned Barneveld and Grotius, the former of whom was executed in May, 1619. It also gave formal sanction to Calvinism, condemned the Remonstrant doctrines, and determined upon the banishment of Remonstrants. Many of the latter fled, while those who remained formed the sect of Collegiants, or Rhynsburghers, who in the eighteenth century were absorbed by the Mennonites.

THE REMONSTRANTS.

Under Maurice's successor, Henry Frederick, those who had been banished were allowed to return, but were refused the right to build churches until 1630. They now emphasized the practical portions of the Scriptures as against the doctrinal, denied the doctrine of original sin as ordinarily stated, and made objection to the speculative features of the doctrine of the Trinity, thus laying themselves open to the charge of Socinianism, with whose adherents they were indeed on friendly terms. The Arminian doctrines spread to England and Germany, and even into France, where they were favorably regarded by certain of the French reformed synods which desired to effect a doctrinal union, omitting many points, among them predestination, not necessary to salvation.[2]

[1] The remonstrance contained five articles teaching the conditionality of predestination. Faith was wrought by grace, but not irresistibly, while grace might be forfeited.

[2] Möller gives a good account of the Arminian controversy, and of the synod of Dort with its canons—iii, 378–383. In Gieseler may be seen numerous extracts from the original document—iv, 505–514.

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CHAPTER XXXV.

THE RENAISSANCE IN ITALY.

THE Renaissance, or Revival of Letters, which in England and Germany was made subordinate and serviceable to a deep moral and religious earnestness, was in Italy predominantly pagan. Even those Italian scholars who retained their Christian faith led a kind of dual life, widely different from the spiritual unity of a Melanchthon or Colet, or even of an Erasmus. The latter showed a certain want of spiritual depth, yet his classical enthusiasm was essentially northern, not Italian; practical, not voluptuously æsthetic. With the northern scholars generally, his deepest interest was for the reestablishment of scriptural study in the originals. He desired to see Christian life refashioned after these, interpreted according to their natural sense, not turned away from this by the unbounded allegorizings and mystical expositions of the Middle Ages.

PAGANISM OF ITALIAN RENAISSANCE.

In Italy no such serious and practical spirit could gain predominance. The whole doctrinal system, and the whole polity of the Church, had long since set and hardened into a shape which was not, indeed, wholly alien to the ends of the kingdom of God, but which seemed to be chiefly accommodated to the maintenance of Italian domination. Nowhere could the thought of reconstituting the Church after earlier, above all, after spiritual models, be more distasteful; for what guarantee was there that after such a refusion Rome and Italy would still be at the head? The Scripture warrant for their supremacy was certainly not ample. Moreover, the Italian temper has been described, not without warrant, as hard, positive, externalizing; in other words, as irreligious, or at the least unspiritual. What Heinrich Heine has said of the Latin language may be said of the whole Latin system, that Christianity has tried from the beginning to spiritualize it, and has finally given up the attempt in despair. The Italian distinctness and perfection of form and balanced temperateness have a worthy place in fashioning the fabric of truth, but the knell of their crushing supremacy sounded four centuries ago. European history has since been largely the record of its struggles to avoid signing the act of its own abdication.

INFLEXIBILITY OF ROMAN CATHOLICISM.

Yet if even the grandeur of an Aquinas and the superhuman sublimity of a Dante, though of immortal value and efficacy, can no longer control the range of Christian thought and life, what hope is there for the dregs and leavings of those great minds?

The great revival of the knowledge of ancient times, being therefore, in Italy, repelled from all reforming functions in belief and life, became principally æsthetic. Classical beauty was once more passionately worshiped, and as the worship had no moral rectification, the living God and the redeeming Christ being shut up under hierarchical guards, this worship of beauty passed at once into a worship of lust. The animal instincts, which had long been subjected, at least in theory, to an ascetic extremity of discipline, now burst forth into an exuberance of which the only adequate type is the bestial voluptuousness of satyrs, which, indeed, is chosen as the fitting expression for it by its great modern admirer and advocate, the novelist Zola. All control of the higher nature was absolutely refused, except as this was invoked to throw a transparent mantle of outer seemliness over the riotousness of mere animalism. A man was hardly accounted a true classical scholar unless he was believed to be given up to the practice of unnatural vice. And, as of old, we have here "lust hard by hate." Murder was calmly accepted as a constituent of ordinary life, whether by the dagger or by the more refined administration of secret drugs. The perfection of vengeance was to be able to poison an enemy in the consecrated host. As to public morality, as we know, there can hardly be said to have been even the pretense of this. Machiavelli's Prince rests on two positions, that sovereign power is the sovereign good, and that all means are to be freely used which conduce to the acquisition of this without endangering its continuance.

DISSOLUTION OF MORALITY.

The holy see at first looked ambiguously on the Renaissance. The paganism of this, however, proved its protection. Paganism is not the mother of martyrs, and the revived imitative paganism of the Renaissance least of all. Its votaries, indeed, would have been disconsolate had the Church been broken up, for they looked upon this as their heritage, whereby Italy was still to bear rule over the nations. They, therefore, affected a profound deference toward all the doctrines and dignities and dignitaries of the Church, and were at the summit of their wishes when they were invested with the purple of the monsignore, or, above all, with the cardinal's scarlet. The perfection of an ecclesiastical disciple of the Renaissance appears

HYPOCRISY OF THE RENAISSANCE.

in the famous Cardinal Bembo, one of the great fathers of Italian literature. He was an enthusiastic admirer of Melanchthon, but could not forbear lamenting that so illustrious a scholar should be such a child as to believe in the life to come!

UNSPIRITUAL MAGNIFICENCE OF ROME.

At first the papacy patronized only the sounder parts of the Renaissance, as we see in Nicholas V. Even he, however, had he lived, would have converted Rome into a magnificent exemplification of "the pride of life." The Italian Renaissance, we need hardly say, affected not so much the ethereal simplicity of Athenian classicism as its heavier and more pompous Roman reproduction. Florence, indeed, allowing for the greater substantiality of the Italian genius, has been rightly called the Athens of Italy; but Rome was ever Rome, magnificently ponderous, sensuous, oppressive even when good, and when evil, extravagantly bestial.

Nicholas V favored the Renaissance, but Pius II, Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, embodied it. In him it showed rather its Hellenic than Roman form. This illustrious adventurer may be not ill described as the Themistocles of the Church. Genial, of an understanding airy, but sound, adequate to every emergency, always supremely intent on his own advancement, but always waiting for it in cultivated and seemly leisureliness, he rose from grade to grade by a sort of natural necessity, until at last he found himself, under no suspicion of unbecoming intrigue, at the head of the Church. Grossly immoral until past the middle of life, and coarsely boasting of his immorality in his letters to his father, he yet, when declining passions made conversion easier, turned with a strange mixture of sincerity and calculation from the practice of vice to the practice of devotion, and, having then first been ordained priest, seems to have kept the sacerdotal character unsullied. At first strongly supporting the reforming projects of the council of Basel, of which his preeminent literary abilities soon made him the secretary (being then only in minor orders), he broke with the council when he saw that its heedless precipitancy would ruin its cause, and by a series of becomingly managed transitions went over to the papal side. When himself pope he solemnly condemned his own writings in defense of the council to be publicly burned.

ÆNEAS SYLVIUS.

The eulogy of the Encyclopædia Britannica, that for every stage of his life Æneas Sylvius developed the requisite qualities to compass it, and that at last he unfolded, in all their fullness, the virtues of the supreme pastor, takes no account of the self-interested char-

acter of his life, and of his sensual boastings of his own sensuality. Yet so much as this may be said, that he had a sanity of spirit which inclined him increasingly to good, and that his pontificate, closing his life, is the best part of it. He never disclosed any spiritual depth, but at least he was possessed by a generous enthusiasm for the rescue of Greek Christianity from the Ottoman yoke. Few scenes in history are more touching than the aged pope gazing from the heights of Ancona, determined to embark in person on the delivering fleet, straining his eyes for the sight of the Venetian squadron that never came, and then going back to his bed to die. Were there an Æneas Sylvius in Europe now, the diabolical murderousness of the unspeakable Turk might be brought to a speedy close.

PAUL II.

Paul II succeeded in crushing the Husites of Bohemia by involving Hungary in a crusade against them, which broke their forces and gave up middle Europe to Ottoman ravages. This was the last exercise, by the papacy of the Renaissance, of an act of mediæval power. Thenceforth, for several generations, the papacy sank into a mere secular, unscrupulous Italian principality, a mockery on its spiritual side to the Italians, and a burden to the northern nations, whose stubborn loyalty to the power that had once guided their education out of heathen barbarism was fast wearing out.

SIXTUS IV.

Sixtus IV, before his papacy general of that once most unworldly of orders, the Franciscan, gave himself up, after election, to unbounded nepotism. To advance his brutal and immoral nephews was about his only serious thought. To this end he did not even shrink, in the conspiracy against the Medici, from a virtual complicity with murderers. Care for the purification of the Church, at center or borders, was hardly even affected. His confirmation of the Spanish Inquisition cannot well be laid up against him, for he held back until there seemed danger of a schism, and even then initiated a long series of papal interferences in Spain which rescued innumerable victims. The sensible bull confirming English peace by sanctioning the Tudor succession must also count in his favor.

INNOCENT VIII.

Innocent VIII first raised to doctrinal authority the horrible superstitions concerning witchcraft. This terrible act marked the decline of Catholic faith, not its vigor. For nearly four centuries it gave up to torturing death hundreds of thousands, some say even millions.

Personally, Innocent, a careful father of many children, is de-

cent when compared with the unutterable infamy of the next pontiff. The Spaniard, Roderick Borgia, Alexander VI, has a name which causes us to shudder at its very sound. Not even in the tenth century, during the Reign of the Harlots, did the papacy so nearly sink to the infernal center. ALEXANDER VI.

Then there was the half-conscious scandalousness of barbarous barons; now there was the deliberate self-dedication to evil of cultivated men. Alexander knew perfectly well to what his great functions bound him, but had no other thought than of using them as a simple instrument for procuring to himself and his unlawful children the greatest possible fullness and continuance of secular dignity and sensual delight. Strip away all the exaggerations of the Borgian crimes, and we have this pontiff left in hardly relieved hideousness. Even the fungous growths of false accusation can hardly be called slander, for they sprang up inevitably from the horrible corruption of this man's court and character. He does not, indeed, seem to have been guilty of incest. His daughter Lucrezia, dying at forty, had led for twenty years a perfectly blameless life, which reflects upon her a strong presumption of previous innocence. It is even doubtful whether his son, the duke of Gandia, was murdered by his brother Cæsar, and not rather by some dishonored husband. Alexander cannot have been commonly given to poisoning cardinals for their wealth, since no more than an average number died in his time. Yet there is distinct evidence of his poisoning two or three for this end, which he doubtless esteemed a venial trifle. He was not unkindly or revengeful, but he had all the moral callousness of utter selfishness, in an age and country in which morality was almost dissolved. His voluptuous life, though moderated by age, was not discontinued, and there is no reason to doubt that illegitimate children were born to him both as cardinal and as pope. As to his sons and their retainers, their unbridled dissoluteness turned the Vatican into a sty.

Against this abomination of desolation in the holy place stood forth, at Florence, the stern, august, prophetic figure of the great Dominican, Jerome Savonarola. Absolutely orthodox, varying not a hair's breadth from the doctrine of the great Aquinas, an unswerving, faithful son of the Roman Church both as to teaching and discipline, he was moved to his unsparing antagonism against Alexander solely by motives of indignant righteousness. Curiously enough, however, the pope, who rather admired than disliked plain speaking, was influenced to rid himself of him chiefly by the friar's obstinate adherence to the French, SAVONAROLA.

which greatly endangered the independence of Italy. To destroy him it was needful to use an affected sentence of heresy; yet so little was this taken in earnest that Savonarola was not even required to accept the sentence. Persisting in his affirmations of innocence, he and his two companions were yet solemnly absolved by the papal delegate before their death, and, in express terms, dismissed immediately to Paradise. When the Dominicans, the inquisitorial order, the bulwark of orthodoxy, began to extol the frater as a saint and martyr, Alexander remarked that he had nothing against it. Under Julius II, who hated Alexander, the papal apartments were decorated by Raphael with portraits of Savonarola as a doctor of the Church. At last, in 1569, Rome solemnly declared that the friar's doctrine was free from all taint of heresy, leaving the question of presumption and disobedience undetermined. In the last century, Prosper Lambertini, afterward Benedict XIV, proposed him as a candidate for canonization. His reputation in Catholic Italy, says Father Curci, is daily growing. His great aim, says Cardinal Capecelatro, the present archbishop of Capua, was to drive paganism out of the high places of the Church.[1] Rome, with unerring instinct, discerns in him a harbinger, not of the Reformation, but rather of the counter-reformation, that great revival of Catholic Puritanism, stern, unrelenting, and pure. His ultimate canonization may not be probable, but it is by no means impossible.

HIS PROPOSED CANONIZATION.

Julius II, nephew of Sixtus IV, a rough soldier, of ignoble race, absolutely immoral, and bearing the fruits of immorality in scandalous and disabling diseases, affected a great zeal of Italian patriotism, but by crushing the power of Venice on the mainland he virtually laid northern Italy under a foreign yoke until our own day. Naples was already Spanish. Between the two Julius consolidated the ecclesiastical State, reducing its virtually independent vassals to direct obedience. In the time of the counter-reformation this independent and wealthy dominion was of indispensable advantage to the papacy. The main reputation of Julius, however, rests on his magnificent encouragement of art. Under him Bramante, Michael Angelo, and Raphael found the full development of their powers. The essence of the Renaissance is seen in St. Peter's, that vastest, most magnificent, and most unspiritual of Christian temples. It brings the aspiring pride and energy of Julius II ever to mind; but, its earlier plan having been forsaken, it is hardly a memorial of

JULIUS II.

[1] Life of St. Philip Neri. By Cardinal Alfonso Capecelatro, vol. i, pp. 277 ff.

Bramante or Buonarroti, while it can hardly be said that God or Christ has any part in it. Founded in overweening, nay, in demoniacal pride, carried on in scandalous venality, its completion cost Rome half her spiritual dominion. The impious Julius, for his own glory, instead of renewing, ruthlessly destroyed the venerable elder basilica which for a thousand years had been the focus of devotion to western Europe, and broke in pieces or thrust into obscure nooks the innumerable memorials of ancient piety and greatness with which it had been crowded. Even his worldly cardinals were aghast, but the profane soldier would not listen. Had there been no Tetzels among the builders of the second fabric, the ruin of the ancient basilica might well of itself have helped largely to ruin the moral control of Rome over the nations.

Julius was followed by the young John de'Medici, cardinal *in perto* at thirteen, cardinal inaugurate at seventeen, and, like a very much greater and better man, Innocent III, pope at thirty-eight. He took the name of Leo X. He was a lover of scholarship and art, genial, kindly, magnificent, astute, but in no way great in policy; eager, like Alexander, to make the papacy a means of personal gratification, but a means of sensuous rather than grossly sensual enjoyment. He had lived like other young Italian princes of that time, but with such avoidance of scandal that he even passed for a man of good morals, *buoni costumi*. There is little doubt that the incurable ulcer, for which he had to be treated, even in the conclave, was the result of earlier excesses, yet he is not accused of excesses when pope. No accusation lay against him of murder or of unnatural vice. He executed two or three cardinals, but on undoubted warrant of law. In brief, as popes then went, he was accounted a very fair specimen. As some one says, to his many eminent qualities he needed only to have added a little knowledge of religion and virtue to make an excellent pope. Cardinal Capecelatro remarks that the glory of his reign is undeniable, but that it was not the glory of the kingdom of God.[1]

LEO X.

This amiable worldling was divinely predestined to bring to a final explosion the long-smoldering discontent of Teutonic Christianity, and to drive it, in much its greater part, to take action thenceforth in an independent form, vaguer, indeed, and disjointed, having its own great characteristic shortcomings, but affording to the Teutonic peoples unspeakable relief. Dislocated as it is, it even now includes a vastly deeper fellowship and mutual kindli-

[1] Life of St. Philip Neri. Transl. by T. A. Pope, vol. i, p. 33.

ness between its various parties than Roman Catholicism, and, with some grave moral lacunæ, controls far more deeply the universal heart and life. America is emphatically the daughter of Protestantism, and the weakness of conventionality here sets forth its faults in the grossest light; yet Professor Bryce remarks that, as compared with the so-called ages of faith, Christianity has in America quite as strong a hold on belief, and a vastly deeper control over practice. Catholicism has among us its subordinate and not inconsiderable function, but its aspirations for more provoke a smile, and will certainly never be gratified so long as it continues in the Italian form. Leo X may be called, in a certain sense, the founder of Protestantism. The bland unconsciousness of his venality in sending forth his Tetzels, with their wallets

PROTESTANTISM HAS MORE REAL UNITY THAN CATHOLICISM.

"Bret-full of pardons come from Rome all hote,"

gave the stroke upon the ancient forehead of the Roman Jupiter, releasing the clear-eyed, purer Pallas of the North.

With the great explosion of the Reformation, the easy, joyous, sensuous paganism of the Renaissance was doomed.[1]

[1] The perfect interpretation of the Renaissance is found in Browning's poem, The Bishop Orders his Tomb in Saint Praxedes, of which we quote a part:

"Swift as a weaver's shuttle fleet our years;
Man goeth to the grave, and where is he?
Did I say, basalt for my slab, sons? Black—
'Twas ever antique—black I meant! How else
Shall ye contrast my frieze to come beneath?
The bas-relief in bronze ye promised me,
Those Pans and Nymphs ye wot of, and perchance
Some tripod, thyrsus, with a vase or so,
The Saviour at his sermon on the mount,
Saint Praxed in a glory, and one Pan
Ready to twitch the Nymph's last garment off,
And Moses with the tables . . . but I know
Ye mark me not! What do they whisper thee,
Child of my bowels, Anselm? Ah, ye hope
To revel down my villas while I gasp
Bricked o'er with beggar's mouldy travertine
Which Gandolf from his tomb-top chuckles at!"

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CHAPTER XXXVI.

THE REFORMATION IN ITALY AND SPAIN.

A VARIETY of conflicting causes worked for and against the Reformation in Italy. On the one side, the intellectual breadth brought about by the Renaissance had loosened the hold of the Church upon many, while, on the other, the luxuriousness of life did not so well agree with the religious earnestness of the Reformation as with the formality of Romanism. But for the majority the selfish considerations of pecuniary and national advantage to be gained by the supremacy, and even the abuses, of the Church were decisive. Nevertheless, there were those who, with their profound conceptions of life, could not content themselves with the hollowness of the prevailing ecclesiastical conditions. They formed themselves in Rome into a society within the Church, known as the Oratory of the Divine Love, whose object was to renovate Church life, to cultivate the spirit of true devotion, and to develop scriptural and evangelical views, but without the remotest suspicion of opposition to the Church.

THE ORATORY OF DIVINE LOVE.

This league was formed in 1523, but even as early as 1519 the writings of Luther and other reformers were in lively demand in Italy. When the war, which ended in 1527 with the sacking of Rome by the imperial army, left vast numbers of Germans in Italy, the demand for reformed writings increased. They were published partly anonymously, partly under pseudonyms, that they might be read without molestation. Zwingli was transformed into Coricius Cogelius, or Abydenus Corollus; Bucer into Aretius Felinus. Luther's An den christlichen Adel and Melanchthon's Loci were issued anonymously in Latin. The temporal power of the pope and the worldliness of the Church were freely criticised. The doctrine of salvation by works was widely denied, especially after Augustine came to be more thoroughly studied. The study of the Bible, having become more popular, occasioned the Italian translation by Antonio Bruciolo (1530–1532), which in turn increased the public interest in the Word. Less radical than the German reformers in their dissent, they were also influenced by the fear of schism from separating from the Church.

SPREAD OF REFORM WRITINGS.

Besides Venice, whose political sentiments disinclined the city to submit too slavishly to Rome, there was Ferrara, which, under the protection of Renata, the French princess, became a center of reformed influence and a refuge for the Protestants. The number and high standing of the evangelicals in Italy might have given the Reformation permanency had they not been bound by ties of personal interest to the Church. Cardinals Contarini, Pole, Fegosius, and Morone all favored in some manner or degree the reformed doctrines. It will be remembered that Contarini and Melanchthon agreed as to the doctrine of justification by faith, which the former thought would be accepted at Rome. In Naples these reformed ideas were chiefly propagated by a circle of men who gathered about Juan Valdes, a Spaniard of high literary attainments in the service of the pope. He died in 1541, but not until he had brought many to the truth who were mighty in its propagation. From this company of Neapolitan reformers came the Beneficio di Christo, which was issued in several Italian editions, and in English and French, in a few years.

REFORMERS IN FERRARA AND NAPLES.

In 1536 Pope Paul III appointed a commission to consult as to the reforms necessary, and which might be agreed to in case a general council should be convened, as the Germans constantly demanded. The commission included John Peter Caraffa, afterward pope; Sadolet, whose attempt to win back Geneva to Rome Calvin frustrated; Contarini, Pole, Fegosius, and others. Their bitter denunciations of ecclesiastical abuses and their plainness in pointing out the sins of the papacy did not offend the pontiff. It looked as though the Reformation might be possible without strife. But this appearance was deceptive.

POPE PAUL III.

The causes which led to the reaction were several. In the first place, the Italian reformers were decidedly in favor of the Swiss as distinguished from the German conception of the sacraments, thus making themselves offensive to strict churchmen. Then, too, many of them were led by their insistence upon a rationalistic, which they failed to distinguish from the rational form of faith, to reject the doctrine of the Trinity. Furthermore, it became daily more plain that the views and aspirations of the Italian reformers were identical, or nearly so, with those which had been condemned in Germany and elsewhere, and that they were a part of the separatist movement. From the very midst of these evangelicals, therefore, arose the persons and instruments which were to prevent a true reform. Discontented with the slow and limited processes of the societies within the

THE REACTION.

Church, some of the more eager spirits formed the Order of Theatines, who pledged themselves to absolute poverty and took for their motto, "The reform of the Church and the suppression of heresy."

With Caraffa at its head the order spread rapidly over Italy, and soon opposed with success all attempts to mediate between Protestantism and Rome. At Caraffa's suggestion Paul issued, July 21, 1542, the bull which established the Inquisition in Italy according to the Spanish pattern. Caraffa was appointed to direct the work, and his aim was to crush out heresy in high places, since he could thus more easily prevent its spread among the masses.

CARAFFA AND THE ORDER OF THEATINES.

The result of the first persecutions was to force many to confess themselves who had hitherto not outspokenly favored the Protestant cause. Among them were Bernardino Ochino and Peter Martyr Vermigli, Pierre Paolo Vergerio, and Galeazo Caraccioli, all of whom were aggressive and able leaders in whatever they undertook. Ochino was born in Siena. He was first a Franciscan and then a Capuchin, of which order he became vicar general. Through the instrumentality of Valdes he had been led to the truth, but, like all those Neapolitans, held his doctrine secretly. Compelled to take his flight, he went to Geneva, London, Zurich, and through northern Germany. He became entangled in errors arising from his rationalistic principles, and could find at last no place of refuge. Peter Martyr fled to Zurich, Basel, and Strasburg, and became a useful worker. Vergerio had been brought to a decided stand by the remorse of conscience experienced by Francis Spiera, who, although a believer in the Protestant doctrines, had recanted. Having reached his decision, Vergerio was soon compelled to flee to the Grisons, where he labored in the interest of the Reformation until 1553. Caraccioli fled to Geneva, where he died in great honor, in 1586, the head of the Italian congregation of the city.

REFORMERS SCATTERED.

Olympia Morata, the highly educated friend of Renata, was compelled to flee to Germany with her husband, as also Cœlius Secundus Curio, who had won her to the Gospel, who fled to Lausanne, where, unfortunately, like many other Italians, he became infected with antitrinitarian views. Aonio Paleario died as a heretic in 1575; Pietro Carnessechi in 1567. Popes Paul III, Paul IV, and Pius V were determined and cruel persecutors of dissent in every form, and succeeded in completely annihilating the reform movement in Italy.

In Spain, as everywhere throughout western Europe, the way for the reformed ideas was prepared by Humanism. To this must be added the mystical doctrines and practices which were not regarded as dangerous, and with which the doctrines of the Reformation were often combined. Many individuals were also inclined toward any movement which aimed at the reduction of the power by which the Inquisition was chiefly supported, while those who followed Charles V to Germany, and students in lands of the Reformation, were influenced by new opinions abroad. The Spanish reading public learned the Reformation doctrines through the writings of Luther in Latin, and in Spanish translations. Those Spaniards who from fear of the Inquisition were residents in foreign lands, becoming infected with the Lutheran doctrines, spread them in their native country by writings secretly introduced. In fact, the whole reform movement in Spain was largely characterized by its secret propagation and enjoyment. To all this must be added the emperor's public concerns, which prevented him from giving as much attention to religious affairs as he might otherwise have granted. The Spanish translations of the New Testament by Francis Enzinas, in 1543, and by Juan Perez, in 1556, were effects of the Reformation, although they reacted mightily as new causes in its diffusion.

LUTHERAN DOCTRINES IN SPAIN.

The ignorant masses of Spain were filled with horror by the false accounts of the reformed doctrines and practices imparted by the annual decree denouncing the Lutheran heresy. But this same decree kept the matter alive before the public mind, and gave the more educated, both among the clergy and laity, in which circles the Spanish Reformation had its principal adherents, matter for reflection, to the detriment of the Church. Seville and Valladolid were the chief centers of the movement. It started in Seville with Roderigo de Valero, a layman, who by street preaching concerning the grace of God, and in denunciation of the ruin of the Church, came to be regarded as demented, and who was, therefore, punished only by confinement. But meantime he had set one of the principal preachers of the city to thinking. This was John Egidius, who, after he had experienced conversion, preached with such effect as to win the cooperation of the other great Sevillian pastor, Constantine Ponce de la Fuenta. As long as they did not openly attack the Church, their biblical Christianity caused these reformed Christians no inconvenience, but the slightest variation from ecclesiastical tradition was sure to bring down

persecution. In Valladolid, Augustine Cazalla, the imperial confessor, became a powerful advocate of the Reformation. Both in Seville and Valladolid the new ideas found their way into the monasteries. From Bearn, the home of Margaret of Angoulême, the Reformation spread into Aragon.

Very early, however, persecutions began. Alfonso de Virves, court chaplain to Charles V and his majesty's favorite preacher, was imprisoned in 1534, but rescued by the emperor. Enzinas, brother of him whose translation of the New Testament was written in Melanchthon's house and published in Antwerp in 1543, was burned in Rome in 1546. In the same year John Diaz was martyred, by the connivance of his own brother, at Neuburg on the Danube. Egidius of Seville was imprisoned in 1552, and Juan Perez and Cassiodoro de Reina fled to Switzerland. In 1558 the Dominican Bartholomew Carranza, archbishop of Toledo, published in Antwerp his Catholic catechism. He had been a zealous persecutor of Protestantism in England, under Mary, but he was none the less a believer in the evangelical doctrines so far as they seemed to him consistent with Romanism. He had been friendly with some of the Italian reformers, as Flaminius and Morone. He was on friendly terms with several of his former pupils who had become open and zealous adherents of the Reformation. The slightest hint of Lutheranism in his catechism was sufficient therefore to arouse the cry of heresy against him. Philip II wished to have him judged by the Spanish Inquisition. The council of Trent declared his catechism sound; but even this did not satisfy Philip's agents. At length Pius V secured the removal of the case to Rome, where after seventeen years Gregory XIII condemned him to the abjuration of sixteen heretical utterances, chiefly relating to justification, and to the usual penance. His almost immediate death saved this high prelate of Spain from further humiliation.

PERSECUTION IN SPAIN.

The instrument by which these things were accomplished was the Inquisition. It had not, indeed, been introduced into Spain without serious opposition, but it finally succeeded in establishing itself so firmly as to effect the commercial ruin of the realm,[1] and to put a quietus on thought and spirituality. The work was begun in earnest under Philip II in 1556, and

THE INQUISITION.

[1] Lea, History of the Inquisition in Spain. The expulsion of the Jews and Moriscoes deprived the State of its most enterprising merchants. In seventy years the population fell off four million, and among them were the most intelligent and energetic of Spain's inhabitants.

he was sustained by Pius IV. Not only were the goods of heretics to be confiscated, but the informant was to receive one quarter of their value. When accusation was tantamount to conviction, as was practically the case under the inquisitorial system, no more effective incentive to espionage of all religious utterances than this could have been devised. Besides, the priestly absolution was made dependent upon the giving of information relative to the possession of forbidden books by the acquaintances of those who came to confession. It was a crime punishable with confiscation of goods and death to read, keep, buy, or sell the books contained in the Index, all concessions concerning which had been recalled in 1559.[1] The general inquisitor, Fernando Valdez, at the suggestion of Philip, was required to execute by burning all those who relapsed into heresy, and also those whose recantation was suspected of being secured by fear rather than conviction. Such should not be allowed to live lest they might relapse. The more merciful form of execution by the sword was forbidden. Public festivals, in which heretics were burned, became frequent. They were called *autos-da-fé* (acts of faith). In 1559 and 1560 four of these horrors, two in Seville and two in Valladolid, practically ended Protestantism in these cities and in Spain. Many saved themselves by flight. Egidius, whose death occurred in 1556, and Fuenta, to whom no mercy was shown even upon his profession of a purpose to enter the order of Jesuits, and who died in prison before he could be burned alive, escaped the hands of the inquisitors. Spain was now solidly Roman Catholic. She, with her colonies in America and the Philippines, was destined to show to the world the power of Romanism, in contrast with Protestantism, to hold a nation in the spell of a misleading faith.

[1] In Salamanca the poet and scholar of the Spanish Augustinians, Professor Luis de Leon, was imprisoned for five years because he had said that the Vulgate was capable of improvement.

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CHAPTER XXXVII.

THE REFORMATION IN SCANDINAVIA.

THE history of the introduction of the Reformation into Denmark, Norway, and Sweden is a romance of political necessity. Christian II of Denmark was the acknowledged ruler also of Norway, and in 1520 succeeded in conquering Sweden, which had been from time to time a constituent part of the triple kingdom since the days of Queen Margaret, in 1397. Christian immediately sought for Lutheran preachers in the hope that the Reformation might assist him in overcoming the power of the bishops, whose immense wealth he wished to secure for the benefit of the State, instead of the Church. Luther himself was invited, but declined. Carlstadt, however, went to Copenhagen for a short time. CHRISTIAN II.

But Christian's chief care was to protect himself and his kingdom from the power of Rome, to which he forebade appeal. He abolished the temporal power of the episcopacy, reformed the monasteries, and granted the right of marriage to the clergy. He was obliged, however, in 1522, to recede from some of these positions in order to secure the assistance of the pope in holding Sweden in subjection. An uprising of the Jutes against his tyranny led to his deposition and the choosing of Frederick of Gottorp as king of Denmark and Norway.

Frederick was really a Protestant, but he had been compelled to promise to persecute those "heretics" who should venture to teach or to preach, in public or private, "against the God of heaven and holy Christian faith, the Holy Father or the Roman Church."[1] Notwithstanding, he did not hinder the Reformation from spreading northward, and by protecting the movement against the bishops (diet of Odense, 1527) he secured it legal tolerance until the convening of a council. In this he was supported by the nobility, whose interests had been injured by the power of the bishops. The marriage of priests was again allowed, and every bishop was to receive his pallium from the king instead of from Rome. Christian III, who upon the death of Frederick, in 1533, was chosen king, com- FREDERICK. CHRISTIAN III.

[1] Münter, iii, 145.

pletely broke the power of the bishops, confiscated their property, applied it to governmental and educational objects, and secularized the convents. The Lutheran Bugenhagen was called to Copenhagen in 1537, where he ordained seven bishops and established the new church order. He also crowned the king and queen on August 11, 1537.[1]

The principal ministerial agent of the Reformation in Denmark was Hans Tausen, "the Danish Luther." He had studied in Wittenberg after 1523. Under the protection of Frederick he labored with great zeal and effect, both by spreading the Scriptures in the mother tongue and by other writings scattered among the people, as well as by preaching. He opposed iconoclasm in Denmark, as Luther did in Germany.

In Norway and Iceland the Reformation proceeded under the protection of Christian III, in spite of Roman Catholic opposition. The people of Denmark yielded to the superior might of truth, but the Norwegians and Icelanders held out until compelled to accept the Reformation. Lutheranism thus prevailed in these countries, and the Augsburg Confession became subsequently the official faith, while the Formula of Concord was rejected.

GUSTAVUS VASA.

The tyranny of Christian II caused Sweden to revolt under the leadership of Gustavus Vasa, who in 1523 was elected king of Sweden. Needing the immense wealth of the bishoprics for the support of his own kingdom, he favored the Reformation. The people, though opposed to the arrogant conduct of the priests, held fast to the Church. Gustavus was accused of heresy by his priestly subjects, but without avail. Being opposed in his plans by the bishops and the nobility, he threatened to abdicate. This completely humbled his opponents, since they feared subjection to Frederick of Denmark if Gustavus forsook the control of the State. They granted him all that he asked, and the Reformation was secured. But the Church was, in fact, under the authority of the State, and Gustavus carried his confis-

[1] These episcopal functions were quite in the Lutheran spirit. Luther himself, although there were several Protestant bishops in Prussia whose tactual succession could not be doubted, ordained Amsdorf as bishop of Naumburg June 20, 1542. The defense of this act by Luther is characteristic. He says: "We poor heretics have committed another great sin against the hellish and unchristian Church of the most hellish father, the pope, in ordaining and consecrating a bishop of Naumburg without anointing oil, as also without butter, lard, bacon, grease . . . and whatever other sanctity belongs thereto."—Walch, xvii, 122; Schaff, vi, 540. See also Rietschel, Luther und die Ordination, 2d ed., Wittenberg, 1889.

cation of church property so far that even the Protestants arose in opposition.

THE PETERSENS AND ANDERSEN.

Among the principal preachers who carried on the proclamation of the new truth were Olaf and Lawrence Petersen and Lawrence Andersen, of whom the first was made preacher and secretary of the council in Stockholm by the king, and the last, the chancellor. Olaf was an eloquent and courageous man who had studied under Luther to 1519, when, returning to Stockholm, he freely preached the Gospel, even before the election of Gustavus. Vasa, after his elevation, protected the preachers of the Reformation, the spread of Luther's writings, and the translation of the Bible into Swedish. Olaf scattered tracts far and wide, and by his own poems and translations provided Sweden with the beginnings of its hymnology. He was a firm believer in Luther's doctrine of the Lord's Supper, and he worked out a Swedish mass similar to that of Luther in German.

There were twelve bishops, of whom the bishop of Upsala was archbishop, but only as *primus inter pares*, with special duties and privileges, and with no authority over his colleagues. Lawrence Petersen was the first to occupy the archbishopric. The practical reforms were not radical in their character, and the ritual was very conservative. For some reason the progress of the Reformation among the people of Sweden was slow. It was doubtless chiefly owing to the fact that the clergy were left to themselves to decide how far they would conform to the new faith, thus introducing a conflict between the elder and the younger clergy. Attempts were made by John III (1568–1592) to reinstate Romanism, and by various means were almost successful. The Jesuits used their influence, and the pope encouraged the restoration. But the most powerful factor was Queen Catherine. After her death the king took a second wife, who was favorable to Protestantism, subsequent to which the persecution of Romanism began. The conduct of John stirred the populace against the papacy, and when his son, Sigismund, was about to succeed him he was compelled to reestablish Protestantism as a condition of receiving the crown. The council at Upsala abolished the ecclesiastical regulations of John, forbade Romanism its rights in Sweden, and made the Augsburg Confession the official symbol of the country. All attempts to secure a foothold for Calvinism failed. The Scandinavian countries were unalterably Lutheran.

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See the Hungarian, Francis Balogh, in Presb. and Ref. Rev., ii, 152 ff., and iii, 158 ff.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

THE REFORMATION IN POLAND, HUNGARY, TRANSYLVANIA AND AMONG THE SOUTHERN SLAVS.

THE way had been prepared for toleration in Poland by the religious conditions which had prevailed prior to the Reformation. Greek, Catholic, Jew, and Husite had long lived in comparative peace side by side. Sigismund I (1506–1548) was a loyal Romanist, and forbade the admission, possession, and diffusion of Luther's writings, under pain of death. But neither his efforts nor the condemnation of all heresy by the synod of Leczig (1523) could hold the extension of the new ideas in check. The cities generally, as well as the nobility, made way for the Gospel, and even the peasantry clamored for the German doctrines. The noble youth of Poland attended the university of Wittenberg and brought back the Protestant views, while the bodily transfer of Prussia and the constant intercourse between Poland and German cities aided in the spread of the Reformation. Sigismund II, influenced by personal motives, gave the Reformation free course, and it rapidly found its way among the cities and nobles. The death of Sigismund II, in 1572, and the accession of Sigismund III, in 1587, gave the Roman Catholics, especially through the influence of the Jesuits upon the king, some new advantage. But the chief hindrance to the Reformation in Poland was the division among the Protestants.

REFORM IDEAS IN POLAND.

The Polish nobility were chiefly influenced by Calvin, while the masses were Lutheran. Italian refugees won some of the nobles to antitrinitarianism, and the Bohemian Brethren were strongly represented. Thus the anti-Roman camp was divided into four unfriendly parties. In 1555, however, a meeting of the evangelicals in Kozminek resulted in bringing the whole assembly to adopt the Church Order of the Bohemian Brethren. In 1565 the reformed party freed themselves from the Unitarians, and in 1570 the Bohemian Brethren, the Lutheran, and the Reformed were united in a confederative union by the consensus of Sendomir. This was followed by a brotherly and mutually tolerant recognition of their common acceptance of the principal doctrines of Christianity; a common

DIVISIONS OF PROTESTANTS.

formula for the Lord's Supper, and other tokens of Christian unity. In 1573 the diet at Warsaw decreed religious equality to Romanists and Protestants, but gave the nobility the right to determine the confession to which their peasants should adhere. The Jesuits saw their opportunity, used it to divide still farther the Protestant parties, and looked on with pleasure to see them disputing among themselves, while the Romanists united to win back many of the nobles to the Church.

Essentially the same cause worked for and against the progress and establishment of the Reformation in Hungary and Transylvania. The weakness of the rulers, or their conversion to Protestantism, furthered the interests of the reformers. Devay especially was active in preaching, writing, and translating the Scriptures in Hungary, thereby spreading the Gospel. But the Lutherans and the Reformed, together with the anti-trinitarians, divided those who favored reform, and thus prepared the way for the Roman Catholic reaction. This was brought about, particularly in Hungary, by the Jesuits. In 1606 the peace of Vienna secured protection from the Emperor Rudolf, who had attempted to reintroduce Romanism into Hungary. But while the Protestants could withstand princely aggression, their divisions incapacitated them for coping with the Jesuits. Peter Pazmany, a highly educated and winning personality and a Jesuit, succeeded in securing the return of many of the nobility to Rome, and with them vast numbers of the peasants. The students, who had formerly gone to Heidelberg, found the Netherlands more pleasing in aftertimes, and during the Thirty Years' War brought back many new ideas concerning church government, the administration of the sacraments, and church discipline. All these only aided in introducing a still more diversified opinion among the already divided Protestants, and thus tended to weaken their cause.

HUNGARY AND TRANSYLVANIA.

The history of the Reformation among the Southern Slavs is still more brief. The first traces are seen in Laibach, in 1530, where the Gospel was accepted by Khlobner, secretary of state, who gathered about him a little company of evangelicals. Primus Truber and Paul Wiener preached the Lutheran doctrine until 1547, when both were banished. Wiener went to Transylvania and became the first superintendent. Truber went to Germany, where in Rothenburg and Kempton he was employed as minister. But he gave much of his energy to the production of evangelical literature for his native coun-

TRUBER.

try. Gathering about him such assistance as he could, he produced a catechism, a confession of faith, a series of sermons on the gospels and epistles of the church year, church hymns, partly original, partly translated, and a translation of the New Testament and the Psalms. The Reformation had developed so rapidly that in 1561 he was called home, where he organized the Protestant Church. He was again banished in 1565, but the Church remained, and continued until, in 1599, the Jesuitical Ferdinand destroyed its power.

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II. ON THE BRITISH ISLES.

CHAPTER I.

THE ENGLISH REFORMATION—JOHN COLET.

A WORD must be spoken of those noble Oxford Humanists who, standing within the circle of Catholic dogma, yet spoke bravely for reform and did what they could to accomplish it. William Grocyn, a teacher at Oxford, had come back from Florence laden with the spoils of Greek and Latin learning, and was the teacher of both Erasmus and More in Greek. An illustration of his candor, and of that type of mind out of which the Reformation grew, is his abandonment of his former opinion of the authenticity of the pseudo-Dionysian writings, and his open declaration on further study that he had been mistaken. Thomas Linacre also learned Greek in Italy and came back to Oxford imbued with the spirit of the Renaissance, and formed one of that group of scholars who are mentioned with high praise by Erasmus. He had studied medicine in Padua, and was appointed physician to Henry VIII. He was the means of organizing the Royal College of Physicians in London, and also translated into Latin from the Greek some medical works of Galen, as well as the astronomical treatise of Proclus, De Sphæra. But the chief influence of this learned scholar and philosopher was in being the teacher in Greek of More, Erasmus, the lamented Prince Arthur, Queen Mary, and the helper of Erasmus, More, Grocyn, Colet, William Lilye, Latimer, and others, in bringing in the new learning, and rolling back the tide of medieval obscurantism from England.[1]

THE OXFORD HUMANISTS.

There was an awakening everywhere. John Richard Green has placed the whole situation before us in a few forceful and eloquent words: "The world was passing through changes more momentous than any it had witnessed since the victory of Christianity and the fall of the Roman empire. Its physical bounds were suddenly enlarged. The discoveries of Copernicus revealed to man the secret of the universe. The daring of the Portuguese mariners doubled the Cape of Good Hope and

GREEN ON THE RENAISSANCE.

[1] See Noble Johnson, Life of Thomas Linacre, Lond., 1835, and the Introduction by Payne to facsimile reproduction of Linacre's Galen de Temperamentis. Camb., 1881.

anchored their merchant fleets in the harbors of India. Columbus crossed the untraversed ocean to add a New World to the Old. Sebastian Cabot, starting from the port of Bristol, threaded his way among the icebergs of Labrador. This sudden contact with new ideas, new faiths, new races of men, quickened the slumbering intelligence of Europe into a strange curiosity. The first book of voyages that told of the western world, the travels of Amerigo Vespucci, were in the time of More's Utopia 'in everybody's hands.' The Utopia itself in the wide range of speculation on every subject of human thought and action tells how thoroughly and utterly the narrowness and limitations of the Middle Ages had been broken up. The capture of Constantinople by the Turks, and the flight of Greek scholars to Italy, opened anew the science and literature of the older world at the very hour when the intellectual energy of the Middle Ages had sunk into exhaustion. Not a single book of any real value, save those of Sir John Fortescue and Philippe de Commines, was produced north of the Alps during the fifteenth century. In England literature had reached its lowest ebb. It was at this moment that the exiled Greek scholars were welcomed in Italy, and that Florence, so long the home of freedom and art, became the home of an intellectual revival. The poetry of Homer, the drama of Sophocles, the philosophy of Aristotle and Plato, woke again to life beneath the shadow of the mighty dome with which Brunelleschi had crowned the city of the Arno. All the restless energy which Florence had so long thrown into the cause of liberty she flung, now that her liberty was reft from her, into the cause of letters. The galleys of her merchants brought back manuscripts from the East as the most precious portion of their freight. In the palaces of her nobles fragments of classic sculpture ranged themselves beneath the frescoes of Ghirlandajo. The recovery of a treatise of Cicero or a tract of Sallust from the dust of a monastic library was welcomed by the groups of statesmen and artists who gathered in the Rucellai gardens with a thrill of enthusiasm. Crowds of foreign scholars soon flocked over the Alps to learn Greek, the key of the new knowledge, among the Florentine teachers."[1]

That the new learning was not in England what it was too much in Italy—simply a revival of paganism—was due chiefly to Dean Colet. The son of Sir Henry Colet, a wealthy London merchant and lord mayor of the city, John Colet was a graduate of Oxford, ordained a clergyman, traveled on the

OUTLINE OF COLET'S LIFE.

[1] Short History of the English People, Lond. ed., pp. 297, 298.

Continent, and in Italy plunged into the study of the Scriptures, the fathers, Aquinas and other schoolmen. The mystic writings of the pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite claimed his attention, and seemed to exercise a deep influence upon him.[1] His study of these and of the Greek fathers deepened his conviction of the importance of truth, life, and love in Christianity as distinct from forms and ceremonies—a conviction which was born in his heart by his Bible reading. His stay in Italy, say from 1490 to 1495, brought him face to face with the scandals of Alexander VI and with the reforming zeal of Savonarola, and it is not wonderful that he returned to England with the determination to do what he could to reform religion there.

In 1496 John Colet announced a course of free lectures on the epistles in Oxford. After the abortive attempt of Wyclif to make the Bible a power in university instruction the Scriptures were thrown into the background, and, though they still retained a nominal place, the Sentences were the main themes on which lectures were based. "In the universities," says Tyndale, who as a youth was in Oxford while Colet was lecturing, "they have ordained that no man shall look in the Scripture until he be nozelled in heathen learning eight or nine years, and armed with false principles with which he is to be shut out of the understanding of the Scripture. . . . And when he taketh his first degree he is sworn that he shall hold none opinion condemned by the Church. . . . And then when they be admitted to study divinity, because the Scripture is locked up with such false expositions and with false principles of natural philosophy that they cannot enter in, they go about the outside and dispute all their lives about words and vain opinions, pertaining as much unto the healing of a man's heel as the health of his soul."[2] When, therefore, this modest, pious scholar announced a course of lectures on the epistles of Paul it betokened a revolution, although the authorities could not be expected to divine its significance. If the Oxford doctors could have understood the result of this unconscious appeal from the Sentences to the Scriptures they might well have been filled with dismay. For, as Seebohm says, "they could not foresee that those very books of the Sentences over which they had pored so intently for so many years in order to obtain the degree of Master in Theology, and at which students were still

COLET'S LECTURES ON THE EPISTLES.

[1] On the significance of these Dionysian writings see Seebohm, The Oxford Reformers, index, and Westcott, Religious Thought in the West, pp. 142 ff.

[2] Practice of Prelates, p. 291, Parker Society.

toiling with the same object in view—they could not foresee that within forty years those very books would be utterly banished from Oxford, ignominiously nailed up on posts as waste paper, their loose leaves strewn about the quadrangles until some sportsman should gather them up and thread them on a line to keep the deer within the neighboring woods."[1]

MEDIEVAL VIEWS OF VERBAL INSPIRATION.

The medieval doctrine of the verbal inspiration of the whole Bible had reached its natural climax in the idolatrous regard of the words as containing all the meanings which might be fastened on them. For instance, when St. Jerome's opinion was quoted to the effect that St. Mark (ii, 26) made a slip of the memory in writing Abiathar for Ahimelech, a learned contemporary of Colet's at Oxford declared that that could not be unless the Holy Spirit himself could be mistaken, and for his authority cited Ezek. i, 20: "Whithersoever the Spirit went, thither likewise the wheels were lifted up to follow him."[2] This *reductio ad absurdum* of the theory of verbal inspiration is illustrated in the solemn statement of Thomas Aquinas: "Inasmuch as God is the author of the Holy Scriptures, and all things are at one time present to his mind, therefore under their single text they express several meanings. Their literal sense is manifold; their spiritual sense threefold—namely, allegorical, moral, anagogical."[3] Tyndale complains that under this treatment the literal sense amounts to nothing. "Twenty doctors expand one text twenty ways, and with an antitheme of half an inch some of them draw a thread nine days long. They not only say that the literal sense profiteth nothing, but also that it is hurtful and noisome and killeth the soul."[4] They prove this by Paul in 2 Cor. iii, 6: "The letter killeth but the spirit giveth life." He says again that they are wont to look on no more Scripture than they find in their Duns, and that some of them will prove a point of faith as well out of a fable of Ovid or any other poet as out of St. John's gospel or Paul's epistles. Thus had the scholastic belief in the verbal inspiration, as Seebohm remarks, led men into a condition of mind in which they practically ignored the Scriptures altogether.

Everybody flocked to Colet's lectures. His words fell as water upon a thirsty land. His methods are entirely different from

[1] Oxford Reformers, 3d ed., p. 4; Ellis, Letters, 2d series, ii, 61, 62.

[2] Seebohm, pp. 29, 30.

[3] Summa, pt. i, quest. i, art. 10.

[4] Obedience of a Christian Man, chapter on Four Senses of Scripture, Lovett's ed., pp. 265 ff.

those in vogue. He does not give long dissertations on the texts, nor link together the expositions of the fathers and schoolmen—in fact, he hardly mentions these latter at all. He treats the epistle as a human document, the words of a living man, and he therefore brings out all the personal allusions, the historical setting, and light from contemporary writers. Then he carefully sets himself to draw out, almost as a modern exegete would, the meaning of that great and profound epistle, though with traces of mystical or philosophical phraseology and interpretation, which he had learned from Plato, Plotinus, and the pseudo-Dionysius. He also fearlessly applies the lessons learned to his own times. How fresh and strong must have come Colet's words as he uncovered the plain sense of Scripture, when we remember that at that very time the new Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity at Oxford announced as the subject of his opening course the Quodlibeta of Scotus.[1]

COLET'S INTERPRETATION OF THE EPISTLES.

In what sense was Colet a reformer? It cannot be said that Colet distinctly repudiated any of the dogmas of the Church of his time. He simply shelved them in favor of the simple declarations of the Bible and the Apostles' Creed. A standpoint so liberal and yet intensely Christian makes Colet a kind of standard bearer for all, a man around whom the Churches may rally in this age of Christian union. His latest biographer and successor in St. Paul's School, London, which he founded, calls attention to this aspect of Colet. Even if we cannot trace the great Reformation movement to him, an instinctive feeling remains that in Colet we have a strong connecting link between the old and the new. In his many-sided character there is something in which all may claim a share. The Roman Catholic must honor one of whom More declares that "none more learned or more holy had lived among them for many ages past."[2] The High Churchman will probably find but little in his extant writ-

COLET'S POSITION AS TO THE REFORMATION.

[1] This professorship was founded by Lady Margaret, Countess of Richmond and Derby, in 1497. She named as the first professor her own confessor, Edmund Wylsford, B.D., of Oriel College, just as Mrs. Valeria G. Stone, of Malden, Mass., appointed her own friend, Dr. J. P. Gulliver, as the first incumbent (1878) of her new chair of the relations of science and Christianity at Andover Theological Seminary. On Colet's lectures at Oxford, see Seebohm, pp. 29 ff.; Lupton, Life of John Colet, pp. 59 ff.

[2] Epist. aliquot erudit., 1520, leaf M, iii. A Roman Catholic authority, The Tablet, Lond., June 24, 1876, places the theological position of Colet between that of Erasmus and More, meaning, probably that he is more Catholic than the former, less so than the latter.

ings from which he would feel bound to dissent. "Were he living," says an able reviewer, "he could be dean of St. Paul's now; but he could not be cardinal archbishop of Westminster. In the English Church we have many now his exact counterparts, but in the Romish communion there is no room for such as he, or, if barely tolerated, he would be relegated to some remote oratory, and as much as possible put to silence."[1]

This is, however, precarious reasoning. It does not appear that he denied any Roman doctrine. His two bosom friends and fellow-workers, Erasmus and More, lived long enough to take an attitude toward the Reformatiou, and we cannot say that Colet's preferences would not have been theirs—to remain in the old fold. "The Evangelical Churchman and Nonconformist have been forward to claim in Colet a representative of themselves."[2] Colet was like St. George Mivart and many liberal Catholics, content to remain in the Church of his youth, not contending against her doctrines, but finding Christ sufficient for himself. "Knowledge," he says, "leads not to eternal life, but *love*. Whoso loveth God is known of him. Ignorant love has a thousand times more power than cold wisdom." Several Lollards — Protestants of that age — suffered under Archbishop Warham in 1511, and Colet never lifted his voice for them. In fact, he himself is said to have been one of the judges.[3] It is indeed true that the bishop of London, Fitzjames, a bigoted obscurantist, inflamed against Colet for the latter's zeal as a moral reformer, trumped up charges against him, and laid them before the archbishop. What were these charges? (1) That images ought not to be worshiped. (2) That when Christ commanded Peter the third time to feed his lambs he made no allusion to the application of episcopal revenues in hospitality or anything else, seeing that Peter was a poor man and had no episcopal revenues. (3) That in speaking once of those whose custom it was to read their sermons (Colet must have been an extemporaneous preacher) he meant to give a side hit at the bishop of London, who, on account of his old age, was in the habit of reading his sermons.[4] It is no wonder that the archbishop threw out these charges in dis-

[1] The Yorkshire Post, June 8, 1876.

[2] See especially The Christian Observer, Lond., August, 1873, and the remarks on the De Corpore Christi Mystico in the British Quarterly Review, October, 1876, p. 574; Lupton, Life of Dean Colet, Lond., 1887, pp. 265, 266.

[3] Foxe, Acts and Monuments, ed. Cattley and Townsend, v, 648.

[4] Erasmus speaks of the custom of reading sermons as the "stiff and formal way of many in England."

gust.[1] No better proof is needed of Colet's orthodoxy from the Roman Catholic standpoint.[2] The great value of Colet's work from a Protestant view was in his emphasis on the essentials of religion, his appeal to the Bible, and the impetus he gave to its study. In these ways he furnished a solid and lasting contribution to the emancipation of the modern Church from the dogmatic and degenerate scholasticism of his age.

COLET'S MORAL EARNESTNESS.

As a moral reformer Colet is to be held in everlasting remembrance. He spoke out with prophetic distinctness and earnestness against the abuses, the crimes, the scandals in the Church. His great sermon which he preached as dean of St. Paul's in 1512, before the convocation, is extant. Like Wesley's equally celebrated sermon before the University of Oxford in 1744, it was a ringing call to the Church to begin that moral reformation for which there was preeminent need. He takes up one abuse after the other, makes one impeachment after the other, and presses home upon their consciences the work of reformation in themselves and in the Church, which, he says, is a much more pressing need than the stamping out of heresy. The depraved life of the clergy is the worst heresy. This kind of heresy reigns in the Church to her miserable destruction. Wherefore, awake from your sleep, and listen to St. Paul when he says, Be not conformed to this world.[3] It is the glory of Colet that in his holy and beautiful life and in all his teaching and preaching he witnessed for the regeneration of a corrupt Church, for the moral, if not the doctrinal, purification of English Christianity.

Colet's place in the history of education, the account of his founding of St. Paul's School, London, and the rules he gave it, are themes of fascinating interest, but must be passed over. Sir Thomas More, one of the most admirable characters in English

[1] Seebohm, pp. 249 ff. ; Lupton, pp. 202 ff.

[2] An illustration of the carelessness with which books of reference repeat errors is found in that usually accurate work, the Schaff-Herzog Encyclopædia, article Colet : "By his well-known disapproval of auricular confession, celibacy of the clergy, and other Roman practices, he was considered by the faithful little short of a heretic." We have no evidence that he rejected auricular confession, and as to the celibacy of the clergy, Colet was a complete Roman Catholic. He not only believed in celibacy for the clergy, but he believed in it for all Christians, arguing for it boldly and meeting the objections which would naturally be brought to such an alarming proposition. See Lupton, pp. 262, 263.

[3] See this sermon quoted in full in Seebohm, pp. 230 ff.

history, stood shoulder to shoulder with Colet and Erasmus in their efforts for the new learning and for the reform of the Church. In his Utopia, 1516, More outlines the social and political ways and principles which he would like to have seen established, doing for the secular life what Erasmus in his New Testament had done for the religious. This is one of the noblest books of the sixteenth century. In its plea for a fairer distribution of the products of labor, for amelioration of the condition of the poor, and for a socialism that is consistent with progress and that would give scope for individual initiative and enterprise; for its plea for peace; for its recognition of the fact that war is essentially brutal and always inglorious; for its plea for universal education; for its descriptions of a model city in sanitary and other matters, in which he anticipated the best municipal regulations of the twentieth century; for its faith in both science and religion; for its moral philosophy as at once utilitarian and Christian; for its anticipation of Christian union on a devotional basis, and for its large and noble spirit of comprehension and toleration in religion—for all this the Utopia of Sir Thomas More is a work which, written in the dawn of the sixteenth century, is of almost miraculous insight, genius, and truth.[1]

MORE'S UTOPIA.

[1] The best edition of the Utopia is by J. H. Lupton, which reproduces the Latin text of 1518 and the first English transl., that of Ralph Robynson, 1551, with introd., additional tranls., and notes, Clarendon Press, 1895. An excellent ed. of Latin is that of V. Michelis and T. Zeigler, which gives the text of 1516, as corrected by later recensions, Berlin, 1895. See the Nation, N. Y., Feb. 13, 1896, p. 145. A handy and excellent ed. of English text is in Ideal Commonwealths, ed. by H. Morley, Lond., 1885; 7th ed., 1896. There is also a cheap ed. pub. by John B. Alden, N. Y.

CHAPTER II.

THE DIVORCE.

THE English Reformation is the best illustration that history affords of the words of the psalmist, God maketh the wrath of man to praise him. A movement which has had most vast and beneficent results was conceived in iniquity and carried forward in a spirit well worthy of its inception, with a disregard of truth, honor, and charity, with a cruelty and tyranny, almost without parallel.

Henry VIII had come to the throne in 1509 at the age of eighteen. Handsome, witty, brave, a friend of the new learning, his advent was hailed with joy by all the better men of the nation. But this joy was not longlived. It soon became apparent that Henry had the Tudor vices—cruelty, anger, ambition, lust, and the passion for power. And as he was a king of the strongest and most aggressive personality, with strong power over men, it is not a matter of surprise that he soon ruled with almost absolute power, and exercised over Church and State a tyranny of which the best counterpart is that of the old Roman emperors. Seven weeks after his accession he married Catharine of Aragon, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, and the widow of his brother Arthur, to whom she was married a little more than four months—a marriage which was never consummated. As to this last point the solemn appeal of Catharine to Henry at the legatine court, whether it was not so, ought to be sufficient proof as over against the gossip of a lying age, by which some historians have permitted themselves to be misled. In eight years (1510–18) Catharine bore Henry seven children which, born in such rapid succession, were either stillborn or died soon after birth—all except Mary.[1] Catharine began to show the effects of age, and after 1518 ceased to bear children. This fact, with the additional one of the death of the male offspring, began to make Henry restive and dissatisfied—a condition of mind not allayed by his falling in love, about 1522, with the brilliant and beautiful Anne Boleyn, a young woman of his court. From this time he sought a divorce from Catharine, on the ground that the Scriptures forbade marriage with

HENRY VIII'S MARRIAGE WITH CATHARINE OF ARAGON.

[1] They were married June 3, 1509. For a list of miscarriages and of births see Froude, Hist. of England, N. Y. ed., i, 117, note.

a deceased brother's wife,[1] and that the dispensation of the pope which allowed the marriage was therefore void. The king overlooked Deut. xxv, 5–10, which not only makes legal a marriage with a deceased brother's wife left childless, but commands it. Although Henry had dishonored Anne's sister, Anne herself would not favor his advances until she could do so lawfully. It is often asserted that Anne Boleyn was the mistress of Henry—an assertion which is not only destitute of proof but is improbable in itself. Henry, though not a faithful husband, was chastity itself beside many sovereigns both contemporary and later, and was punctilious in insisting on marriage. And would a man of Henry's pride make his mistress his queen?[2] There is no evidence that Henry ever carried on immoral premarital intrigues with any one of his numerous wives.

ANNE BOLEYN.

There were three difficulties in the way of the divorce. (1) The fact acknowledged by all Christendom that Henry's marriage with Catharine was valid. (2) The virtuous and pious Catharine, with all her sweetness of disposition, was found to be as immovable as a rock when asked to assent to the divorce. Besides, could she be fool enough to brand with illegitimacy her own children? (3) The pope wanted to be on good terms with the emperor, her uncle, besides the more honorable reason which naturally made him loath to declare invalid what his predecessor had sanctioned. But Henry was never balked in anything he undertook, and he was determined to get in England what he could not procure in Rome. What right had the pope to control the matter? Had not the English kings often rebuked popes for their too high-handed interference in English affairs? Had not English parliaments placed limits to their interference? But Henry had no desire to break with the pope if he could attain his end without.

BARRIERS TO THE DIVORCE.

Henry's minister, Cardinal Wolsey, ever too willing to bend his conscience in his utter devotion to the king, sent his secretary, Stephen Gardiner, to Rome in 1528 to induce Clement to appoint legates to decide the question, and, if possible, in Henry's favor. The pope appointed Wolsey and Cardinal Campeggio, but reserved to himself the final decision. Delay, however, was the word. It was seven months before the court sat. This was due in part to the outbreak of the sweating sickness, which struck everyone with terror. Henry had a mortal fear of death, and

[1] See Lev. xviii, 16; xx, 21.

[2] Child, Church and State under the Tudors, pp. 72, 288.

while the plague was raging he acted the part of a pious man and a kind husband to Catharine—a fact which throws to the winds those "scruples" which he had so solemnly advertised. But when the sickness disappeared he sent the queen away and recalled his "Nan." At last the trial took place at the Parliament Chamber, Blackfriars, June, 1529. The case was thoroughly reviewed; week after week passed, but still the court sat. On July 23 the king's counsel demanded judgment; Campeggio said he could not be coerced, but that in so important a matter he must wait until he could refer the matter to the pope; in the meantime he would adjourn the court until October.

TRIAL OF CATHARINE.

At this trial Catharine made a strong appeal in Latin to the justice of the legates, closing with these words: "If there be any offense which can be alleged against me I consent to depart in infamy; if not, then I pray you in the name of the Holy Trinity and the high court of heaven to do me justice."[1] This speech was received with applause. Froude, with his usual exaggeration in treating of Henry, says the divorce was popular—"the nation was thoroughly united on the divorce question."[2] On the contrary, the masses, and especially the women, were disgusted with Henry and "Nan Boleyn," and the frequent street cries, "No Nan Boleyn for us," almost provoked bloody reprisals; and in the case of some, loyalty to the old queen cost them their lives. Hook speaks more truthfully when he says: "The matrons of England rose up in chaste indignation at King Henry's treatment of his wife—an indignation imparted to their children, and handed on from generation to generation, until it has covered with everlasting infamy the name of a once popular king."[3] Samuel Rawson Gardiner says: "The queen's cause was popular with the masses, who went straight to the mark, and saw in the whole affair a mere attempt to give a legal covering to Henry's lust."[4] "The common people, who with much anxiety attended the success of this great affair, seemed, betwixt pity to Queen Katherine and envy to Anne Boleyn, to cast out some murmuring and seditious words."[5]

POPULAR EXCITEMENT.

[1] See the speech in full in Dodd's Church Hist. of England.

[2] Hist. of England, i, 107, 136, 153.

[3] Archbishops of Canterbury, vi, 477. As to contemporary feeling see S. Hubert Burke, Historical Portraits of the Tudor Dynasty and the Reformation Period, i, 198–200.

[4] Students' Hist. of England, p. 382.

[5] Lord Herbert of Cherbury, Hist. of Henry VIII (written about 1645), Ward, Lock & Co.'s edition, p. 362.

The delay of the legatine court angered Henry, and in his anger he turned against his most devoted servant Wolsey, who was proceeded against for having violated the statute of *præmunire*.

WOLSEY'S OFFENSE AND TRIAL.

This statute (1353, enlarged 1393 and later) forbade the reference of any matter to Rome which belonged to England, or receiving from Rome benefices, translations, and excommunications.[1] It was practically a dead letter, and English kings had long ceased to take it seriously. In Wolsey's case the revival of the statute was doubly unjust because he had exercised his legatine powers at the express wish of the king. He turned over all his goods and houses to the king, including his colleges at Ipswich and Oxford, the latter being afterward restored to educational use and named Christ Church. In abject poverty he was allowed to depart to his diocese in the north, where in deep humility and in Christian service he made atonement for his past worldliness. Contemporary writers give a beautiful picture of his activity in works of charity and preaching during his retirement at Cawood.[2] But his enemies were still active, and on some futile pretext persuaded Henry to charge him with treason. Completely broken in heart and body, poor Wolsey set out for his trial in London. He could only reach Leicester, where he laid himself down to die.

The next morning Sir William Kingston, the keeper of the Tower, approached the dying man with some paltry money matter about which the king in his ruthless avarice had commanded him to make inquiries. Seeing his feeble condition, Kingston tried to encourage him. "Well, well, Master Kingston," replied Wolsey, "I see the matter against me, how it is framed; if I had served God as diligently as I have served the king, he would not have given me over in my gray hairs. Howbeit, this is the just reward that I must receive for my worldly diligence and pains that I have had to do him service. Commend me to his majesty, beseeching him to call to his remembrance all that has passed between him and me to the present day, and most chiefly in this great matter; then shall his conscience declare whether I have offended him or no. He is a prince of royal courage, and hath a princely heart; and rather than he will miss part of his appetite he will hazard the loss of one half of his kingdom. I assure you I have often kneeled before him in his privy chamber the space of an hour or two to per-

[1] See Low and Pulling, Dictionary of English History, p. 832.

[2] See Carlo Logario, Narrative; Grove, Life and Times of Cardinal Wolsey, iv; Burke, Historical Portraits of the Tudor Dynasty, i, 224–227.

suade him from his will and appetite, but I could never dissuade him." Then his words and voice failed him. His eyes grew fixed and glazed. The clock struck eight, and he breathed his last November 29, 1530. "And calling to our remembrance," says Cavendish, "his words the day before, how he said that at eight of the clock we should lose our master, we stood looking upon each other, supposing he had prophesied of his departure." "No words could paint with so terrible a truthfulness," says Green, "the spirit of the new monarchy which Wolsey had done more than any of those who went before him to raise into an overwhelming despotism. All sense of loyalty to England, to its freedom, to its institutions, had utterly passed away. The one duty which fills the statesman's mind is a duty 'to his prince,' a prince whose personal will and appetite were overriding the highest interests of the State, trampling under foot the wisest counsels, and crushing with the blind ingratitude of a Fate the servants who opposed him. But even Wolsey, while he recoiled from the monster form that he had created, could hardly have dreamed of the work of destruction which the royal courage and yet more royal appetite were to accomplish in the years to come."[1] The condemnation of Wolsey is one of the dark blots upon Henry's character. No man ever served his king with greater fidelity, and the publication of the State Papers, which Brewer edited with such valuable introductions, shows that in this service he thought that he was best exalting England. And his masterly continental policy did in fact restore her to that place among the nations which she had lost by the wars of the Roses.

WOLSEY'S DEATH.

The question has been agitated as to the origin of Henry's "scruples" as to his first marriage. There are four explanations: (1) Henry's doubts were suggested by his own conscience. This he repeatedly declared in public, but, unfortunately for him, in private he made admissions of a different kind. Here he spoke coarsely of personal repulsion to his faithful wife whom his lust had aged and broken down. (2) His doubts were awakened by his new passion for Anne Boleyn. The chief objection to this is chronological; the proposal for divorce dating from 1526; the proposal to Anne from 1527. But this is on the surface. Anne came to court in 1522, and the "sprightly black-eyed flirt" had infatuated him before 1526. There is historical evidence, however, to show that doubts concerning Henry's marriage were suggested independently of and probably before

HENRY'S SCRUPLES AS TO FIRST MARRIAGE.

[1] Short Hist., chap. vi, sec. 6, at end.

his acquaintance with Anne. (3) The thought of divorce was suggested by Anne's friends. There is no evidence of this. Brewer adopts the first of these solutions on one page of his great work, the second on another, and the third on still another, a procedure so singular that it can only be accounted for on the supposition that there is evidence for all three explanations, but no preponderating and decisive evidence for any one.[1] Lord Acton in a learned discussion offers another solution, namely, that (4) Wolsey was the first to hint the divorce.[2] Although Wolsey and Henry VIII denied this, Lord Acton shows that there is strong contemporary evidence for it. Perhaps we shall never know who first conceived a project which may have had almost simultaneous birth in various minds, and which coincided so well with the passions and ambitions of many in that tragic time.

The next step was the appeal to the universities. For this Henry was indebted to Thomas Cranmer, a Cambridge divinity tutor. When the king heard the suggestion he exclaimed, "Who is this Dr. Cranmer? I will speak to him. Marry! I trow he has got the right sow by the ear." He was appointed royal chaplain and archdeacon of Taunton, was attached to the household of Anne Boleyn's father, wrote a treatise in favor of the divorce, was sent on two embassies—one to Italy, in 1530, and one to Germany, in 1531–32—was married at Nuremberg early in 1532 to the niece of the reformer Osiander (a marriage uncanonical but not then illegal), and on the 30th of March, 1533, was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury. The appeal to the learning of Christendom marked a new era, but unfortunately the appeal was not left to be decided on its merits, so that the "whole inquiry was a farce. Wherever Henry and his allies could bribe or bully the learned doctors an answer was usually given in the affirmative. Wherever the empire could bribe or bully the answer was usually given in the negative."[3] "Corruption and intimidation, the resources of tyranny, were exhausted to procure sentences in favor of the king, and though with the foreign universities Henry met with but partial success, he carried his will in his own."[4]

HENRY'S APPEAL TO THE UNIVERSITIES.

[1] Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII, Lond., 1875, iv, 222, 258, 298.

[2] Wolsey and the Divorce of Henry VIII, in Quar. Rev., Lond., Jan., 1877.

[3] S. R. Gardiner, Students' Hist. of England, p. 385.

[4] R. W. Dixon, Hist. of the Church of England from the Abolition of the Roman Jurisdiction, Lond., 3d ed. rev., vol. i, p. 34. This great work, which cost over twenty-five years' labor, is a work of learning, research, and historical

The royal despot now, December, 1530, brought an indictment against the whole body of the clergy for having consented to the legatine authority of Wolsey, thus falling under the statutes of *præmunire* and *provisors*. This was a monstrous action; for the laity were equally guilty, and the king more guilty than all, because it was by his authority that the legatine court was held. The clergy knew, however, that they had no chance, that Henry's lawyers would as little as Henry give them justice, and that with the memory of their exactions and corruptions resistance of the process would expose them as outlaws to robbery and murder. The convocation of Canterbury offered, therefore, to buy the freedom of the clergy by a grant of £100,000, to which was added £18,000 by the convocation of York.[1] Henry refused the pardon unless the clergy would acknowledge him supreme head of the Church of England.

WHOLE BODY OF CLERGY INDICTED.

sense. Like so much of the best work of the English Church in recent years, it is written from the High Church point of view, and its judgments of dissentient and independent movements are not always reliable. Its author is the son of James Dixon, an eminent Wesleyan Methodist minister, whose life he wrote, Lond., 1874.

[1] Dixon, Hist. Ch. of England, i, 61, makes the amount paid by the Canterbury clergy £144,000. This is a mistake. The exact amount was £100,044 8*s*. 8*d*., and for those of York £18,840 0*s*. 10*d*.—the whole equal to over a million pounds of present-day currency.

CHAPTER III.

THE BREACH WITH ROME.

EVENTS now moved with great rapidity. In 1531 the clergy allowed that Henry was supreme head of the English Church, with the reservation, so far as the law of Christ allows; to which of course Henry acceded as a condition to be taken for granted, and which still left for his authority a region of beautiful indefiniteness. In 1532 various acts were passed—one limiting the exemptions of the clergy from the civil courts; another restraining the payment of annates, or the first year's income of bishops and archbishops, to Rome; and a third in which the Church gave over all independent authority as a spiritual body. This last provided that the clergy should neither meet in convocation, nor enact or execute new canons, without the king's authority, and that all past legislation should be submitted to the king for his review. In 1533 the statute of appeals was passed, prohibiting forever all appeals to Rome, and making the archbishop's court the court of last resort, except in certain cases relegated to the upper house of convocation. In this year also the houses of convocation annulled the marriage with Catharine—an act which shows the servility of the clergy as well as the suddenness and completeness with which they had broken with the pope, with whom their Church had been in unbroken and undisputed spiritual communion for nearly a thousand years. This was followed by Archbishop Cranmer's sentence of divorce between Henry and Catharine, May 23, 1533, on the ground that the marriage had been null from the beginning.

HENRY'S HEADSHIP OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH.

What did Henry mean by making himself head of the Church? and what did the clergy mean by sanctioning it? It is evident that he did not anticipate a final breach with the pope, nor was he acting out of harmony with the traditions of the English Church and State. It can be shown incontestably that in nearly all matters touching local government and appointments the Church in England was autonomous; that in all matters of external rule and administration the popes acted only by sufferance, by consent of the king, who ever since the conquest had been in a real sense the head of the Church.

In 1307 the earls, barons, and the "whole community of the realm" petitioned the king to protect them against papal oppressions which they declared were destroying both Church and State. In 1400 the clergy implored Henry IV to save the Catholic faith, sustain divine worship, preserve the Church of England, and remedy scandals and dissensions. In fact the doctrine of the divine right of kings, which was a terribly living reality in England down to 1688, in France to the revolution, and is still potent in Germany, and which has been the parent of infinite oppression and cruelty, invested the sovereigns of England with a sacred sanction as rulers in the things of God as well as those of men. Bracton, the great authority on English law from the thirteenth century to the seventeenth, is the spokesman of this doctrine. "The king is the vicar and minister of God on earth; everyone is under him, and he is under no one, unless, indeed, he is under God." He is also under law, because the law makes him king. "He is the vicar of God as much in spirituals as in temporals."[1] Sir Edward Coke, the Bracton of the seventeenth century, seems practically to assert the same when he speaks of the acts of Henry VIII as restoring to the crown that ecclesiastical jurisdiction which had been usurped.[2] An act passed in Edward III's reign (1359) goes so far as to say that the spiritual jurisdiction of kings is derived from a priestly character given to them by their unction at coronation.[3]

HISTORIC BASIS FOR KING'S SUPREMACY.

Let us remember that the English Church, as a Church independent from Rome, had as one of its foundation stones the doctrine of kingly absolutism. The popes recognized this excessive power of the king in matters spiritual, although the exercise of these ecclesiastical prerogatives was often in abeyance, and in the hands of weak kings might seem to have lapsed. But the laws were there, and they were sometimes enforced with a decision that made the popes wince. "If the king of England," bitterly cries out Clement VII (1342–52), "were to ask for an ass to be made bishop, he must not be denied."[4] "It is not the pope," said Martin V (1417–31), "but the king of England that governs the Church in his dominions. With his provisions and appointments

[1] De Legibus et Consuetudinibus Angliæ, i, 8. This great work was edited, with a translation, by Sir Travers Twiss for the Rolls series, 6 vols., 1878–83.

[2] See Comyns, Digest, art. Prerogative, D 11, 13; Blunt, The Reformation of the Church of England, i, 233.

[3] Blunt, i, 233, n. 5. See Ingram, England and Rome, Lond., 1892, pp. 121–126.

[4] Godwin, Catalogue of Bishops of England, p. 526.

he regulates it as if he were the vicar of Christ. He makes laws for the churches, benefices, clerics, the ecclesiastical orders, and the concerns of the hierarchy, as if the care of the Church had been intrusted to him and not to us. When we send our notaries and proctors unto England carrying our censures and processes, the bearers are seized, imprisoned, and stripped of their all; nor is any application to the apostolic see allowed by the English laws to be made."[1]

SPIRITUAL LORDSHIP OF THE POPE.

But all this existed side by side with the most distinct recognition of the pope as the spiritual lord of Christendom, as bishop of the Church Catholic, and as occupying the chair of St. Peter, with whom union was necessary. The archbishops received from him their pallium, and taxes of various kinds were paid into his treasury. It is likely that most of the English prelates had Gerson's idea of the papacy, the idea of the enlightened men of the fifteenth century—namely, that the pope is the head of the Church and the center of unity, but that he is under a general council by which he may be held to account. Sir Thomas More wrote to Cromwell: "For in the next general council it may happen that this pope may be deposed and another substituted in his room, with whom the K[ing's] H[ighness] may be very well content. For albeit that I have for my own part such opinion of the pope's primacy as I have showed you, yet never thought I the pope above the general council."[2] Henry, and the parliament and convocation that so humbly followed his imperious will, had no idea of repudiating at this time the personal reverence and obedience which Western Christendom paid to the pope. In 1532 Henry wrote to the papal conclave for a cardinal's hat for the bishop of Worcester, and in 1533 he sent to the pope for the bulls and pall for Cranmer on his promotion to the archbishopric of Canterbury, just as in 1531 he waited until Lee and Gardiner had received the necessary papal documents before he would invest them with the temporalities of their sees.[3] On May 20, 1532, Henry wrote to the pope assuring him that he would do all that he could for the preservation of the faith. The letter is addressed to "our most holy and most clement lord the pope," speaks of the pope's burning zeal in propagating and preserving the Christian faith,

[1] See this remarkable letter in Raynaldus, sub ann. 1426; Collier, Ecc. Hist. of England, vii, 633; Milman, vii, 531; Ingram, pp. 116–118. See also Greenwood, Cathedra Petri, vol. vi, pp. 553 ff.

[2] Strype, Eccl. Mem., i, pt. 2, 202.

[3] See Dodd, Church Hist. of England, i, 173, note by Tierney.

describes him as the best of pastors, and is signed "your most devoted and obedient son."[1] On May 27, 1533—four days after Cranmer had annulled the Catharine marriage—the king addressed another deferential letter to the pope.[2]

In the mind of Henry and the Church and State of his time the momentous legislation of 1531–33 meant (1) that as between the king and the pope the English clergy were now entirely and finally under the king, that for even spiritual offenses they were out of the cognizance of the pope; (2) that church moneys should be spent at home, cutting off the financial support of the papacy; (3) that church legislation in England should be under the direction of the king. It is no doubt true that these far-reaching propositions did not intentionally subvert the pope's spiritual headship, but it must be confessed that they really subverted it. For what value would that primacy be to the pope if it were to be henceforth a thing of the imagination, a beautiful sentiment, the glamour of an old institution, to be reverenced but not obeyed? If as head of the Church the pope henceforth was to have no hand in regulating that Church, it is evident that for England the real pope did not sit in Rome. There is a grim irony, therefore, in the elaborate attempts of Anglican historians to show that the fateful bills of 1531–33, and even the acts of 1534, did not touch the papal supremacy in spirituals, or subvert the constitution of the Catholic Church. Looking beneath the surface, these bills were revolutionary; they subverted the New Testament idea of a Church in taking the government of the Church out of the hands of the Church itself—the body of believers; they subverted the ancient constitution in overthrowing government by laity and

THE POPE'S LORDSHIP REDUCED TO A CIPHER.

THE CHURCH SUBORDINATED TO THE STATE.

[1] Sanctissimo Clementissimoque Domino nostro Papæ. Beatissime pater, post humillimam commendationem, et devotissima pedum oscula beatorum. Reddidit nuper nobis Reverendus Dominus Ubaldinus Sanctitatis Vestræ Nuncius, ipsius ad nos breve; quod ubi perlegissemus, ac omnia accurate audivissemus, quæ ille de rebus publicis suæ commissa fidei prudenter, distincte et copiose nobis exposuit, non potuimus Sanctitatis Vestræ in iis tractandis promovendisque actionibus, quæ commune omnium bonum, publicam tranquillitatem et Christianæ in primis religionis propagationem et conservationem concernere videntur, flagrans studium, solicitamque mentem non summopere laudare, optimique pastoris pectore dignam existimare. . . . At the end of this letter the king signs himself, Ejusdem Vestræ Sanctitatis devotissimus atque obsequentissimus filius, Dei gratia Rex Angliæ et Franciæ, fidei defensor, ac Dominus Hiberniæ, HENRICUS.—State Papers, vii, 459; Pocock, Records of the Reformation, ii, 673, 674.

[2] Printed in Pocock, ii, 675.

clergy in provincial councils and prelates in general councils; they subverted the mediæval constitution by exalting the king against the pope, whose power was reduced to nothing. Henceforth the Church was to be a department of the State; the king was to be its executive and its judge; its clergy were to be his ministers.

Did no contemporaries see the drift of things? Chapuys, ambassador of Charles V to England, was a close student of affairs and a sagacious observer. In his dispatches he says, February 14, 1531: "The thing that has been treated to the pope's prejudice is that the clergy have been compelled, under pain of said law of *præmunire*, to accept the king as head of the Church, which implies in effect as much as if they had declared him pope of England." February 21, 1531: "If the pope had ordered the lady to be separated from the king, the king would never have pretended to claim sovereignty over the Church. . . . There is none who do not blame this usurpation except those who have promoted it. . . . The nuncio has been with the king to-day. . . . The nuncio has entered upon the subject of this new papacy made here, to which the king replied that it was nothing, and was not intended to infringe the authority of the pope, provided his holiness would pay due regard to him, and otherwise he knew what to do." June 6, 1531: This letter gives an account of a visit of the king's councilors to Catharine to persuade her to give in. Catharine says: "As to the *supremum caput* she considered the king as her sovereign, and would therefore serve and obey him. He was also sovereign in his realm as regards temporal jurisdiction; but as to the spiritual it was not pleasing to God either that the king should so intend or that she should consent; for the pope was the only true sovereign and vicar of God who had power to judge spiritual matters, of which marriage was one."[1] As the Roman Catholic Church held marriage a sacrament, and as the marriage of the king was still under consideration by the pope, the decision of the case by Cranmer was a repudiation of the authority of both pope and general council.

CONTEMPORARY VIEWS.

The king was married to Anne Boleyn either in November, 1532, or January, 1533;[2] the divorce was decreed May 23, 1533; Anne

[1] State Papers, Henry VIII. See these and other documents in Appendix to Child, Church and State under the Tudors, Lond., 1890.

[2] The date cannot certainly be determined. Cranmer says he was married about St. Paul's Day, which day is either November 14 or January 25. Sanders, a contemporary Catholic writer, says November 14, and Pocock, an eminent authority in the divorce, accepts this. See Pocock in The Academy, London, July 10, 1875; Child, Church and State under the Tudors, pp. 72, 288.

was crowned queen June 1; Henry appealed to a general council, which before he had refused to do when proposed by the pope; on July 11 Clement VII gave his long-delayed decision confirming the former marriage and threatening Henry with excommunication if he did not take Catharine back.[1] Henry replied to this in the year 1534 by completing the breach between England and the Church. Three great acts were passed in this year. The second act of Annates conferred on him not only the first fruits of bishoprics, but also the first fruits, as well as the tenth of each year's income, of all the clergy. This act also regulated the manner of appointing bishops, namely, by the chapter of the vacant see of the nominee of the king—a method which has remained substantially intact to the present. The historian Green thinks that this now amounts to a popular election. "This strange expedient," he says, "has lasted till the present time; but its character has wholly changed since the restoration of constitutional rule. The nomination of bishops has, ever since the accession of the Georges, passed from the king in person to the minister who represents the will of the people. Practically, therefore, the English prelate alone among all the prelates of the world is now raised to the episcopal throne by the same popular election which raised Ambrose to the episcopal chair at Milan."[2] This, however, is imaginary. The prime minister may be elected by the will of the people, but the man he nominates for a vacant see is not only not elected by the people of that see, but may be opposed by both the clergy and laity. But the chapter must elect him or they lay themselves liable to *præmunire*, as Lord Russell had to hint to some recalcitrants at the election of Hampden in 1847. Another act abolished Peter's pence, and forbade anyone to sue the pope or any of his deputies for licenses, dispensations, and faculties, and that all such favors, when granted at all, shall come from the archbishop of Canterbury under the king. The third act is of most importance, as it cut the last strand which tied the English Church to the unity of Christendom:

THE FINAL BREACH WITH THE POPE.

"Albeit the king's majesty justly and rightfully is and ought to be the supreme head of the Church in England, and so is recognized by the clergy of this realm in their convocations, yet nevertheless for corroboration and confirmation thereof, and for increase of virtue in Christ's religion within this realm of England, and to repress and extirp all errors, heresies, and other enormities and

[1] See this sentence in Pocock, Records of the Reformation, ii, 677.

[2] Green, Short History of the English People, Lond. ed., p. 339.

abuses heretofore used in the same; be it enacted by the authority of this present Parliament that the king our sovereign lord, his heirs and successors, kings of this realm, shall be taken, accepted, and reputed the only supreme head on earth of the Church of England, called Anglicana Ecclesia; and shall have and enjoy, annexed and united to the imperial crown of this realm, as well the title and style thereof, as all honors, dignities, preeminences, jurisdictions, privileges, authorities, immunities, profits, and commodities to the said dignity of supreme head of the same Church belonging and appertaining; and that our said sovereign lord, his heirs and successors, kings of this realm, shall have full authority and power from time to time to visit, repress, redress, reform, order, correct, restrain, and amend all such errors, heresies, abuses, offenses, contempts, enormities, whatsoever they be, which by any spiritual authority and jurisdiction ought or may lawfully be reformed, repressed, ordered, redressed, corrected, restrained, or amended, most to the pleasure of Almighty God, the increase of virtue in Christ's religion, and for the conservation of the peace, unity, and tranquillity of this realm; any usage, custom, foreign law, foreign authority, prescription, or any other thing or things to the contrary notwithstanding."[1]

PARLIAMENTARY SEVERANCE FROM ROME.

This brief and sweeping act did indeed what the Spanish ambassador said, that is, made the king in effect the pope of England. In the words of a recent scholar: "This is in fact, though not in name, what both the convocation and Parliament had done; it was what Henry VIII fully intended that they should do. Pope of England he was, and pope of England he remained, and so did his successors after him; and though Edward, from the necessity of his age, and Elizabeth, from a certain sense of personal dignity and the fitness of things, placed their papal authority, if I may so say, 'in commission,' neither of them dreamed of abdicating it. It continued on, less vigorously exercised, but not always less offensively asserted, through the reigns of the feeble Stuarts, and it appears prominently in the curious clause of the act of Uniformity,[2] which gives to that 'most religious and gracious sovereign,' Charles II, a power of dispensing in the case of foreigners with episcopal orders, as a qualification for the cure of souls, and has only disappeared in practice with the recent gradual absorption of the royal prerogatives in the powers of the houses of Parliament."[3]

[1] Statutes of the Realm, iii, 492; Gee and Hardy, Documents Illustrative of English Ch. Hist., p. 243. [2] 13 and 14 Car. II, c. 4, s. xv.

[3] Child, Church and State under the Tudors, pp. 77, 78.

CHAPTER IV.

THE DOGMATIC FOUNDATION OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

It was no part of the design of Henry and those who followed him in the new departure to overthrow the main points of doctrine as held by the mediæval Church, although taking the opportunity to revise somewhat and clear the current faith from superstition. How far revisions in favor of pure doctrine would extend would depend, of course, upon the views of those in power; and in her veerings the Church has actually traced the round of the compass from extreme Catholicism to moderate Protestantism. In the act concerning Peter's pence and dispensations, 1534, it is declared that it must not be supposed that "your nobles and subjects intend to decline or vary from the congregation of Christ's Church in any things concerning the very articles of the Catholic faith of Christendom." Henry, who prided himself on his theological learning and wrote a book against Luther, had no idea of overthrowing the pope's doctrine with his primacy, except certain corrupt and recent phases of that doctrine. In the remarkable protestation for refusing to heed the pope's call for a council, 1537, Henry, or his theologians, after saying that England had taken leave of popish crafts forever, says also: "At the same time we protest before God and all men that we embrace, profess, and ever will so do, the right and holy doctrine of Christ. All the articles of his faith, no jot omitted, be so dear unto us that we should much sooner stand in jeopardy of our realm than to see any point of Christ's religion in jeopardy with us. We protest that we never went from the unity of his faith, neither will we depart an inch from it. No, we will much sooner lose our lives than any article of our belief shall decay in England."[1]

HENRY VIII'S CONSERVATISM OF DOCTRINE.

The leaven of Protestantism had been working to the great disquiet of the authorities. The clergy of the lower house of convocation, June 23, 1536, issued a protestation in which they catalogued the assertions of these new lights. Amid much that is crudely expressed we see the unmistakable return to Scripture in

[1] See this remarkable document, printed in Foxe, Acts and Monuments, ed. Cattley, v, 138 ff. See also Strype, i, 379; Sleidan, xi; Dixon, History Church of England, i, 506 ff.

the denial of the "sacring of high mass"—the host declared to be "but a piece of bread," the assertion of justification by faith alone, the priesthood of all believers and the consequent right of laymen to administer the sacraments, the abolition of ceremonies not contained in Scripture, that priests have no right to excommunicate, and that no human constitutions bind the conscience except such as be scriptural.[1] These teachings so alarmed Henry that he felt some formal doctrinal utterance was demanded. The answer was the "Articles devised by the king's highness's majesty to establish Christian quietness and unity among us," 1536, commonly called the Ten Articles. Like every formulary of the Church of England, they bear the character of a compromise, the attempt being to satisfy those who, like Cranmer, Latimer, Fox (bishop of Hereford), Hilsey, and Barlow, were inclined toward Protestantism, and those who, like Lee (archbishop of York), Stokesley (bishop of London), Tonstal (bishop of Durham), Gardiner (bishop of Winchester), and Sherburne (bishop of Winchester), were strongly inclined to Catholicism. We give a brief *résumé* of this foundation of Anglican theology.

THE TEN ARTICLES.

First, as to the articles necessary for salvation. I. The rule of faith is the "whole body and canon of the Bible and also the three creeds"—the Apostles', the Nicene, and the Athanasian. All the things taught in these creeds must be believed by all, or they "cannot be very members of Christ and his espouse, the Church, but be very infidels or heretics, and members of the devil, with whom they shall perpetually be damned." The four councils, which indorse the said creeds, must all be received—Nicæa, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon.[2] II. Baptism is absolutely necessary for the remission of

DOCTRINES ESSENTIAL TO SALVATION.

[1] Wilkins, Concilia, iii, 137; Strype, Memorials, ii, 266; Blunt, i, 435; Dixon, i, 405 ff.

[2] It is often said that the Church of England received the first six ecumenical councils, and this is true, for the fifth and sixth, both Constantinople, 553 and 681, simply confirmed or enlarged the decisions of the first four. See Professor E. T. Green, The Thirty-nine Articles and the Age of the Reformation, an Exposition in the Light of Contemporary Documents, London, 1896, p. 144. Technically she is bound to the first four only. "Some of these councils, such as especially these four, Nicæa, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon, we embrace and receive with great reverence."—Reformatio Legum, c. 14. Nothing shall be adjudged heresy except "by the authority of the canonical Scriptures, or by the first four general councils, or by any of them, or by any other general council wherein the same was declared heresy by the express and plain words of the said canonical Scripture."—Stat. 1 Eliz., c. 1.

sins, but will not avail for adults except they come repenting of their sins and "heartily believing all the articles of our faith." Unless infants are baptized they shall undoubtedly be damned, if they die, because in baptism alone they obtain remission of sins, the favor of God, and are made the children of God. The Catholic doctrine of infant damnation appears in the present Prayer Book in this form: "It is certain by God's word, that children which are baptized, dying before they commit actual sin, are undoubtedly saved."[1] III. The "sacrament of penance" consists of three parts: (1) Contrition, which includes sorrow for sin and a "certain faith, trust, and confidence of the mercy and goodness of God, whereby the penitent must conceive certain hope and faith that God will forgive his sins, and repute him justified, and of the number of his elect children, not for the worthiness of any merit or work done by the penitent, but for the only merits of the blood and passion of our Saviour Jesus Christ." (2) Confession, which must be made to the ministers of the Church, from whom will be received the words of absolution. Auricular confession and absolution are still the faith of the English Church, but only in the way of recommendation, not as parts of a sacrament.[2] (3) Amendment of life, or the bringing forth the fruits of penance in prayer, fasting, almsdeeds, and restitution. IV. The selfsame body and blood of Christ is corporally, really, and in substance distributed and received under the form and figure of bread and wine. This announces the doctrine of transubstantiation as to its result but not its method, and Blunt calls it the "full and firm assertion of the doctrine of the real presence as it is and always has been held by the High Church divines of the Church of England."[3] V. Justification, or remission of sins, is the gift of the pure mercy of God, and is attained by contrition, faith, and charity.

Second, as to ceremonies. VI. Images are to be retained in the churches as representers of virtue and promoters of piety, but not to be censed or worshiped. VII. Salvation comes from God alone through Christ, our only sufficient Mediator, yet it is very laudable to pray to saints in heaven that they may intercede for us. This must be done

DOCTRINES AS TO CEREMONIES.

[1] Rubric at end of Office for Public Baptism of Infants.

[2] See the formula of ordination, the absolution pronounced by the priest at the morning and evening prayer and in the communion service, the first exhortation in the communion service, the Office for the Visitation of the Sick, and Canon 113 (1604).—Green, Thirty-nine Articles, pp. 190 ff.

[3] Reformation of Church of England, i, 442.

without superstition, and without the recognition of patron saints. VIII. All holy days of the Church must be observed. IX. The ordinary rites and ceremonies, such as vestments, holy water, bearing of candles on Candlemas Day, ashes on Ash Wednesday, palms on Palm Sunday, creeping to the Cross on Good Friday, hallowing of the font, and other like exorcisms and benedictions, are to be continued as things good and are to be used as spiritual helps but not as remitting sin. X. Prayers, masses, and alms are to be offered for souls in purgatory, but the time of their release therefrom and the kind of pains are not known; and the abuses of the bishop of Rome's pardons, and the assertion that masses said at special places deliver souls and "send them straight to heaven" are to be rejected.[1]

This was a *via media* that ought to have pleased the Oxford Reformers of 1833, so homeopathically did it mix Evangelicalism with Catholicism. Jacobs has shown that its evangelical elements were borrowed from the Augsburg Confession and Apology,[2] but these were of so general and vanishing a nature that most Roman Catholics of that age would have had little difficulty in accepting them. The men of the old faith would have been so thoroughly at home in the building that they would hardly have noticed the different coloring on the walls. Compared with Tridentine Catholicism of 1545–63 the Ten Articles are a considerable improvement, but there was hardly a progressive Catholic in Christendom who would not heartily have subscribed to them. We give here three estimates of this creed by men of widely different standpoints. (1) Foxe: "Wherein, although there were many and great imperfections and untruths not to be permitted in any true reformed Church, yet, notwithstanding, the king and the

ESTIMATES OF THE TEN ARTICLES.

[1] Who drew up the articles is not known. Dixon—i, 411—says chiefly Fox, of Hereford. Blunt says Convocation—i, 436, 437. The document represents itself as proceeding from the king alone as the result of his revision of what the clergy have concluded and agreed upon, Henry thus practically claiming the whole paper. The opinion of Hardwick is probably as correct as any: "A rough draft of the articles was made by a committee consisting of the moderate divines of each party, and presided over by the king himself, or placed in frequent communion with him by means of the vicar-general (Thomas Cromwell). After various modifications had been introduced to meet the wishes of discordant members, and the censorship of the royal pen had been completed, the draft was probably submitted to the Upper House of Convocation, and perhaps was made to undergo some further criticism at the hands of remaining prelates who had not assisted in the compilation."—History of the Articles, pp. 40, 41. Froude, History of England, iii, 67, with his characteristic carelessness as to facts, gives the whole merit of the document to Henry.

[2] Lutheran Movement in England, Phil., 1890, rev. ed., 1894, pp. 90 ff.

council, to bear with the weaklings, which were newly weaned from their mother's milk of Rome, thought it might serve somewhat for a time."[1] Lingard (R. C.): "Throughout the work Henry's attachment to the ancient faith is most manifest, and the only concession he makes is the order for the removal of abuses with perhaps the omission of a few controverted subjects."[2] Schaff: "They are essentially Romish, with the pope left out in the cold. They cannot even be called a compromise between the men of the 'old learning' headed by Gardiner, and of the 'new learning' headed by Cranmer."[3] On the whole S. R. Gardiner gives a fair judgment: "The Ten Articles in some points showed a distinct advance in the direction of Lutheranism, though there was also to be discerned in them an equally distinct effect to explain rather than to reject the creed of the medieval Church."[4]

The next doctrinal utterance of the Church of England was the Institution of a Christian Man, 1537, consisting of an exposition of the creed, sacraments, Ten Commandments, paternoster, Ave Maria, justification, and purgatory. It incorporates a large part of the Ten Articles, but the whole is pervaded by a fervid spirit of devotion, as it discusses theological doctrines and facts from the point of view of Christian piety and the edification of the Church. Parts of this long treatise might still be read as a manual of the inner life. It was drawn up by a large commission of divines, including all the eminent bishops and theologians of both parties. Dogmatically it is thoroughly Catholic—even more so than the Ten Articles, as it goes beyond these in recognizing seven sacraments, although it places matrimony, confirmation, holy orders, and extreme unction on a lower level—a disposition with which the Roman Church would not find fault.[5] In

INSTITUTION OF A CHRISTIAN MAN.

[1] Acts and Monuments, v, 164. [2] Hist. of England, vi, 272.

[3] Creeds of Christendom, i, 611. For other estimates see Jacobs, Lutheran Movement in England, pp. 98–102.

[4] Students' Hist. of England, p. 396. For text of Ten Articles, see Formularies of Faith, put forth by authority during reign of Henry VIII, ed. by Bishop Charles Lloyd, Oxf., 1825, rev. 1856 (two texts from different manuscripts); Burnet, Hist. of Ref. of Church of England, pt. i, bk. iii, 1536 (abd.); Collier, Ecc. Hist. of Great Britain, ed. Barham, iv, 350 ff.; Fuller, Ch. Hist. of Britain, bk. 5, cent. 16, sec. 34, 35 (ed. Nichols, ii, 77 ff.); Hardwick, Hist. of Articles, pp. 239 ff.; Blunt, Ref. of Ch. of England, i, 439–444, 483–487 (first 5 arts. abd., others in full). See also Dixon, i, 411–438; Jacobs, chap. vi.

[5] This great treatise is given in full in Lloyd's admirable work, Formularies of Faith, pp. 21–213. It was not formally authorized by Henry VIII, he simply allowing it to be published with the letter of the committee to himself as a preface.

submitting their work to Henry the learned commissioners deferred to him as final judge of the correctness of their teachings, as a Catholic author does to-day to the pope. He was indeed supreme head.

Two years after were published the celebrated Six Articles which, from the penal clauses attached to them, were called the "whip with six strings." To strengthen himself politically Henry had tried to come to a doctrinal understanding with the German reformers, but these conferences had come to nothing. As soon as disputed doctrines were touched, like the sacraments, irreconcilable differences came to the surface. It would appear, however, that these discussions caused a reaction in Henry's mind, so that he was determined to have the ancient truths more sharply defined. He pushed through Parliament the act of the Six Articles, 1539, framed by himself, and even defended by himself on the floor of the House! I. In the sacrament the natural body and blood of our Saviour are present under the form of bread and wine, no substance of bread and wine remaining. II. Communion in both kinds not necessary; either kind is both flesh and blood. III. Priests after ordination, as before, may not marry by the law of God. IV. Vows of chastity made by man or woman ought to be observed. V. Private masses must be continued. VI. Auricular confession both expedient and necessary. Persons violating the first article shall be burned, those violating the other five shall be killed as felons. This terrible act was the logical climax of Henry's Catholicism; and it illustrates how little the Church of England was Protestant in these basal years, and how a national or governmental Church must inevitably reflect the ruling spirit of the time, must respond, like a ship, to the man at the wheel.

THE SIX ARTICLES.

This intensifying of the Catholic elements received another illustration in the Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man, 1543, a revised and enlarged edition of the Institution. The work was done by a committee of convocation, was passed upon and ratified by the whole convocation, and so became an expression of clerical opinion in a wider sense than was the case with the Six Articles. Unlike the Institution, it was published with the authority and in the name of the king, and is the last dogmatic paper to which the supreme head attached his seal. As against Luther it asserted free will, justification by repentance, faith, amendment of life and baptism, and the meritoriousness of good works, but only through the "merciful goodness of God accepting them." It declared it was

NECESSARY DOCTRINE AND ERUDITION FOR ANY CHRISTIAN MAN.

not necessary for laymen to read the Scriptures, affirmed transubstantiation, receiving in one kind and receiving fasting, declared the obligation of celibacy for clergymen, and in other respects proved the sound orthodoxy of the Church of England. If it omits these words of the Institution, "All the people of the world, were they Jews, Turks, Saracens, or of any other nation, who should finally be found out of the Catholic Church, or be dead members of it, should utterly perish, and be damned forever," is it because the Church of 1543 had reached a more comprehensive view than that of 1537? The papacy's most loyal order—the Society of Jesus—is the one most insistent on the salvation of non-Catholics.[1]

With the removal of the incubus of the terrible despotism of Henry VIII the more Protestant part of the Church had an opportunity to assert itself. But the crucial years of that formative period, 1530–47, left its permanent impress on Anglican theology, and, as Blunt says, settled the doctrine of the Church of England on very nearly its present footing.[2] The Protestantizing of the Church never went so far during the subsequent reigns that the Catholics found any difficulty in feeling at home. The last official declaration of doctrine was the Thirty-nine Articles of 1553, and they strike the golden mean so well that ultra-Protestants hold them up as their palladium, and ultra-Catholics claim that there is nothing in them inconsistent with the purified Catholicism of the first reformers, while Newman proves that they can all be received in a Roman sense. This universal contentment is fortunate, because from 1571 to the present all clergymen of the Church of England have to subscribe to them. Catholics call attention to the recognition of the Apocrypha, of the binding character of the Apostles', Nicene, and Athanasian Creeds—thus placing them on a practical equality with Scripture—the teaching authority of the Church, baptismal regeneration, the secondary authority of tradition and Church custom, and the authority of the two books of Homilies. The Protestants emphasize the following: The Bible the only rule of faith, justification by faith only, denial of works of supererogation, emphasis on predestination, the definition of the Church, the fallibility of the Church and of general councils, the sacrament of the Lord's Supper as only a spiritual partaking of Christ's body, and the denial of the mass. Over against this formidable array of Protestant tenets the other party

THE THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES.

[1] The Necessary Doctrine and Erudition is printed in full in Bp. Lloyd's Formularies of the Faith, pp. 213 ff.

[2] Reformation of Ch. of Eng., i, 480.

reinforces the Catholic Articles by an appeal to the Prayer Book, as strongly making for Catholic faith and practice. There can be no doubt that this is the historic position of the Church of England, Protestant as against Roman corruptions, Catholic as against private judgment, the return to the Bible as the only guide without reference to the fathers and "historical continuity," and the priesthood of all believers. "We are come as near as we possibly can," says Bishop Jewel, "to the Church of the apostles, and to the old Catholic bishops and fathers, and have directed according to their customs not only our doctrine, but also the sacraments and the form of Common Prayer."[1] "We doubt not," said Ferrar and Coverdale, "but we shall be able to prove all our confession here to be most true, by the verity of God's word and the consent of the Catholic Church." One of the canons of 1571 warns the preachers that they "shall take heed that they teach nothing but that which is agreeable to the doctrine of the Old Testament and the New, and that which the Catholic fathers and ancient bishops have gathered out of that very doctrine." These great voices from the fountain-head meet a voice equally great—albeit that of a layman—of the present age. "It is mere fiction," says Gladstone, "that the English Reformation was grounded on the doctrine of private judgment. It asserted merely this: that the nation was ecclesiastically independent, not of Catholic consent, but of foreign authority."[2]

[1] Apology, Isaacson's transl., pp. 243, 279.

[2] Church and State, ii, 96. See Lendrum, The Principles of the Reformation, Lond., new ed., 1888, pp. 12–20.

CHAPTER V.

THE SUPPRESSION OF MONASTERIES.

THE inappeasable rapacity of Henry VIII and the extraordinary extravagance of himself and his court led him to seek new fields for spoliation. The monasteries were suggested. The suppression of these was an event of wide-reaching importance on the religious life of England.

England was a happy hunting ground for all orders of monks and friars. In a territory hardly larger than the State of New York there were at the beginning of the fifteenth century twelve hundred religious houses, and although after Henry IV came to the throne, 1399, there was a notable decline in the number of new houses founded—an indication of a dawning age of a different temper—there were still about eight hundred houses on which Henry VIII could lay his hands.[1] Precedents were not entirely lacking. The Knights Templars had been dissolved, 1307. Henry V broke up a number of "alien priories"—cells or branches of French monasteries whose inmates might be dangerous while he was carrying on his war with France; Wolsey had abolished several in order with their resources and revenues to found his two colleges. In all these cases, however, no one's private purse was enriched; but with Henry and his unscrupulous minister, Cromwell, the object was entirely mercenary. Commissioners were sent out to visit the monasteries armed with eighty-six articles of inquiry and twenty-five injunctions, and these were of so vexatious and threatening a character that it is evident that it was not the intention of the visitors to find out the real state of the houses, but to bear so hardly upon the inmates as to compel them to resign or to be expelled as contumacious.[2] They also had the authority to seize all silver plate and other valuables, and send to the king; and one

[1] From 1066 to 1399 there were 870 religious houses founded in England, 78 colleges, and 192 hospitals; many of the colleges were monastic. From 1399 to 1509 there were only 8 new houses founded, while in the same period there were founded 60 colleges, hospitals, and schools.—Dixon, Hist. of Church of England, i, 319, note.

[2] Articles of inquiry and injunctions are printed in Wilkins, Concilia, iii, 786.

of their injunctions was to forbid any monk to leave the precinct of the monastery. This rendered the continuance of some of the monasteries impossible, and brought about their "voluntary" dissolution. After the visitors had done their work a bill was brought into Parliament, February, 1536, dissolving the smaller monasteries and confiscating all their possessions and revenues "unto the king's majesty, and to his heirs and assigns forever, to do and use therewith his and their own wills, to the pleasure of Almighty God, and to the honor and profit of this realm."[1] Parliament was unwilling to make this grant, but in true Henrician style they were awed into submission. "When the bill had stuck long in the lower house, and could get no passage, he commanded the Commons to attend him in the forenoon in his gallery, where he left them wait till late in the afternoon; and then coming out of his chamber, walking a turn or two amongst them, and looking angrily on them, first on the one side and then on the other, at last I hear (saith he) that my bill will not pass; but I will have it pass, or I will have some of your heads; and without other rhetoric or persuasion returned to his chamber. Enough was said, the bill passed, and all was given to him as he desired."[2]

HENRY AWES PARLIAMENT.

The suppression of these monasteries and other changes in the religion of the realm, and the tyranny with which these changes were carried out, aroused the northern counties to an armed demonstration called the Pilgrimage of Grace, 1536. The pilgrims demanded that the king should put away those ministers who were the instruments of his rapacity, that he should give the commonalty their rights, "restore to Christ's Church all wrongs done to it, and bring back again the faith of Christ and his laws." The leaders of these armed petitioners and many who sympathized with them were executed for treason.[3] The movement was not treason, but an unfriendly demonstration against unpopular measures. The wholesale and indiscriminate executions which followed it, including the burning

THE PILGRIMAGE OF GRACE.

[1] This act is printed in full in Gee and Hardy, Documents Illustrative of English Church History, pp. 257 ff.

[2] Sir Henry Spelman, History and Fate of Sacrilege, ed. S. J. Eales, Lond., 1888, p. 99. This great book was finished about 1634. It began to be printed in 1663 by Spelman's literary executor, but was stopped for fear of giving offense to nobility and gentry. It was first published in 1698, and republished in 1846, with a long introductory essay by Webb and Neale. This remarkable essay is reproduced in Eales's excellent edition.

[3] See Burke, Historical Portraits of Tudor Dynasty, i, 481 ff.; Blunt, Reformation, i, 319–326.

of one woman, are in keeping with the spirit of a reign which sacrificed on the altar of its despotism about eighty thousand people, some justly, the most unjustly.

In 1537 and 1538 the larger monasteries were attacked and suppressed, and this was followed by a destruction of relics and shrines.[1] Everything was confiscated by the king, what was left was carried away by the neighborhood folks, and the walls served as local quarries. It is supposed that the value of the property which came into the king's hands was over fifty millions of pounds of present money. A part of the money went back to the Church. Six new bishoprics—Westminster, Oxford, Chester, Gloucester, Bristol, and Peterboro—were founded, and seven chapters of other cathedrals.[2] Some of the monasteries were allowed to remain in part of their original splendor as collegiate churches, of which Beverley, Southwell, Manchester, Wolverhampton, and Ripon may be mentioned as examples; occasionally a monastic church was left untouched, such as St. Albans, Sherborne, Shrewsbury, Hexham, and others. "It is possible that the intercession of Cranmer, who wished that many monasteries should be turned into colleges, of Latimer, who desired to see one retained as a place of holy retirement in each county, and of some persons in the neighborhood of dissolved monasteries, who wished to have the use of the churches, may have saved some from destruction; and it is to the credit of the king in the midst of his rapacity and sacrilege that he did not turn a deaf ear to such appeals. With them also must be classed the successful appeal of Sir Richard Gresham in favor of St. Thomas's and St. Bartholomew's Hospitals; and a few grammar schools which were founded by Henry VIII may likewise be considered as fragments rescued from the millions of spoils which he took from religious uses."[3]

THE DISPOSITION OF THE SPOILS.

[1] The act for the suppression of the larger monasteries is given by Gee and Hardy, pp. 281–303.

[2] Canterbury, Durham, Winchester, Ely, Carlisle, Norwich, and Worcester. These cathedrals had hitherto been served by monks. These thirteen cathedrals, are, therefore, called those of the new foundation.

[3] Blunt, Reformation of Church of England, i, 372. It must not be supposed that this represents all that was saved from the king's rapacious maw. In the account of the Treasurer of the Court of Augmentation, from April 24, 1536, to Michaelmas (September 29), 1547, we have among the disbursements: War expenses, £546,528; naval matters, £27,922; coast fortifications, £64,458; pensions to religions, £33,045. For the king's household expenses and money for the king's use we have £274,086. See Gasquet, Henry VIII and the English Monasteries, Lond., 1888; 5th ed., 1893, ii, 534.

Henry's executions, in fact, were often on the wholesale, like those of oriental despots. A band of robbers attacked some of his treasure wagons; he caught eighty and hanged them all. It was only by the long entreaties of Wolsey, Queen Catharine, Mary of France, and Margaret of Scotland, that he was induced to countermand his order for the execution of eight hundred riotous men and boys and eleven women after "Evil May Day." He ordered a goodly number of the inhabitants of every town and village which had helped the Holy Pilgrimage, and also all the monks and canons who were implicated in it, to be strung up as an example. The cool brutality of this universal murderer is only equaled by Henry's lust, rapacity, and ingratitude.

It used to be considered that Henry's suppression of the monasteries was due to virtuous indignation against intolerable corruption. Historical research has completely dissipated that idea. (1) It has been proved beyond question that some of the visitors or commissioners were conscienceless scoundrels, whose word was worthless and whose methods were unscrupulous. "They were men," says quaint Fuller, "who well understood the method they went on, and would not come back without a satisfactory answer to him that sent them, knowing themselves were likely to be no losers thereby."[1] (2) The king refers to the monks' own confessions of vice. But these confessions do not exist, except one or two cases which were drawn up by the commissioners and perhaps signed by them. "There is no doubt," says Gardiner, "that the confessions were prepared beforehand to deceive contemporaries, and there is therefore no reason why they should deceive posterity."[2] (3) When the actual cases of sin mentioned by the visitors are canvassed it is found that they accuse scarcely two hundred and fifty monks and nuns among many thousands. Of the entire number of convents visited in the north very little is reported amiss. (4) Of these two hundred and fifty accused many received pensions afterward, which is a fair acquittal. Prior Wingfield, of West Acre, and twelve of his monks were charged with incontinency, and the priory suppressed. Yet he received a pension of £40 a year and became rector of Burnham Thorpe, in Norfolk, in the reign of Edward VI. (5) In 1536 several monasteries were visited again by another commission. On almost all of these the reports are favorable.[3] (6) Strype says that

UNJUST METHODS OF SUPPRESSION.

[1] Ch. Hist. of Britain, ii, 214, ed. Nichols.

[2] Students' Hist. of England, p. 398. Comp. Gasquet, i, 347–353.

[3] Gairdner, Calendar of State Papers, x, Pref. xlv; Gasquet, i, 356.

special injunctions were sent to the bishops by Cromwell to watch the conduct of "abbeys and religious houses that especially stuck to the pope."[1] Although these houses were marked there is a singular absence of all condemnatory expressions in the voluminous letters of that period. The old and contemporary chroniclers—Hall, Stow, Grafton, Holinshed, and Fabian—bring no accusations. Wriotheseley, though in favor of the reformers, makes no mention of charges of immorality. He says that in 1535 the lesser monasteries were granted to the king "to the augmentation of the crown," and adds: "It was a pity the great lamentation that the poor people made for them, for there was great hospitality kept amongst them, and, as it was reported, ten thousand persons had lost their living by the putting down of them, which was great pity."[2] The best modern historians on the question of Henry VIII and the monasteries are in agreement with the old chroniclers.[3]

What were the results of the suppression? It completed the degradation of the English laborer and created the problem of pauperism. As a contemporary writer says, it "made of gentlemen knights, and the poorer sort, stark beggars." The monks were indulgent landlords, and on their estates vast numbers of cottagers were able to keep up an independent though most frugal existence. When these estates came into the possession of lay owners rents were raised, commons were inclosed, and the poorer classes were pushed to the wall. The heritage of the poor was consumed by this selfish land administration. Not only were the number of the poor greatly increased, but poverty was now made a crime. In 1536 the vagrant was to be tied to the end of a cart naked and whipped through the town "till his body be bloody by reason of such whipping."[4] In 1547 the vagrant is called a slave, and on the second conviction he should suffer death unless some one would take him into service.[5]

POVERTY A RESULT.

Poverty affected education. The rents were so high that even

[1] Eccl. Mem., i, 333.

[2] Chron. published by Camden Society, ed. Hamilton. Wriotheseley was a Londoner, and if there was much talk in the city of immorality in the monasteries he would have been likely to make a note of it. Chapuys is also silent.

[3] In chap. ix of vol. i, Gasquet sifts the charges of immorality, and shows that they have been grossly exaggerated. Gasquet is a Roman Catholic; but he writes in a historic spirit, and with constant reference to the original sources. Protestant critics have acknowledged the success of his vindication. The Westminster Review says that his "statements of facts leave nothing to be desired in point of accuracy."

[4] Stat. 22 and 27 Henry VIII.

[5] 1 Edw. VI, c. 3.

yeomen could no longer send their sons to school. Many schools were closed. The monasteries and convents had supported scholars at the universities; the change at the dissolution was felt so deeply that in Cambridge the scholars in 1554 petitioned Henry for privileges, as they feared the destruction of monasteries would altogether annihilate learning. "There was now [1546] general decay of students," says Fuller, "no college having more scholars therein than hardly those of the foundation; no volunteers at all, and only persons pressed in a manner, by their places to reside. Indeed, on the fall of the abbeys fell the hearts of all scholars, fearing the ruin of learning. And these their jealousies they humbly represented in a bemoaning letter to King Henry VIII. He comforted them with a gracious return; and to confute their suspicion of the decay of colleges acquainted them with his resolution to erect a most magnificent one with all speedy conveniency."[1] "Very few there be," laments Latimer, in the next reign, "that help poor scholars. . . . It would pity a man's heart to hear what I hear of the state of Cambridge; what it is in Oxford I cannot tell. . . . I think there be at this day [1550] ten thousand students less than were within these twenty years, and fewer preachers."[2] So far as Oxford is concerned, "most of the halls and hotels," writes Anthony Wood, "were left empty. Arts declined and ignorance began to take place again."[3]

SCHOOLS INJURED AND CLOSED.

It remains to inquire what would have been a statesmanlike method of dealing with the monasteries. Their number was intolerable, they were appropriating a large part of the wealth of the nation, and a new age was slowly outgrowing them. For, however true is the remark of Thorold Rogers, "The monks were the men of letters in the Middle Ages, the historians, the jurists, the philosophers, the physicians, the students of nature, the founders of schools, authors of chronicles, teachers of agriculture, fairly indulgent landlords, and advocates of genuine dealing toward the peasantry," it is at the same time true that with the dawn of the modern age the community itself was taking upon itself these functions and doing work that had been too much confined to the monks. Then their specifically religious mission was founded upon a false and pernicious misconcep-

MORE HUMANE METHODS POSSIBLE.

[1] Fuller, Hist. of the University of Cambridge and Waltham Abbey, ed. Nichols, p. 173 (sec. 7, Nos. 15, 16, 28, Henry VIII).

[2] Sermons, i, 159, 246, 267; ii, 92. See Blunt, i, 367, 368; Gasquet, ii, 518–520.

[3] Hist. and Antiquities of University of Oxford, ed. Gutch, ii, 67. This is confirmed by Brodrick, Hist. of the University of Oxford, p. 80.

tion of Christianity, and the consciousness of this misconception was slowly arising in the minds of men. Therefore both for secular and religious ends the monastery was becoming an anachronism, and the thinning out and dying out of many houses in the fifteenth century was a testimony to that fact. But all this was no excuse for the wholesale destruction of monasticism at a blow in answer to the cupidity of a cruel tyrant—a destruction which brought widespread disaster to social, intellectual, and political interests, besides working immense personal harm and loss. A better method might have been used. By a careful investigation it could have been found what monasteries had outlived their usefulness, or were failing to contribute to the common weal. These could have been quietly suppressed, with fair dealing to their inmates and tenants. This process of elimination and conversion might have gone on gradually and steadily until English monasticism as an institution had become a thing of the past. The monastery should have been slowly transformed into the college, school, industrial center, manufactory, hospital, library. How to change the old institution into the new uses was a problem for statesmen, and alas! the age of Henry VIII and long after was not an age of statesmen, but of brute force.

CHAPTER VI.

THE MARTYRDOM OF ROMAN CATHOLICS AND PROTESTANTS AT THE HANDS OF THE NEW STATE CHURCH.

THE ACT OF SUCCESSION.

With the passing of the Act of Succession, 1534, there were laws enough to condemn to death every person in England if such had been the will of those in power. In fact, so perfect was the Tudor absolutism that it might almost be said that Henry had in his own hands the life of every person in England. The Act of Succession was needlessly offensive, for it not only declared on whom the succession should turn, but it also declared the king's marriage with Catharine against the laws of God and utterly void, his marriage with Anne perfectly good, marriages within degrees prohibited by Jewish law to be void—a list of such degrees being given, and that all who had been married within such degrees were to be separated and their children bastardized. This act was not simply to remain as a public statute, but all persons of importance in the realm were to be sworn to it.

FIRST MARTYRS OF ENGLISH ROMAN CATHOLICISM.

The first to die for the old faith was Elizabeth Barton, the "holy maid of Kent," and the monks who were implicated in her trances and prophesies. It is unnecessary to give the details of her history. She was an English Saint Teresa, but unfortunately her visions and inspired ravings had to do with Henry's divorce from Catharine, and since many believed in the genuineness of her revelations it was determined, lest the public should be affected, to put her to death. On May 5, 1534, Elizabeth Barton, Dr. Bocking and Dering, two monks of the Benedictine monastery of Christ Church, Canterbury, Risby and Rich, two Franciscan friars, and Masters and Gold, two secular priests, were executed at Tyburn, the protomartyrs of English Catholicism.[1] Lord Coke in his Institutes and Amos in his Statutes of Henry VIII show that the execution of Barton and her companions, even according to the laws of that time, was unjust. As to the so-called "confessions" which the ordinary accounts tell of, there is no evidence that she made any real confession, and even if she did it might have been wrung from her in the agonies of tor-

[1] A full account of this matter is given, with copious references to the original authorities, by Gasquet, Henry VIII and the English Monasteries, i, 110 ff.

ture. Besides, Cromwell was an adept in writing confessions and having them signed. More and Fisher narrowly escaped.

But their escape was only for a time. Fisher, bishop of Rochester, a friend of the new learning and of reform, one of the holiest and noblest prelates in English history, after a year's unjust imprisonment was brought out in his feeble age to die. He was willing to acknowledge the succession, but not the supreme headship. On the scaffold he said, "Christian people, I come hither to die for the faith of Christ's holy Catholic Church. I have not, I thank God, yet feared death. I pray you all to assist me with your prayers that in the very stroke of death I may not fail in any point of the Catholic faith. And I beseech Almighty God to save the king of this realm, and to hold his hand over it, and to send the king good counsel." This was June 22, 1535.

FISHER.

The accusation against More, who also was ready to swear to the succession, was that he would not answer directly whether the king were supreme head of the Church. "So great a master of law," says Canon Dixon, "found no difficulty in pointing out that the great accusation against him was silence, and that no law could punish any man for holding his peace. When the king's attorney interposed that his silence was malicious, that no dutiful subject would have refused to answer, More denied the position. His silence, he said, was no sign of malice, as the king might know by many of his dealings; his conscience had procured neither slander nor sedition, for he had never revealed his thoughts and reasons to any man living. It could not be said that no good subject would have refused to answer unless a good subject be so bad a Christian as to have no fear of offending his conscience. This was in truth the most important part of More's defense. He was not only a champion of the Church and of the primacy and jurisdiction of the pope; he was the champion also of English liberty, which had been betrayed by Parliament. There are many men living in England now under laws which they mislike but obey, who, if they were pressed to swear, declare, and subscribe, as More was, might feel themselves compelled in conscience to refuse to swear, declare, and subscribe as More did. If every act of Parliament were to be sworn by all subjects there would be intolerable slavery."[1]

MORE'S ACCUSATION AND DEFENSE.

When he saw that sentence was about to be passed on him he asked permission to speak, when he declared the motive which had actuated him throughout. The indictment was founded, he said,

[1] Hist. of the Church of England, i, 291.

upon an act of Parliament which was contrary to the laws of God and the Church, and also contrary to the oath of the king at his coronation. Lord Chancellor Audley referred him to the assent of the bishop, the universities, and the best learned men in the realm. One realm, answered More, could not be set against all Christendom beside. The Duke of Norfolk broke out, "Now, Sir Thomas, you show your obstinate and malicious mind." "Noble Sir," replied More, "not any obstinacy or malice causeth me to say this, but the just necessity of the cause constraineth me." The judges then granted him farther privilege to speak if he desired, and More replied in these noble and immortal words: "More have I not to say, my lords, but that like as the holy apostle St. Paul, as we read in the Acts of the Apostles, was present and consenting to the death of the protomartyr Stephen, keeping their clothes that stoned him to death; and yet they are both twain holy saints in heaven, and there shall continue friends together forever; so I verily trust and shall therefore heartily pray that though your lordships have been on earth my judges to condemnation, yet we may hereafter meet in heaven merrily together to our everlasting salvation; and God preserve you all, and especially my sovereign lord the king, and grant him faithful counselors."[1]

EXECUTION OF MORE.

On July 6, 1535, a messenger appeared, saying that it was the king's will that he suffer that morning at nine o'clock. "The king will not that you use many words at the execution." "I am well warned," said More, "for I meant to have said somewhat." "See me safe up," he said to the constable at the foot of the scaffold, "I will shift for myself in coming down." As he laid his head on the block he moved his beard aside. "It were a pity to cut that, it never committed treason," and these last words of the greatest wit, noblest layman, and most accomplished and high-minded man in England, "were redeemed from levity by the deep irony that lay beneath them."[2]

RICHARD REYNOLDS.

Richard Reynolds, a Brigitite (monk of the order of St. Brigitta, or Bridget of Sweden), an eminent theologian and well skilled in Greek and Hebrew, was accused of denying Henry's title of supreme head. He said at his examination that he never had declared this opinion to any man living, except to those who came to confession. If matters of this kind, he said, might go by the suffrages of men, we would have more witnesses than you; "you have the Parliament of one kingdom, I have with me the whole Christian world, except those of this kingdom; I do not say

[1] More, Life of More. [2] Dixon, i, 295.

all of this kingdom, because the less part is with you; and granting that the major part of the nation followed not my opinion, it is in external dissembling, and for fear of losing their dignities and honors or for the hope of obtaining the king's favor." He was executed at Tyburn, May 4, 1535.

THE CARTHUSIAN MONKS.

The Carthusian monks in London were noted all over the city for their holiness, and when indictments were brought against them for refusing to acknowledge the new doctrine of supreme headship the jury hesitated so long in bringing in the verdict of treason that Cromwell sent down to find out the reason of the delay. The jury said they could not bring in such holy persons as malefactors. Cromwell sent word that in that case they should suffer the death of malefactors themselves. The story of the last days of these monks and of the effort of the prior Houghton to sacrifice himself that others might be saved is one of the most pathetic in history.[1] Houghton and two of his brethren, with Reynolds and Hale, were executed at Tyburn, May 4, 1535, with horrible cruelty. They were hung, cut down alive, disemboweled and their bowels burnt, beheaded and dismembered, methods of inflicting death accounted cruel, at least when combined, even in that hardened age.[2] A pardon was offered to them as they stepped up the scaffold if they would obey the decree of the king. "I call the omnipotent God to witness, and all good people," said Houghton, "and beseech you all to attest the same for me in the terrible day of judgment, that here being to die, I publicly profess that it is not out of obstinate malice or a mind of rebellion that I do disobey the king, but only for the fear of God that I offend not the supreme majesty, because our holy mother the Church hath decreed and appointed otherwise than the king and Parliament hath ordained. And I am here ready to endure this and all other torments that can be suffered, rather than oppose the doctrine of the Church." The others declared that they took their sufferings not only patiently but cheerfully, acknowledging that they had obtained great favor from God, that he had given them to die for the truth, and for the assertion of the evangelical and catholic doctrine that in spirituals the king is not supreme primate of the Church in England. On the following

[1] See Dixon, i, 268–275.

[2] "The thing was noted here of extreme cruelty."—Harvel to Starkey, Venice, June 15, Ellis, ii, 274. Dixon calls this aggregation of deaths "great but perhaps not unusual cruelty"—i, 274. A common description of such executions during this and the following reigns is "hung, drawn, and quartered;" but may we not believe that the rope was allowed to do its work before the knife was used?

June 19 three other Carthusian monks were executed. Robert Hobbes, abbot of Woburn, was executed in 1537, and in that year several Carthusian monks were starved to death in Newgate prison, bound in chains, standing so that they could not move day or night.

OTHER ROMAN CATHOLIC VICTIMS.

It would be tedious to give farther details in this horrible catalogue. Forest, of Greenwich, the eloquent provincial of the dissolved order of Observants (strict Franciscans), was suspended by chains over a fire at Smithfield, May 22, 1538, Latimer preaching the sermon. Anthony Brown, another Observant, Cooke, prior of White Friars, Doncaster, and Vicar Crofts of Shepton Mallet, suffered the same year, as did also several nobles in the West.[1] The same fate befell Faringdon, head of the Benedictines at Reading, with two priests, November 8, 1539.[2] Abel, Fetherstone, and Powell—the two latter able writers against the divorce, and Powell against Luther—were executed July 30, 1540.[3] Under Edward VI no Catholics were killed; under Elizabeth the persecutions were continued. It must be remembered that all these were perfectly loyal to king and Parliament; their sole offense was that they could not say that the king was supreme head in spirituals in the Catholic Church, although their opinion was never uttered publicly or not uttered at all.

But the even-handed orthodoxy of the new State Church of England cannot be surpassed. The same hurdle which carried to Smithfield those who still held to Catholic unity carried also those who had left Catholicism of both the old and new variety for the Bible. It must not be supposed that these Protestant martyrs had reached the proportion and harmony of faith; but they were working toward the light, and had grasped one or two fundamental principles. The first and one of the noblest of these martyrs was John Frith. The pupil of Gardiner at Cambridge, he was transplanted to Oxford by Wolsey as one of the most promising men for his new college. There he and other students studied Luther, received his opinions, and for this was imprisoned in the cellar of the college, where three of the youthful heretics died. Frith was at length pardoned by Wolsey, went to Flanders, wrote learnedly and ably against purgatory, returned to England, wrote a treatise against the Catholic view of the Lord's Supper, being the first systematic refutation of transubstantiation or consubstantiation written in

PROTESTANT MARTYRS.

JOHN FRITH.

[1] See Dixon, ii, 56 ff., 60, 97.

[2] *Ibid.*, ii, 155.

[3] Dodd, Ch. Hist. of England, i, 209.

English,[1] was arrested for heresy, condemned, and was burned to death July 4, 1533, when not over thirty years of age. Bound to the same stake was a simple-hearted young tailor—almost a boy—whose answer to the question put to him was, "I think as Frith thinks." It was the glory of John Frith to be a martyr, not only for the Protestant doctrines of the sacraments and the future life, but for the Protestant distinction between essentials and nonessentials in religion; and therefore this brilliant young scholar appears as a reformer far ahead of his time. "We may admire the greatness of the man who first died for freedom of conscience, and in sweet and touching words justified himself in laying down his life upon that ground."[2]

In these golden words Frith marks an era in the history of thought: "I think many men wonder how I can die in this article, seeing that it is no necessary article of our faith, for I grant that neither part is an article necessary to be believed under pain of damnation, but leave it as a thing indifferent, to think thereon as God shall instill in every man's mind, and that neither part condemn the other in this matter, but receive each other in brotherly love, reserving each other's infirmity to God.

"The cause of my death is this: because I cannot in conscience abjure and swear that our prelates' opinion of the sacrament (that is, that the substance of bread and wine is verily changed into the flesh and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ) is an undoubted article of the faith, necessary to be believed under pain of damnation.

"Now, though this opinion were indeed true (which thing they can neither prove by Scripture nor doctors), yet could I not in conscience grant that it be an article of faith to be believed; for there are many verities which yet may be no such articles of our faith. It is true that I lay in irons when I wrote this; howbeit I would not have you to receive this truth for an article of faith; for ye may think contrary without all jeopardy of damnation." He knew the writing of this book on the sacrament would be fatal to him. In his preface he says: "I took upon me to touch this terrible tragedy, and wrote a treatise, which, beside my painful imprisonment, is like to purchase me most cruel death, which I am ready and glad to receive with the spirit and inward man,

[1] More, in describing Frith's book, says that it "teacheth in a few leaves shortly all the poison that Wickcliffe, Œcolampadius, Huskin, Tindale, and Zwinglius have taught in all their books before." Frith must, therefore, have taken advanced ground.

[2] Dixon, i, 168.

although the flesh be frail, whensoever it shall please God to lay it upon me."[1]

JOHN LAMBERT.

John Lambert, a priest of the diocese of Norwich, was accused of heresy on the sacrament, and was examined by the lenient and enlightened Warham, archbishop of Canterbury. There he fell back upon his rights under English civil (not ecclesiastical) law, and refused to answer on points on which he was not accused. The processes of the Church all over Christendom were founded on the principle that every man was guilty unless he could prove himself innocent, and so proceeded on the method of interrogation or inquisition. Lambert would not allow the justice of this; so he refused to answer "till you had brought first some that would have accused me to have trespassed in the same; which I am certain you cannot do, bringing any that is honest and credible."[2] On most of the other forty-five interrogatories, however, he answered in full. Afterward he was arrested again, and appealing to the king's court was tried in the palace of Whitehall before the king and many prelates and nobles of the empire. The story of this trial, or rather baiting, of poor Lambert is a most dramatic one. The terrible face of the king and his cruel voice at first terrified the heretic so that he could hardly answer. "Why standest thou still?" thundered Henry; "answer as touching the sacrament of the altar, whether dost thou say it is the body of Christ or wilt deny it?" The supreme head, as he spoke, lifted his cap out of reverence for the sacrament. Lambert replied, "I answer with St. Augustine that it is the body of Christ after a certain manner." "Answer me neither out of St. Augustine, neither by the authority of any other, but tell me whether thou sayest it is the body of Christ or no." "Then I do deny it," said Lambert, "to be the body of Christ." Then said the king, "Mark well; for now shalt thou be condemned by Christ's own words, *Hoc est corpus meum.*" Henry then commanded the bishops to charge down upon the defenseless priest with their heavy artillery, which they did for the space of five hours.

After the last bishop had finished his argument the king said to the prisoner, "What art thou now after all these great labors which thou hast taken upon thee, and all the instructions and reasons of these learned men? Art thou not yet satisfied? Wilt

[1] See Frith, Works, Russell's ed., iv, 450; Dixon, i, 168, note. Selections from Frith's works are also published in the Religious Tract Society's British Reformers. Gardiner, in his Students' History of England, p. 390, pays a tribute to this noble martyr.

[2] Foxe, Acts and Monuments, v, 190.

thou live or die? What sayest thou? Thou hast yet free choice." Lambert had been standing all this time, and had ceased to reply to his many assailants. "I yield and submit myself wholly to the will of your majesty." It was a vain appeal. The secular judges were not more merciful to heretics than the ecclesiastical in this fateful reign, and not as merciful. "Commit thyself into the hands of God, and not into mine," was the answer of the king. "My soul I commend to God," said Lambert, "my body I submit to your clemency." "If you submit yourself to my judgment," replied the king, "you must die, for I will be no patron of heretics. Cromwell, read the sentence." Four days afterward, November 20, 1538, Lambert was burned at Smithfield with horrible brutality.[1]

LAMBERT'S TRIAL AND CONDEMNATION.

On July 30, 1546, Barnes, Garret, and Jerome were burned at Smithfield for heresy. Jerome was vicar at Stepney and an able preacher. He denied the authority of the Parliament to pass the Six Articles and thus to bring the conscience into chains. Garret had been a curate in London, and had gotten into trouble by selling Tyndale's Bible and other books. Dr. Robert Barnes had been with the reformers at Wittenberg and had written and preached in favor of some of the reformed doctrines. He believed in justification by faith alone, and the worthlessness of good works in commending us to God before justification, though they were essential afterward; on the invocation of saints he assumed a noncommittal attitude, saying that Scripture does not command it. The general orthodoxy of these three was unimpeachable, and their murder on the part of the new Church State was an intolerable crime. It was not even thought necessary to mention the errors for which they died. The Parliament simply attainted them for heresy, and handed them over to the sheriff. They were burned on the same occasion that Abel, Fetherstone, and Powell were hanged for denying the supreme headship.[2]

BARNES, GARRET, AND JEROME.

In 1541 a boy of fifteen, Mekins, was hanged or burned in Smithfield. A young man, John Porter, died in the king's prison, Newgate, compressed with the weight of his chains, his crime being expounding from one of the great Bibles which Bonner, bishop of London, had set up in St. Paul's. Three were burned in Salisbury for speaking against

OTHER PROTESTANT VICTIMS.

[1] Foxe devotes large space to Lambert, his writings, and his trial—v, 181–250.

[2] Foxe, under 1540, vol. v, pp. 414 ff., gives full details. Selections from Barnes's works pub. by Rel. Tract Soc., Lond., with account of his life and death, and dying protestation in full. Dixon gives fair account—ii, 251 ff.

the sacrament, and two were burned at Lincoln. In 1543 Pearson, a priest, Filmer, a tailor, and Testwood, a famous singer, were burned at Windsor for insufficient orthodoxy as to the mass. At the same time indictments were made out against certain dignitaries, but these were dismissed and the accusers punished—an illustration of the impartiality of despotism. "A free pardon was the royal method of mitigating the Six Articles when they imperiled people of condition."[1]

In 1546 Lascelles, Belenian, a priest, Adams, a tailor, and Anne Askew were burned in Smithfield. Anne Askew was a woman of remarkable strength of mind and knowledge of Scripture—a true sister of Anne Hutchinson, and found no difficulty in refuting those who were sent to convince her of error. During her imprisonment she was racked terribly to get her to implicate certain ladies of the court, though in this the torturers were unsuccessful. Her chief offense was denying the mass. "There be some do say that I deny the eucharist or sacrament of thanksgiving; but those people do untruly report of me. For I both say and believe it, that if it were ordered like as Christ instituted it and left it, a most singular comfort it were unto us all. But as concerning your mass, as it is now used in our days, I do say and believe it to be the most abominable idol that is in the world; for my God will not be eaten with teeth, neither yet dieth he again. And upon these words that I have now spoken will I suffer death."[2] In the next reign Joan Bocher, a Kentish woman who did her own thinking, was burned May 2, 1550, for denying the incarnation—apparently holding Docetic views. Perry says that Joan Bocher's opinions were blasphemous,[3] which is true only in the sense that all error is blasphemous. Anglican historians are wont to call the heroic constancy of the "heretics" obstinacy. In 1551 George van Parris, a Flemish surgeon living in London, was burned in Smith-

ANNE ASKEW.

[1] Dixon, ii, 334, note.

[2] Anne Askew's Confession of Faith, made in Newgate, in Foxe, v, 549. Besides in Foxe, some of her writings are found in the vol. on Edward VI, Balnaves, and others in the Religious Tract Soc. British Reformers. Blunt, Reformation of Church of England, i, 539, 540, says that Askew was an Anabaptist, and that she seems to have had secret—presumably treasonable—communications with Queen Catharine Parr and other ladies of the palace, both of which assertions are against incontestable evidence. In treating of matters relating to Protestants this historian is violently prejudiced and one-sided. Canon Dixon is much more judicial, though not always to be followed. Blunt's characterization of the Protestant martyrs (i, 541–547) is a caricature where it is not false.

[3] See his admirable Students' English Church History, ii, 200.

field on the charge of denying the divinity of Christ. After the Church of England was established under Queen Elizabeth the martyrdom of Catholics on the one hand and of Protestants on the other began again, and the persecution continued until at the revolution in 1688 a foreign Protestant prince guaranteed toleration.

We have not mentioned the martyrs killed before the full establishment of the present Church in 1533. In 1511 four men and one woman were handed over by Archbishop Warham to the secular arm with these words: "Our holy mother, the Church, having nothing further that she can do in this matter, we leave the four mentioned heretics, and every one of them, to your royal highness and your secular council." Whether they were burned or imprisoned we do not know. Thomas Bilney was burned at Norwich in 1531 for his opinion on images, pilgrimages, and saint worship—the authorities not sticking on definitions of heresy. Thomas Hilton, a priest of Maidstone, Kent, was burned at Gravesend about the end of 1530 for denying the five so-called sacraments and circulating books written by reformers. Bayfield, priest of Bury St. Edwards, was burned at Smithfield, November 11, 1531, for introducing prohibited books. Tewkesbury, a leather dealer, upheld the truth so vigorously before his judges, the bishops, that he put them to silence. Although he did not publish abroad his views he was burned at Smithfield, December, 1531. Bainham, a lawyer, was also burned, April, 1532.

EARLIER MARTYRS.

As these burnings took place under the chancellorship and with the authority of More the question of his personal complicity arises. There can be no doubt that More held these executions perfectly justifiable, and did not revolt from them. He wrote against Tindal and other heretics with fierce invective, and, as usual, imputing to them evil motives and sinful characters. On the other hand Lord Acton says: "Sir Thomas More protested before his death, in terms which have satisfied the impartial judgment of one of his latest successors on the woolsack, that no Protestant had perished by his act."[1] These are the words of More: "Of all that ever came into my hand for heresy, as help me God, saving the sure keeping of them, had never any stripe or stroke given them, so much as a fillip on the forehead."[2] But this may mean that he did not favor examination by torture. Mark Pattison says: "It is admitted by himself that he inflicted punishment for religious opinion."[3]

THOMAS MORE'S RELATION TO THESE EXECUTIONS.

[1] Quar. Rev., Lond., Jan., 1877, art. i, at end.
[2] Apology, xxxvi. [3] Encyc. Brit., 9th ed., art. More.

Whereas Erasmus says: "While he was chancellor no man was put to death for these pestilent opinions, while so many suffered death in France and the Low Countries." But Erasmus was living in Freiburg in Breisgau during More's chancellorship, and might not have heard of cases of burning which actually occurred in England, 1529–32. Death for heresy was a part of the common law of Christendom, and unless the king intervened the law would take its course, even if More did not actually sentence to death, and take its course upon More's evident approval. According to one of his early biographers More acknowledged that he was "troublesome to heretics."[1] His biographer confirms what we know to have been his whole attitude by saying: "He so hated this kind of men (heretics) that he would be the sorest enemy that they could have, if they would not repent."

Both Henry and the Parliament were furious against "this kind of men" also, and if More had shown indulgence to them he would have been dismissed immediately. Green acknowledges his "severities against the Protestants," and accounts for them on the ground that More thought that it "was only by a rigid severance of the cause of reform from what seemed to him the cause of revolution" that he could carry through his projects.[2] So also S. R. Gardiner admits that he "used his authority to support the clergy in putting down what he termed heresy by the process of burning the obstinate heretic."[3]

WOLSEY AND MORE COMPARED.

As to the comparative zeal of Wolsey and More in pursuing heretics, a question on which the eminent authorities, Brewer and Lord Acton, differ, there can be no doubt that the palm of indifference or mercy must be allowed to Wolsey. The cardinal was averse to burning men, and had a higher way of dealing with heresy, namely, by learning and argument. He even appointed some men inclined to Lutheranism to his new college in Oxford, thinking that by study and association with their colleagues they would outgrow their mistaken opinions. Canon Perry well praises his "large-hearted contempt for the use of persecutions in matters of religion," and adds: "The best testimony to Wolsey's greatness is the difference between the reign of his master, Henry, before his fall and after it."[4]

[1] More, Life of More, p. 211.
[2] Short Hist. of English People, ch. vi, §6.
[3] Hist. of England, p. 538.
[4] Students' Church Hist. of England, ii, 52.

CHAPTER VII.

THE MARIAN REACTION.

UNDER Edward VI (1547–53) the work of reformation proceeded in a more radical fashion, but within Catholic limits. The greed and spoliation, the same cruelty and high-minded unscrupulousness which had marked the work of Henry and his men, still characterized the Edwardine reformers. Those who favored the old religion or stood by the Henrician settlement were sent to prison, while heretics were sent to the stake. The suppression of chantries and hospitals proceeded with the same ruthlessness, and war was waged against images and painted glass in churches. The English Reformation was still a thing of court and council, in which the motives of the chief actors were strangely mixed. Unlike other movements of that time, it did not spring from personal experience of divine grace which changed the current of life, nor from profound convictions of truth born of long study of Holy Scripture. Unlike all true reformation, it did not proceed to regenerate the life of the people; nor could it do this, because it was still Catholic—that is, it still said that grace must come through sacrament and service and ritual and priest rather than from the first-hand contact of the believing spirit with Christ.

THE REFORMATION UNDER EDWARD VI.

The first thoroughly Protestant Reformation on a large scale—on a scale large enough to change the whole life of a nation—was that under Wesley; and it was so transforming because it was led by preachers whose enthusiasm sprang from personal experience, and who, like the apostles, led the people to the living fountain, Christ. Even the Lutheran Reformation, though it held aloft always, as the English Church did not, the Pauline principle of justification, was crippled as a regenerating force because, in the application of the principle, it too remained Roman; that is, it dared not trust Christ for both principle and method—faith, but still thrust the catechism and the sacraments between the soul and its Redeemer. Luther did not see that the true place of catechetics, confirmation, sacraments, is after conversion, not before, and certainly not a substitute for it. This is one of the reasons why the Protestant Ref-

INCOMPLETENESS OF ENGLISH AND GERMAN REFORMATION.

ormation was so largely a moral failure, a failure so conspicuous that Luther was at times utterly cast down in despair.

Of this moral failure in England we have incontestable evidence from contemporary or nearly contemporary witnesses. Strype says that the whole nation grew infamous for the crime of adultery. Adulteries and divorce increased enormously, so that Latimer in a sermon preached in 1550 cried out to the king, "For the love of God, take an order for marriage here in England."[1]

MORAL DEGENERACY OF THE TIMES.

Camden, the secretary of Sir William Cecil, says that sacrilegious avarice ravenously invaded church livings, colleges, chantries, hospitals, and places dedicated to the poor. Ambition among the nobility and disobedience among the common people grew so extravagant that England seemed to be in a downright frenzy.[2] Even Burnet calls attention to these glaring evils. "This gross and insatiable scramble after the goods and wealth that had been dedicated to good designs, without applying any part of it to promote the good of the Gospel and the instruction of the poor, made all people conclude that it was for robbery and not for reformation that their zeal made them so active. The irregular and immoral lives of many of the professors of the Gospel gave their enemies great advantage to say that they ran away from confession, penance, fasting, and prayer, only to be under no restraint, and to indulge themselves in a licentious and dissolute course of life. By these things that were but too visible in some of the most eminent among them the people were much alienated from them; and as much as they were formerly against popery they grew to have kinder thoughts of it, and to look on all the changes that had been made as designs to enrich some vicious characters and to let in an inundation of vice and wickedness upon the nation."[3] Latimer lashed the vice of the time with unsparing hand, until the court of Edward VI became tired of his reproofs and stopped his preaching. The pious and learned Ridley considered the return to Rome under Mary as a punishment to the nation for its sins, and wrote his Piteous Lamentation out of the bitterness of his heart: "Alas! my dear country, what hast thou done that thus thou hast provoked the wrath of God, to pour out his vengeance upon thee for thine own deserts? Canst thou be

[1] Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer, i, 293, 294.

[2] Camden, Chronicle on Edward VI's reign.

[3] History of the Reformation of the Church of England, pt. ii, 1553, bk. i; pt. iii, 1553, bk. iv (Reeves & Turner's ed.), i, 557; ii, 770, 771. This edition contains, in an appendix, all the valuable records originally published.

content to hear thy faults told thee? Alas! thou hast heard of it, and wouldst never amend."[1]

The Reformation had never touched the conscience of even the Church in England, not to speak of the nation. There was no service too menial exacted by Henry, no decision too unjust, to be accorded by the venal Church and parliament. His butcheries of the innocent and helpless received all necessary sanction. Under Edward VI the same obsequiousness of nation and Church was shown. Cranmer's English Prayer Book supplanted the Latin mass service in the churches, and the Articles of 1552, which went much farther toward Protestantism than any of Henry's creeds, received all necessary assent. Of course there were individual cases of men who would not sell their conscience—of Catholics like Bishop Gardiner who were imprisoned, and of heretics who were burned. And when Mary established the old religion the Church and nation swung around again in obedient impulse. This filled a true spirit like Ridley's with so much disgust that he accused the whole country of superficiality and deceit. "Judges of the laws, justices of peace, sergeants, lawyers—it may truly be said of them as of the most part of the clergy, of curates, vicars, parsons, prebendaries, doctors of the law, archdeacons, deans, yea, and I may say of bishops also, I fear me for the most part, although I doubt not but God had and hath ever whom he in every state knew and knoweth to be his, but for the most part, I say, they were never persuaded in their hearts, but from the teeth forward, and for the king's sake, in the truth of God's word; and yet all these did dissemble, and bear a copy of a countenance as if they had been sound within."[2] If so many villanies had not been cloaked under the plea of reformation, Mary would not have found the people so respondent.

QUEEN MARY.

During all her harsh treatment Mary had remained true to the religion of her mother. When she came to the throne, therefore, 1553, two things filled her mind: to restore the Church of England to its old-time communion, and to marry Philip II of Spain, the eldest son of her cousin Charles V. Parliament at once reestablished the mass, repealed the act allowing the clergy to marry, gave consent in the next year to her marriage with Philip, reenacted the statutes for the suppression of heresy, and agreed to a reconciliation with Rome. "Intercede," said the parliament to the king and queen, who

MARY AND PHILIP II MARRIED.

[1] See Parker Society ed. of his Works, pp. 58, 59.

[2] Works, Parker Soc., p. 59.

were married July, 1554, the Spaniard receiving the title of king and the name of Philip and Mary appearing together on all official documents and their heads on all coins—"intercede with the pope that we may as children repentant be received into the bosom and unity of Christ's Church, so as this noble realm, with all the members thereof, may in unity and perfect obedience to the see apostolic and pope for the time being, serve God and your majesties to the furtherance and advancement of his honor and glory. Amen." On November 30, 1554, the parliament bowed at the feet of Cardinal Pole and received absolution. They then repealed all the remaining laws obnoxious to the pope, but only on condition well understood from the beginning that the abbey and other ecclesiastical lands and wealth should be allowed to rest in the hands of their present possessors. With this noble proviso the nation's representatives returned to the Roman obedience.

We now come to that event which forever invests the reign of Mary with lurid and tragic light—the burning of the Protestants. We call them Protestants in the proper sense, as protesting against Rome. They were not Protestants in the full sense, but rather Anglicans, or Catholics, holding to the faith of the visible historic Catholic Church, whose creeds they accounted binding, but free from the additions and corrupt practices of Rome. On these terms Dixon says: "Unfortunately, in the heat of their contest with what they termed papistry, they [the English reformers] adopted or accepted another designation [from that of Catholic], which has been fruitful of widespread error, and has done more to confuse history than almost any other application of terms that had place in the English Reformation. They called or let themselves be called, Protestant." It was used by the reformers themselves, and by contemporary historians like Foxe. "It retained its original and proper meaning in England (or a share of it) when, in the next century, it was used to denote the High Church or Laudian party in opposition to the Puritans; but unhappily it passed into vogue as the opposite, not of papist, but of Catholic, in which abused sense it is now common in literature. This popular and literary misconception has reacted on the history of the Reformation with stupefying effect. The men who let themselves be called Protestants, but were never weary of declaring themselves Catholic, have been thought to have been not Catholic because Protestant. The opposite of Catholic is not Protestant, but heretic; the opposite of Protestant is not Catholic, but papist." With this understanding Dixon continues to

DIXON ON TERM PROTESTANT.

call the reformers Protestant, and as papist is an opprobrious word he substitutes Romanensian.[1]

Historically, there is much to be said for the reasoning of Canon Dixon. This also, however, must be said: (1) Throughout the whole mediæval period, communion with the see of Rome as the center of unity was a part of the Catholic confession. (2) In ancient and mediæval history, the opposite of Catholic was schismatic rather than heretic, and sometimes both. Indeed, it is invidious to apply those old distinctions rigidly to modern conditions, besides implying false assumptions. Dixon would make the most strenuous defenders of essential Christianity heretics, a word that ought to be kept for those who deny fundamental truth.

Mary was really no greater persecutor than her father or her sister Elizabeth, but the dignity of the victims, the heroic constancy and dramatic circumstances of their suffering, have captured the imagination of the English people, and have driven home to their hearts a perpetual hatred of Rome. Those who died for so-called heresy in Henry's and Edward's reigns were humble and obscure; but with a beautiful impartiality Mary held that a high position should not excuse from justice.

The first martyr of note was John Rogers, prebendary of St. Pancras in the cathedral of St. Paul, rector of Chigwell, in Essex, and vicar of St. Sepulchre, in London. He was educated at Cambridge and in Wolsey's college in Oxford; chaplain of English merchants in Antwerp; edited a new translation of the Bible, generally known as Matthew's Bible, published in 1537; married and removed to Wittenberg, and returned to London in the reign of Edward VI. After long imprisonment he was condemned to death for these two articles: That the Catholic Church of Rome is the Church of Antichrist; and, That in the sacrament of the altar there are not substantially nor really the natural body and blood of Christ. As he was being led to Smithfield, February 4, 1555, his wife and eleven children met him, and a pardon was offered him if he would recant. "This sorrowful sight of his own flesh and blood could nothing move him; but that he constantly and cheerfully took his death with wonderful patience in the defense and quarrel of Christ's Gospel."[2]

JOHN ROGERS.

[1] Dixon, Hist. of Church of England, iv, Lond., 1891, 220–223.

[2] See Chester, Life of John Rogers, Lond., 1861. Full details of these martyrdoms will be found in Foxe, Acts and Monuments, vols. vi and vii; Strype; Burnet; Blunt, ii, 278 ff.; and especially Dixon, iv, who devotes a whole volume to the Marian history.

The next martyr was John Hooper, bishop of Gloucester. He was educated at Merton College, Oxford, joined the Cistercians, fled to the Continent on the publication of the Six Articles, married, and was thoroughly imbued, by his long intercourse with the Swiss reformers, with the new views. He returned to England in 1549, and entered upon his ministry with indefatigable zeal. "In his sermons," says Foxe, "he corrected sin, and sharply inveighed against the iniquity of the world and the corrupt abuses of the Church. The people in great flocks came daily to hear him, insomuch that the church would oftentimes be so full that none could enter further than the doors. In his doctrine he was earnest, in tongue eloquent, in Scripture perfect, in pains indefatigable." When he was appointed bishop of Gloucester he refused to wear the vestments, and would not take the oath of consecration until the king himself had struck out the reference to angels and saints. He finally compromised on the question of vestments, and was consecrated March 8, 1551. After suffering cruel imprisonment in London he was sent to Gloucester to die. When he saw the company of armed men deputed to escort him to the stake, February 9, 1555, he said, "You needed not to make such a business to bring me; I am no traitor. I would have gone alone to the stake." At the stake a box containing his pardon was placed before him, to be his on condition of recanting. "If you love my soul, away with it; if you love my soul, away with it," cried Hooper. Unfortunately the wood was green and deficient, and the wind blew the fire away from the stake so that his death was prolonged with fearful agony for nearly an hour.[1]

JOHN HOOPER.

Rowland Taylor became rector of Hadleigh in 1554 and was canon of Rochester and one of the preachers at Canterbury. He was condemned in London, and also sent to his own town to die. As he left his prison in the dark of the early morning he found his wife and children waiting for him. He was allowed to stop a moment, and he knelt down and repeated the Lord's Prayer with his family. After they rose up he kissed his wife, and said, "Farewell, my dear wife; be of good comfort, for I am quiet in my conscience. God shall stir up a father for my children." Then he kissed his daughter Mary, and said, "God bless thee, and

ROWLAND TAYLOR.

[1] In 1878 a part of Hooper's stake was found with a quantity of wood ashes in excavating a mound just outside the cathedral precincts, where he suffered. This relic is in the Gloucester museum. In 1863 a cross was erected in his honor. His works are published in two vols. by the Parker Society, and selections in one vol. by Rel. Tract Soc.

make thee his servant;" and, kissing Elizabeth, he said, "God bless thee. I pray you all stand steadfast unto Christ and his word, and keep you from idolatry." His death was fortunately not left to the fire, but was anticipated by a merciful blow on the head with a halberd. His parishioners placed a stone where he died, with the inscription: "1555 D. Taylor in Defending what was good At this Plas Left his Blode." This is the only contemporary memorial of the Marian martyrs.

John Bradford, educated in the grammar school of his native Manchester, became canon of St. Paul's and an able divine and preacher. He was examined by one of the London heresy boards and condemned for denying transubstantiation. "Only transubstantiation, which was had on my own confession, was the thing on which my Lord Chancellor proceeded. Will you condemn to the devil any man that believeth truly the twelve articles of the faith, wherein I take the unity of Christ's Church to consist, although in some points he believe not the definitions of that which you call the Church?" "It was definition indeed," Canon Dixon well remarks on this, "that was now working this harm: the definitions of Trent which were now working in deadly wise, making necessary to salvation matters of opinion, belief, or speculation which had neither place, name, nor mention in the Christian creeds. These definitions of doctrine, with the contrary anathematizations, were new gear, which the pope had donned since his expulsion from England, and brought with him on his return."[1] Bradford was a reformer in advance of his time. He seemed to have abandoned the Catholic standpoint, holding Protestant views on the Church and apostolical succession. Anglican writers characterize his opinion that the consecrated elements cease to be sacraments after use, just as the water in baptism, as a "very low view."[2] After repeated efforts to induce him to recant he was burned at Smithfield, with a boy of nineteen, John Leaf, lashed to the same stake, July 1, 1555.[3]

JOHN BRADFORD.

[1] Hist. of the Ch. of England, vi, 369. He refers to the well-known fact that transubstantiation was one of the latest doctrines of the Church, not winning a final place until the fourth Lateran council, 1215. It was found in none of the creeds or councils until the seventh Ecumenical council, 787, gave it a faint or prophetic mention.

[2] Dixon, iv, 371, note.

[3] Admirable ed. of Bradford's works, by A. Townsend, 2 vols., Cambridge, 1848, 1853 (Parker Soc.), with Memoir. See also Rel. Tr. Soc.'s ed. of Bradford by Stokes; Stevens, Life of Bradford, with his Letters, Examinations, and Conferences, Lond., 1832; and Hone, Lives of Bradford, Grindal, and Hall, Lond., 1843.

Nicholas Ridley was educated at Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, took orders in 1527, studied also at Paris and Louvain, received various ecclesiastical positions, and in 1550 became Bonner's successor to the see of London. He was committed to the Tower for heresy July 26, 1553, from which he was removed with Latimer to the jail of the Bocardo, Oxford. Hugh Latimer had been one of the most fearless preachers of the Reformation, a man of the utmost honesty and conscientiousness of purpose. He was the Luther of England, blunt, fearless, direct, stern in denunciation, yet cheerful and a lover of a good joke. He was also a Cambridge man, and had been made bishop of Worcester in 1535. After repeated examinations and efforts to bring about their recantation, Ridley and Latimer were led to the same stake in front of Balliol College, Oxford, October 16, 1555. "Be of good comfort, Master Ridley, and play the man," said Latimer to his scholarly and shrinking yet brave friend. "We shall this day light a candle by God's grace, in England, as I trust shall never be put out." Foxe describes Ridley as a "man beautified with excellent qualities, so ghostly inspired and godly learned, and now written doubtless in the Book of Life." Poor Ridley suffered long and intensely by mismanagement of the fire, but Latimer died almost immediately.

RIDLEY AND LATIMER.

"How fast the Marian death-list is enrolled!
See Latimer in the might
Of faith stand coupled for a common flight!
One (like those prophets whom God sent of old)
Transfigured, from this kindling hath foretold
A torch of inextinguishable light;
The other gains a confidence as bold;
And thus they foil their enemy's despite.
The penal instruments, the shows of crime,
Are glorified while this once-mitred pair
Of saintly friends the 'murtherer's' chain partake,
Cowed, and burning at the social stake:
Earth never witnessed object more sublime
In constancy, in fellowship more fair!"[1]

[1] Wordsworth, Eccl. Sonnets, part ii, No. 34. The works of Bishop Ridley are published, with life by H. Christmas, by the Parker Soc., Camb., 1841; also by the Rel. Tract Soc. Foxe, Acts and Monuments, vol. vii, gives full details of the works and life of both Ridley and Latimer. See G. Ridley, Life of Bishop Ridley, Lond., 1763. Latimer's works have been ed. for Parker Soc. by G. E. Corrie, 1844-45, and his life has been written by Gilpin, Lond., 1755; Tulloch, in Leaders of the Reformation, Edinb., 1860; Demaus (the best), Lond., 1869, rev. 1881; Ellis, Lond., 1890; Ryle, Bishops and Clergy of Other Days, pp. 65 ff.; Adams, Great Englishmen, pp. 364 ff.

The history of Thomas Cranmer is the history of the English Reformation. Cranmer is the father of the English Church, the minister of all of Henry's spiritual acts as supreme head as well as the pliant tool of his enormities. He was the only one of Henry's chief advisers who kept his place secure throughout his reign, and he did this by bending to his whims and opinions, and considering himself faithfully bound to second his acts, however contradictory those opinions and acts may have been to those previously expressed or done, and however detestable they were in themselves. He assented heartily to the Catholic creed of Henry and to the more Protestant confession of Edward; he advocated the Latin mass service under Henry, and he drew up the English liturgy under Edward and imprisoned those who would not read it; when Gardiner insisted under Edward on being consistent with himself and keeping the same judgment on the course of reformation which he had shared with Cranmer under Henry, Cranmer had him put in prison; he divorced Henry from Catharine, blessed his marriage with Anne Boleyn, and then entered the conspiracy against Anne, cursed her union with Henry, and declared her children illegitimate—a declaration which he also made concerning Catharine's children, though he afterward acceded to the act which legitimated both, which act he later helped to overthrow. Though he did not burn any of the old party under Edward, as he did under Henry, because he thought circumstances did not favor it, he still sent heretics to the stake; and when, if we may believe contemporary historians, Edward would fain have saved the poor girl of Kent, Joan Bocher, Cranmer urged him again and again to sign the warrant, which the king did at length with tears, and throwing into his face the words, "Then let the responsibility of this action rest on thee, my lord of Canterbury."[1]

THOMAS CRANMER.

[1] See Foxe, Acts and Monuments, v, 699; Hayward, Life of Edward VI, p. 276. See also Heylyn, Hist. of Ref. of Ch. of England, first ed., 1661; later ed., J. C. Robertson, i, 186, 187; Strype, Cranmer, ii, 97; Wilkins, Conc., iv, 42, 43; Burnet, Hist. of Reformation of Ch. of England, part ii, 1549, book i; Burke, Historical Portraits of the Tudor Dynasty, ii, 315–322, and authorities there referred to. In the case of Joan Bocher, says Hook, "the archbishop of Canterbury was the judge who sentenced her to death, and, so far from being ashamed of it, the whole process, together with others of the same kind, ranging over four years from 1548 to 1552, is narrated in Cranmer's own register."—Archbishops of Canterbury, vii, 69. John Bruce, F.S.A., editor of the works of Roger Hutchinson for the Parker Society, Camb., 1842, was the first to question the story of Edward's refusal to consent to Joan's death until overborne by Cranmer on the ground that the order for burning proceeded from the council or parliament and not from the king. See his pref. to Hutchin-

His intercourse with the German divines and his study of the Scriptures and the fathers eventually led him farther toward Protestantism, so that when the overshadowing personality of Henry was withdrawn he and his coworkers were able to commit the English Church to a program more radical than Henry's Catholic changes, but still far from being truly Protestant.[1] In the carrying out of this program he was tyrannical and unscrupulous, even forbidding for a time all preaching. When the tables were turned, under Mary, he tried to save himself by recanting, which he did six or seven times, and his burning was due, not to his own brief final following of his better conscience, but to the perfidy and cruelty of the Catholic party, who were determined to burn him in spite of his repeated avowal of orthodoxy.[2] When Cranmer saw that, he for the moment became a hero, recanted all his recantations, and said that to prove his sincerity now he would let his right hand burn first. They led him to the fire in Oxford, March 21, 1556, and, true to his word, he held out his right hand in the flames, and kept it there without flinching, saying again and again, "This unworthy hand." "The

CRANMER'S DEATH.

son's works, pp. iii-v. Recent Anglican historians—as, for example, Hook, Archbishops of Canterbury, vii, 64–67; Dixon, Hist. of Ch. of England, iii, 238, note—have readily accepted the assertions of Bruce, but too hastily. For (1) the acts of the council were often referred to the king for his approval, and we have no reason to believe that this was an exceptional case; (2) it is hard to account for the uniform testimony of contemporary and almost contemporary witnesses except on the ground of the truthfulness of the report; (3) there is nothing inherently improbable in the story, but rather the contrary. Bruce says that it was not customary for the sovereign to sign the acts of the council, but this does not appear. Keen observers like Hayward and Foxe were aware of the custom, and would have recognized any incongruity. On the contrary, Bocher and Van Parr were condemned by the king's commissioners or judges, and the writ, *De hæretico comburendo*, issued by them was signed by the king in council. By the act of December, 1554, however, it was necessary simply for the bishop's court to hand the heretic over to the sheriff without the signature of the sovereign. See Blunt, ii, 216. The king is not represented by contemporaries as objecting on grounds of humanity simply, but on account of the belief, then universally held, that the souls of heretics go to hell. He wanted to put off the sentence, hoping that the maid would repent.

[1] Hook says truly that Cranmer "drifted toward Luther, but a Lutheran he never became." A Lutheran scholar describes him as "having lacked the central living principle of justification by faith alone and a clear perception of other Gospel truths."—Bamberger, Prot. Encyc.; Hook, vii, 417.

[2] "Charity itself will sometimes doubt whether the right hand would have suffered if the enemies of Cranmer had not proved themselves the basest of mankind."—Hook, vii, 417.

flames which consumed his body have cast a false glitter upon his character, but this is no fault of his. Cranmer in the last act of his life, with his burning right hand, appealed to the Church, not for honor, but for pardon."[1] It is one of the ironies of history that this man, more than any other besides Henry VIII, made the English Church what it is—in its unique blending of Catholicism and Protestantism, held into religious unity by its inimitable liturgy, translated and composed largely by Cranmer himself, and held into external unity by the Erastianism of its State connection. And the history of the Church of England, with its chameleonlike and multiform character, with its wickedness and cruelty on the one hand and its glorious achievements for God and humanity on the other, is Cranmer's best accusation and defense.

Anglican historians have never pardoned Macaulay for his frankness in estimating Cranmer: "He was at once a divine and a courtier. In his character of divine he was ready to go as far in the way of change as any Swiss or Scottish reformer. In his character of courtier he was desirous to preserve that organization which had during many ages admirably served the purposes of the bishops of Rome, and might be expected to serve equally well the purposes of the English kings and of their ministers. This temper and his understanding eminently fitted him to act as mediator. Saintly in his professions, unscrupulous in his dealings, zealous for nothing, bold in speculation, a coward and a time-server in action, a placable enemy and a lukewarm friend, he was in every way qualified to arrange the terms of the coalition between the religious and the worldly enemies of the papacy."[2] This characterization is moderate and is borne out in every particular, except one, by history. As a divine Cranmer would go a good way with Protestant theologians, but not the length above indicated. In his essay on Hallam's Constitutional History,[3] Macaulay treats of Cranmer more at length and with still less reserve. But there is hardly anything said that is not a simple statement of fact. Take this for instance: "Cranmer rose into favor by serving Henry in the disgraceful affair of his first divorce. He promoted the marriage of Anne Boleyn with the king. On a frivolous pretense he pronounced the marriage null and void. On a pretense, if possible, still more frivolous he dissolved the ties which bound the shameless tyrant to Anne of Cleves. He attached himself to Cromwell while the fortunes of Cromwell flourished. He voted for cutting off Cromwell's head without a trial when the

MACAULAY'S JUDGMENT OF CRANMER.

[1] Hook, vii, 419. [2] Hist. of England, i, 57. [3] Essays, i, 448 ff.

tide of royal favor turned. He conformed backward and forward as the king changed his mind. He assisted while Henry lived in condemning to the flames those who denied the doctrine of transubstantiation. He found out as soon as Henry was dead that the doctrine was false. He was not at a loss, however, for people to burn. The authority of his station and of his gray hairs was employed to overcome the disgust with which an intelligent and virtuous child regarded persecution. Intolerance in a man who thus wavered in his creed excites a loathing to which it is difficult to give vent without calling foul names. Equally false to political and to religious obligation, the primate was first the tool of Somerset and then the tool of Northumberland. When the Protector wished to put his own brother to death, without even the semblance of a trial, he found a ready instrument in Cranmer. In spite of the canon law, which forbade a churchman to take any part in matters of blood, the archbishop signed the warrant for the atrocious sentence. When Somerset had been in his turn destroyed, his destroyer received the support of Cranmer in a wicked attempt to change the course of the succession." These are all statements of facts baldly and caustically expressed. This, however, must be said for Cranmer. He lived in an age when independence of judgment was at a discount. If he bent to the royal or ruling will, so, speaking generally, did everybody else. For instance, when Henry took a personal repulsion to his fourth wife, Anne of Cleves, and insisted on a divorce, both convocation and parliament granted it without a word.[1]

Who was responsible for the Marian persecution? Blunt, in a long and learned discussion, lays the blame chiefly on Philip, Mary's husband, and the influence of the Spanish divines and clergy who accompanied him.[2] Dixon controverts this at considerable length and lays the blame chiefly on Mary.[3] An able critic of Dixon agrees with him in assigning to Mary the chief glory of this carnival of death, but disagrees with him in exonerating Philip: "We must allow the cold-blooded Spaniard a full share in the direful tragedies, and not load the unhappy queen with all the odium."[4] The old opinion founded on Foxe, that Bonner, bishop

[1] Cranmer's works are edited by Jenkins, 4 vols., Oxf., 1834, and by Cox, 2 vols., Camb., 1844–46; Lives, by Strype, new ed., 2 vols., 1840, and 3 vols., 1847–1854 (ed. for Eccl. Hist. Soc., best ed.); Todd, 2 vols., Lond., 1831; Le Bas, 2 vols., 1833; Collette, Lond., 1887; Mason, Lond. and Bost., 1898.

[2] Reformation of Church of England, ii, 226 ff.

[3] Hist. of Church of England, vol. iv.

[4] The Marian Persecution, in Church Quar. Rev., Lond., April, 1891, p. 190.

of London, was chiefly responsible, modern research shows to be untenable, although his contemporaries summed up their own judgment in the terse characterization, "Bloody Bonner." But this question of responsibility is largely futile and perhaps insoluble. (1) Persecution was the spirit of the age. If Anglican Protestants suffered under Mary, Bible Protestants and Roman Catholics suffered under Elizabeth. (2) Heresy was punishable with death. According to the standards of orthodoxy interpreted by the Christendom of that time, the new English Churchmen were as truly heretics as Joan Bocher. (3) The attempt to set up another queen in the Protestant interest was as unfortunate for the Protestants as it was traitorous to the rightful ruler, and must have permanently embittered Mary. (4) The memories of her mother's wrongs, her own past bitter history, the circumstances of her home life, her consciousness of failure in winning the love of her subjects, and her ill-health, all tended to inflame and deepen Mary's conscientious convictions that Protestantism was a heresy dangerous to souls and to the commonwealth, and ought to be suppressed. And when we reflect that on the Continent persecution of Protestantism was practiced on a horribly vast scale, the number of 277 who suffered in England under Mary, though sufficient to brand on the English heart forever an instinctive and unconquerable hatred of Roman Catholicism, seems paltry indeed.

RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE MARIAN PERSECUTIONS.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE ELIZABETHAN SETTLEMENT OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

EARLY MEASURES OF ELIZABETH.

When Elizabeth came to the throne, in 1558, it was very uncertain what course she would pursue, whether that of her half-brother Edward or that of her half-sister Mary. During the reign of the latter she had conformed to the Roman Catholic religion. She still heard mass and was crowned with all the old ceremonial. Bishop Bonner, however, was immediately imprisoned in the Marshalsea, London, where he was kept until his death in 1569; the queen forbade the elevation of the host in her presence; eight men of reforming views were added to the council; and the queen entertained a petition or paper from one of the councilors recommending (1) the restoration of the Church of England to its former purity, (2) the gradual abasement of those favorable to the late queen, (3) the giving over to the crown of the wealth of those bishops and clergy who had enriched themselves in the late reign—this to be secured by the pressure of the *præmunire* statute, (4) the disregard of those who wished to carry reform farther, (5) the revision of the English Prayer Book, and (6), until this revision was accomplished, the prohibition of all innovation.

It was evident, therefore, that with all of Elizabeth's Roman views she had no intention whatever of keeping England in unity with the pope. Or, as Canon Perry comments on these proposals: "The main body of the nation, indifferent to the form of religion, was to be bribed by the spoil of the Church, and the restoration to the crown of those sources of revenue, the alienation of which they had so grudgingly conceded in the late reign; while the lovers of the Reformation were to be propitiated by the restoration of the reformed worship, changed, however, in some particulars, to conciliate and attract the more moderate of the Romanists."[1]

THE PRAYER BOOKS OF 1549 AND 1552.

In 1548 Edward VI published a new communion service in English—the same substantially as that now used.[2] In

[1] Hist. of the Church of England, Students' Series. Lond., 1887. 6th ed., 1894, ii, 255.

[2] This service is given in full in Appendix to Cardwell, Two Liturgies of Edward VI Compared, pp. 425 ff.

1549 the first Prayer Book came forth from a committee of divines. It was based primarily on the old Latin service books, and secondarily on Archbishop Hermann's consultation, which was drawn up by Melanchthon and Bucer on the basis of Luther's Nuremberg services.[1] This book was too Catholic to suit Edward and some of the council; it was therefore subjected to a revision.[2] The new book was published in 1552. It was more Protestant than the other, thus sacrificing much, says Perry, that succeeding generations of Churchmen would have gladly retained.[3] In the book of 1549 the direction in the delivery of the bread in the sacrament was: "And when he delivereth the sacrament of the body of Christ he shall say to everyone these words: 'The body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life.'" In the book of 1552 the words were: "And when he delivereth the bread he shall say: 'Take and eat this, in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on him in thy heart by faith with thanksgiving.'"[4] Protestants, however, considered even the second book of Edward as too Roman. Calvin called it "intolerable stuff" and "tolerable fooleries."

It was this book which Elizabeth ordered revised in 1558,[5] and for fear that in the meantime her subjects would worship God according to the dictates of their own consciences she put out this proclamation: She "charges and commands all manner of her subjects, as well those called

ELIZABETH'S PROCLAMATION AS TO RELIGION.

[1] The divines who did most of the work were Cranmer (chief), Ridley, Goodryke, bishop of Ely; Holbeach, bishop of Lincoln: May, dean of St. Paul's; Dr. John Taylor, dean (afterward bishop) of Lincoln; Haynes, dean of Exeter; and Cox, the king's almoner, afterward bishop of Ely. See Procter, Hist. of Book of Common Prayer, with the Sources and Rationale of its Officers, ed. 1892, p. 268, note 4. Francis Procter was the vicar of a village in Norfolk, and his modest but scholarly book, first printed in 1855, is an illustration how good work makes for itself a perennial life.

[2] The chief revisers were Cox, Taylor, Cranmer, and Ridley.

[3] *L. c.*, ii, 212.

[4] The two Prayer Books are reprinted in full in parallel columns, with a valuable introd. by E. Cardwell, Oxf., 3d ed., 1852. The words quoted from the Second Book were taken from the Liturgy of John à Lasco, a Polish nobleman and clergyman, who had established in 1549 a foreign Protestant congregation in London. See Cardwell, p. xxviii, note q.

[5] The committee of revision was Parker, Pilkington, Bill, May, Cox, Grindal, and Whitehead, supervised by Cecil, the new premier, with the assistance of Guest. Parker was prevented by illness, and Guest, afterward bishop of Rochester, seems to have been the dominating mind on the committee.

to the ministry of the Church as all others, that they do forbear to teach or preach, or to give audience to any manner of teaching or preaching other than to the gospel and epistle of the day, and to the Ten Commandments, in the vulgar tongue, without exposition of any manner, sense, or meaning, to be applied and added; or to use any other manner of public prayer, rite, or ceremony in the church but that which is already used and by law received as the common litany, used at this present in her majesty's own chapel, and the Lord's Prayer and the creed in English, until consultation may be had by parliament, by her majesty, and her three estates of this realm for the better conciliation and accord of such cases as at this present are moved in matters and ceremonies of religion."[1] This proclamation, which ended by threatening punishment to all who disobeyed, assured both Protestants and Catholics that the Church of England was to be restored according to Henry's plan, and that they should govern themselves accordingly—an assurance that was supported by the declaration of the Lord Chancellor at the opening of parliament in January, 1559.

REVISION OF PRAYER BOOK.

The Prayer Book committee was anxious to conciliate the Protestant element, while Elizabeth was thinking of the Catholics. She had Cecil, therefore, deliver to the revisers a paper asking them whether they could not provide for the retention of the image of the cross, of processions, of copes for holy communion, the presence of noncommunicants at that sacrament, of prayers for the dead, of the prayer of consecration of the elements in the supper, of the placing the elements in the mouth, and of kneeling at reception. These requests were not granted, and Guest, the principal reviser, wrote a letter to Cecil giving reasons. "Ceremonies once taken away as ill-used should not be taken again. No image should be used in the church. Procession is superfluous; it is better to pray in the church. Because it is sufficient to use but a surplice in baptizing, reading, preaching, and praying, therefore it is enough also for the communion. Noncommunicants should be dismissed before the consecration, and (as it seems) after the offertory. The creed is ordained to be said only of the communicants. Prayer for the dead is not used, because it seems to make for sacrifice; as used in the first book it makes some of the faithful to be in heaven, and to need no mercy, and some of them to be in another place, and to lack help and mercy. The prayer in the first book

[1] This interesting document is given in full by Cardwell, Documentary Annals of the Church of England, i, 176, 177 (Oxf., 1839).

for consecration of elements, O merciful Father, is to be disliked because it is taken to be so needful to the consecration that the consecration is not thought to be without it. Christ in ordaining the sacrament made no petition, but a thanksgiving. The sacrament is to be received in our hands. The old use of the Church was to communicate standing; yet because it is taken of some by itself to be a sin to receive kneeling, whereas of itself it is lawful, it is left indifferent to every man's choice to follow the one way or the other, and to teach men that it is lawful to receive either standing or kneeling."[1] It was rather, therefore, the second Prayer Book of Edward than the first which the Elizabethan divines, in the hope of conciliating the Protestant—soon to be called Puritan—party, revived. In the delivery of the elements the words of the first and second books were united. With some slight additions made by the queen, this Prayer Book was enforced on the nation by the parliament of 1559 in the act of Uniformity.[2] The penalty for the first offense under the act was a fine of one hundred marks; for the second, four hundred; and for the third, all the offender's goods and life imprisonment. Many of the bishops, however, and nine temporal lords, opposed the bill in the upper house, and it passed by a majority of only three. But the Prayer Book was received immediately and used everywhere.[3]

Immediately before this Uniformity act was passed, parliament restored to the crown its spiritual headship in an act, January, 1559, so stringent and sweeping that it would have delighted Henry's own heart. It empowered the queen to give commissions to such persons as she thought fit, to "visit, reform, redress, order, correct, and amend all such errors, heresies, schisms, abuses, offenses, contempts, and enormities which by any manner of spiritual ecclesiastical power, authority, or jurisdiction can or may lawfully be reformed, ordered, redressed, corrected, or amended."[4] It makes this limitation, however, to irresponsible judgments in that it says that nothing shall be adjudged heresy which has not already been so adjudged by the Scriptures, or by the first four councils, or by any other council which judged according to the Scriptures, or in the

SPIRITUAL HEADSHIP RESTORED TO THE CROWN.

[1] Strype, Annals, i, App., xiv; Procter, p. 57, note 4.

[2] This act is printed in full in Gee and Hardy, Documents Illustrative of English Church History, pp. 458 ff.

[3] Parkhurst to Bullinger, May, 1559. "The book set forth in time of King Edward is now in general use throughout England."—Zurich Letters, i, 29, 31.

[4] For the text of this act see Gee and Hardy, pp. 442 ff.

future by the parliament and convocation. This in reality was no safeguard to the rights of conscience, because it left the determination of what was thus condemned to the court and not to the "heretic." But it clearly showed what has already been proven, namely, the intermediate position of the Church of England, holding aloft both the Scriptures and the Acta Concilia as tests of orthodoxy, with final appeal, with true Erastian instinct, to parliament. The act also changed the title of the queen from supreme head to supreme governor—a distinction without a difference. Elizabeth abated her authority not one jot.

Injunctions were also issued forbidding, among other things, the extolling of images, clerical marriages without the permission of the bishop and two justices of the peace, the wearing of vestments other than those in use under Edward, and the taking away of altars except under the supervision of the curate and churchwardens, in which case the place of the altar is to be taken by a table. Although the injunctions did not command the removal of images, it appears that in some places these, with other objects of veneration, were both removed and burnt.[1] Matthew Parker was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury in the chapel of Lambeth Palace, December 17, 1559. The Thirty-nine Articles of Religion were published in 1563.[2] Some efforts toward making the Church more Protestant were thwarted. For instance, a petition of the lower house of convocation to the upper house was drawn up embodying the following reforms: (1) Only Sundays to be kept as holy days. (2) In church the minister to read the service with his face to the congregation and distinctly. (3) The sign of the cross in baptism to be disused. (4) Kneeling at the communion not to be obligatory. (5) A surplice is sufficient vestment for all occasions. (6) Let organs be prohibited. These salutary provisions were rejected, but by a majority of only one. Another attempt toward Protestantism was the catechism of Dean Nowell, accepted by Parker, and, with alterations, by the lower house of convocation, but for some reason it failed to get through the upper house, to the joy of all Anglicans since. The catechism was of a Calvinistic and Puritan cast. "It would have proved a serious burden to the Church of England," says Canon Perry.[3] "We may be satisfied," says Dean Hook, "with expressing our deep sense of gratitude to the merci-

MINOR CHANGES—SOME ADOPTED, SOME REJECTED.

[1] Heylin, Hist. of Elizabeth, p. 118; Zurich Letters, i, 74.

[2] See above, p. 399.

[3] Hist. of Church of England, Students' Series, ii, 280.

ful Providence which has exonerated us from a burden which it would be difficult to sustain."[1]

A second Book of Homilies was published in 1563, intended especially for the use of ignorant and otherwise incompetent clergy, of whom the Church of England was then full. Ministers held a plurality of livings; they were nongraduates and illiterate; very few had real capacity; many parishes were without priests at all; and a contemporary remark on the clergy of Hereford seems applicable over a wide area: "The clergy of the cathedral are said to be disreputable as well as ignorant."[2]

The consecration of Parker as bishop has been made the subject of fierce controversy, because on it turns the validity of the orders, in the Catholic sense, of the Church of England. Various objections have been made to it.

OBJECTIONS TO PARKER'S CONSECRATION.

1. The Nag's Head Fable was set forth in 1603, and is to the effect that at Nag's Head tavern, in Cheapside, Parker and other bishops were ordained in a hasty and indifferent manner, namely, by Scory placing a Bible on their heads or shoulders, and saying, "Take the authority to preach the word of God sincerely."[3] This fable is now recognized as such by even Roman controversialists, and is, of course, never referred to by Leo XIII in his bull on English orders.

2. The fact of the consecration in Lambeth Chapel has been denied by some on the ground of alleged irregularities in the Lambeth Episcopal register. These irregularities, if they exist, can be explained by the methods of copyists. Cooke says that there were those at the time who denied the existence of the register,[4] but the only one he quotes is Harding, the Roman Catholic antagonist of Jewel, who says, "We say to you, Mr. Jewel, show us the register of your bishop." But on turning to the original of this quotation—Cooke does not give the place—we find that Harding does not refer to the Parker register at all, and never mentions Parker, but is quoting Tertullian in a free translation for the purpose of impugning the apostolic succession of the Church of England. "Tell us the original and first spring of your Church. Show us the register (*ordinem*) of your bishops continually succeeding one another from the beginning, so that the first bishop have some one of the apostles or of apostolic men for his author and prede-

[1] Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury, ix, 354.
[2] State Papers of Elizabeth (Domestic), xvii, 32.
[3] Tierney's Dodd, vol. ii, Appendix, xlii; Perry, ii, 282.
[4] Cooke, Historic Episcopate, N. Y., 1896, p. 47.

cessor."[1] Harding argues against the English hierarchy on the ground that they had separated from Catholic belief, that their bishops did not have confirmation of the bishop of Rome, and that even if they received consecration, those conferring it had no authority, and therefore the ceremony was invalid. Jewel replies that he (Jewel) was consecrated by three bishops and the metropolitan, but challenges Harding to bring a canon making a confirmation by the pope necessary. He also quotes canonists to prove that a consecration by even one bishop is valid. Jewel says again: "Our bishops are made in form and order, as they have been ever, by free election of the chapter; by consecration of the archbishop and three other bishops, and by the admission of the prince."[2] In addition to this it is a fact that for forty-four years every Roman writer in England proceeded on the assumption of the actual ordination of Parker as commonly held; that not one of them ever denied it.[3] There are, indeed, few events in history up to that time more certainly and amply attested by contemporaneous evidence than the consecration of Parker, and the methods of reasoning adopted by its impugners would lead to universal skepticism. "Of this consecration there remains a long and minute detailed account in the register of Lambeth, and a contemporaneous transcript of the consecration part of it in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. There are notices of it, also, in a great number of diocesan registers; in the registers of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury; in thirty or forty documents in the Rolls; in a large mass of contemporary letters and documents preserved in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge; in papers preserved in Zurich, and not known in England until 1685; in Parker's own book, De Antiquitate Britanniæ Ecclesiæ, printed in 1572, and in many other places."[4] The fact of the consecration, therefore, is indisputable, and in Leo XIII's bull (Apostolicæ Curæ, 1896) against Anglican orders he omits entirely mention of defects of this nature.

EVIDENCE FOR CONSECRATION OF PARKER.

3. It has been said that the consecration is invalid because Barlow, the chief consecrator, was himself not consecrated. Even if

[1] Edant ergo origines ecclesiarum suarum: evolvant ordinem episcoporum suorum, ita per successiones ab initio decurrentem, ut primus ille episcopus aliquem ex apostolis.—Tertull., De Præscript. Hær., xxxii. See Harding, in Jewel, Works, iii, 321 (Parker Soc.).

[2] Works, iii, 330, 334.

[3] Haddan, Apostolic Succession in the Church of England, Lond., 1869, pp. 181, 201.

[4] Perry, Hist. of the English Church, Lond., 1887, ii, 270.

this were true of Barlow, the conclusion would not follow if the other consecrators were ordained. But there is not the slightest evidence for it, except the loss of the certificate of Barlow's consecration, which is no evidence that the consecration did not take place, because the registers of men concerning whose ordination as bishops there has never been a dispute, like Gardiner of Winchester, are irrevocably lost. Even the Roman historian, Lingard, says: "When we find Barlow during ten years, the remainder of Henry's reign, constantly associated as a bishop with the other consecrated bishops, discharging with them all the duties, both spiritual and secular, of a consecrated bishop, summoned equally with them to parliament and convocation, taking his seat among them according to his seniority, and voting on all subjects as one of them, it seems most unreasonable to suppose, without direct proof, that he had never received that sacred rite without which, according to the laws of both Church and State, he could not have become a member of the episcopal body."[1]

AS TO BARLOW'S CONSECRATION.

It is said by Cooke that in the making of a bishop ordination was not considered necessary in Reformation England, appointment by the sovereign being all that was required.[2] Passages that look that way in the writings of the times refer to what was absolutely requisite to the existence of the Church of Christ, and not to what was ordinarily requisite to the well-being of the Church. Why were all the English bishops ordained in the usual way? As a matter of fact, both Henry and Elizabeth were Catholic in their conceptions of Church order, and would have regarded with horror an unordained priest or bishop officiating in the sacred service. Cooke says also that the Edwardine ordinal recognizes no distinction in order between a bishop and a presbyter.[3] It is true that the ordinal (not of 1549, as Cooke calls it, when no ordinal existed, but the ordinal of 1550, as afterward revised and published first in the Prayer Book of 1552) does not use the word "order" or "ordering" in its "form of consecrating of an archbishop or bishop," but it has a separate service for the consecrating of a bishop, a service which makes it in effect a third order. At the bottom, and according to the apostolic Church, the mediæval canonists freely acknowledge the identity of priest and bishop. Could the Anglicans do less? But both Churches held to the necessity of episco-

[1] Hist. of England, 6th rev. ed., vol. vi, app. DD.
[2] Historic Episcopate, pp. 49, 52.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 69.

pal ordination for the due and safe constituting of a Church. This the ordinal assumes throughout.[1]

THE DEFECT IN FORM.

4. A defect in the form of ordination, the words used being "Take the Holy Ghost, and remember that thou stir up," as in 2 Tim. i, 6, 7, whereas it is claimed that the name of the office or order to which the person ordained is admitted should be part of the form. But this is the exact form used in some of the Latin services of the old Church, and never questioned. The essence of ordination in the Catholic sense is prayer and imposition of hands, and the form of words is indifferent.[2]

THE DEFECT OF INTENTION.

5. A defect in intention. Did the English ordinal intend to consecrate a priest or bishop in the Catholic sense? This is the gravamen of the Roman objections. Leo XIII says, No, because a Catholic intention in ordination points to one who is to sacrifice the unbloody offering of the mass, and not to a minister or priest who is to consecrate elements which are sacramentally the body and blood of Christ and to be received spiritually. Everything that sets forth the "dignity and office of the priesthood in the Catholic rite has been deliberately removed from the Anglican ordinal.[3] In the whole ordinal not only is there no clear mention of the sacrifice, of consecration, of the sacerdotium, and of the power of consecration and offering sacrifice, but every trace of these things in the Latin rites is purposely struck out."[4] This is the vital point, and from the Roman standpoint it completely vitiates English orders. The only reply from the Anglican side is to say, "We intend to do what the ancient Church intended to do in conferring orders, and if you require more than that, so much the worse for you." Then Rome could say, "The Catholic Church is a living organism, and to be part of it you must be in harmony with mediæval and present Christendom as well as with what you think was the ancient teaching."

If 286 people (including 46 women) perished for Protestantism under Mary, not including those who died in prison—computed at 68—204 perished for Catholicism under Elizabeth.[5] Of these latter

[1] For text of Edw. ordinal see Cardwell, Two Liturgies of Edw. VI, pp. 398 ff.

[2] See Brightman, What Objections have been Made to English Orders, Lond., 1897, in publications of Church Historical Society, i, 153 ff.

[3] Leo's Bull on English Orders, §7. [4] *Ibid.*, § 8.

[5] See full table of Marian martyrs in Perry, ii, 251. For Elizabethan martyrs see Butler, Memoirs of English, Irish, and Scottish Catholics, i, 176 ff.; Lee, Church under Queen Elizabeth, i, 140 ff., ii, *passim*; Brady, Annals of the Catholic Hierarchy in England and Scotland, Rome, 1877, pp. 37-60; Milner, Letters to a Prebendary, 1st ed., often reprinted.

15 are said by Milner to have died for denying the queen's spiritual supremacy, 126 for exercising the priesthood, and the others for returning to the old Church or for succoring priests. This does not include those who died for real or imaginary plots, nor the 90 who died in prison, nor the 105 who were banished. "I say nothing," says Milner, "of many more who were whipped, fined (the fine for recusancy —not attending church—was £20 a month), or stripped of their property to the utter ruin of their families. In one night 50 Catholic gentlemen in the county of Lancaster were suddenly seized and committed to prison on account of their nonattendance at church. At the same time I find an equal number of Yorkshire gentlemen lying prisoners in York Castle on the same account, most of whom perished there. These were every week, for a twelvemonth together, dragged by main force to hear the established service performed in the castle chapel." Under the pretext of treason, to which, of course, they made themselves liable for refusing to acknowledge the queen as the religious dictator of England, many of them were put to death with the horrible barbarity which the laws sanctioned, namely, hung, cut down alive, disemboweled, and beheaded. Tudor history has made us familiar with all this, and it is not necessary to dwell upon it; but there was one peculiarity of the penal processes under Elizabeth which gives her reign a bad preeminence—the universal use of torture. This was employed occasionally by her predecessors, but in her reign this horrible method of eliciting the desired information or confessions was employed on the wholesale.[1]

ATTITUDE OF THE CHURCH TOWARD ROMAN CATHOLICS.

USE OF TORTURE.

For this persecution it cannot be denied that there was provocation. First: Pius V, a pope of austere morals and profound convictions of duty, but without statesmanship or insight, issued a bull of excommunication against Elizabeth, February 25, 1570, in which she was deprived of her crown and her subjects absolved from allegiance.[2] Although this

POPE'S BULL OF EXCOMMUNICATION.

[1] For full details see Butler, i, 180 ff.; Burke, Historical Portraits of the Tudor Dynasty, iv, 97 ff.; Lee, ii, 279 ff. and elsewhere.

[2] For the text of this bull in Latin and English see Sanders, De Origine ac Progressu Schismatis Anglicani, lib. iv, c. 8, tr. Lewis, Lond., 1877, first pub. 1585; Tierney, Dodd's Church Hist. of England, iii, p. ii; W. E. Collins, The English Reformation and its Consequences, Lond., 1898, pp. 242 ff. The bull was rescinded by Gregory XIII, April 5, 1580, so far as it bound English Catholics in their present circumstances, but was renewed by Sixtus V on condition of the success of the Armada. For Sixtus's bull see Butler, i, 197; and for his interest in the Armada see Hübner, Sixtus V, i, 352 ff.

bull fell absolutely flat, and was either practically or expressly repudiated by almost every responsible Catholic in England, it yet gave occasion for untold suffering.

Second: This bull gave excuse to Philip to fit out his Invincible Armada, 1588, as the Spaniards foolishly called it—armada being the Spanish name for any armed fleet. How this great enterprise of one hundred and twenty ships went to pieces against the better ships, the heavier guns, and the more trained marksmanship and seamanship of the English sailors—helped by adverse winds and storms—is a familiar story. The victory of 1588 was repeated for exactly the same reasons—except storms—by the American victories of Manila and Santiago in 1898. Here again the loyalty of the Catholics was unimpeachable. The admiral of the English fleet was himself a Catholic, Lord Howard of Effingham, and Catholics freely offered themselves for their country. "The very presence of such a man as Admiral Howard," says the historian Gardiner, "was a token of patriotic fervor of which Philip and the Jesuits had taken no account, but which made the great majority of Catholics draw their sword for their queen and country."[1]

THE SPANISH ARMADA.

Third: A seminary was established for the education of English priests at Douai, in Flanders, in 1568, and the mission of these priests was the reconversion of England. The missioners were bent on religious work only, refrained from political intrigue, and rejoiced in martyrdom for their faith. No doubt they would have welcomed the succession of a Catholic, and some of them may have been parties to plots; but it is incontestable that the missioners as a class confined themselves to ministering in spiritual things in furtive ways, and in constant dread of death. The assertion of some Anglican historians[2] that these priests were traitors seems absolutely without warrant. The facts are that of the 200 Catholics—more or less—who were executed under Elizabeth, only one impugned her title to the throne; that the priests persisted to the moment of death in denying their guilt, except in matters of faith and their mission as priests; and that no treason was proved. Although the trials were, as usual in those days, conducted with barbarous disregard for justice, there is not an instance in which the tortures on which their judges depended produced a confession of guilt, even if a confession extorted by torture is valueless as evidence.

THE DOUAI SEMINARY.

One of the most pious and heroic of these priests, Edmund Cam-

[1] Students' Hist. of England, p. 460. [2] For instance, Perry, ii, 357.

pion, spoke for his brethren as well as himself in his trial. "You refuse," said the persecutor, "to swear to the oath of supremacy?" "I acknowledge," answered Campion, "her highness as my governor and sovereign. I acknowledged before the commissioners her majesty to be my queen both *de facto* and *de jure.*" When the question was put to him whether a papal excommunication of a sovereign absolved him from allegiance, he answered that though he could not admit that it would, yet the question was a scholastic one, in dispute among theologians, and as it formed no part of the indictment it ought not to be asked. At his execution he again protested his innocence of offense against the queen: "In this I am innocent; this is my last breath; in this give me credit. I have, and I do pray for her." Lord Charles Howard asked him for which queen he prayed, for Elizabeth the queen? Campion replied, "Yes, for Elizabeth, your queen and my queen."[1]

EDMUND CAMPION.

This was an age of assassination, and there is no wonder if plots were hatched to make away with Elizabeth. Nor can there be any doubt that at that time both Protestants and Catholics believed that the sudden and violent taking off of a ruler who to them was a tyrant and persecutor was considered perfectly justifiable. "Melanchthon prayed for a brave man to dispatch Henry VIII; the brave man who dispatched the duke of Guise was praised by Beza to the skies; Knox wished the doom of Rizzio to be inflicted on every Catholic; the Swedish bishops recommended that a dose of poison should be mixed with the king's food."[2] A fanatical Dominican stabbed Henry III of France in 1598, and Henry IV was put to death in the same way by Ravaillac in 1610, the king's life having been attempted nineteen times. Gerrards in 1584 shot William of Orange. The wonder is that more plots were not the outcome of the horrible dealings of this reign; for, as Hallam says, the disaffection of Catholics, so far as it existed, was due to their unjust persecution.[3]

PLOTS.

[1] Butler, i, 190, 191, 239, 240. See the remarkable testimony of Plowden, Remarks on a book entitled, Memoirs of Gregorio Panzain, 1794, quoted by Butler, i, 200-206. In view of the facts stated above, notice such a statement as this: "It is probable that at no time during the reign of Elizabeth would a Romanist priest who was ready to disclaim the deposing power of the pope, and to profess his loyal allegiance to the queen, have incurred sentence of death."—Perry, ii, 357.

[2] Lord Acton, in Quar. Rev., Lond., Jan., 1877, art. i.

[3] Constitutional Hist. of England, i, 160, 161. He attributes the "whole, or nearly the whole, of their disaffection to her unjust aggressions on the liberty of conscience."

(1) The insurrection of the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland in 1569, though in the Catholic interest, was left in the lurch by the Catholics generally.[1] (2) The supposed plot of Throgmorton in connection with the dukes of Guise, 1583, rests on no substantial basis. When racked he protested innocence, then on farther racking he confessed, afterward retracted his confession, and died asserting innocence. (3) Parry, first a Protestant spy employed by the queen's ministers, then a Catholic and a member of parliament, where he used his influence for toleration, was arrested on a charge of a plot to assassinate the queen, wrote a confession of it—perhaps with a view to pardon—and afterward, when condemned, retracted his confession, saying it was extorted from him by dread of torture, and cried out that he "never meant to kill the queen, and that he would lay his blood upon her and his judges before God and the world," and to this he adhered until his execution, March, 1585. It is no wonder that Hallam refuses to pronounce on his guilt.[2] (4) John Somerville, a son-in-law of Edward Arden, a relative of Mary (Arden) Shakespeare, the mother of the dramatist, was convicted of conspiracy with his father-in-law. The plot was probably the invention of Leicester, the enemy of the Ardens.[3] (5) The only plot that is well on the field of history is that of Babington, in which Mary Queen of Scots, then a prisoner at Fotheringay, nine miles from Peterborough, was implicated. Even of the genuineness of this plot there are doubts, and historians are divided. Walsingham, one of the great men that survived Elizabeth, had reduced deception to an exact science, and it is acknowledged by all that he used this science in entrapping Mary in his toils, though as to the reality of a continental plan for the restoration of Catholicism in England, to which through Walsingham's agency Mary fell victim, there can be no doubt.

THE BABINGTON PLOT.

A recent writer says that the "real fountain head of Babington's, or, as some have called it, Walsingham's conspiracy, and the chief confederates, were spies in the pay of Walsingham, and all the correspondence of Mary and her friends passed through his hands."

[1] "The mass of the Catholics throughout the country made no sign; and the earls no sooner halted in the presence of this unexpected inaction than their army caught the panic and dispersed. . . . It was the general inaction of the Catholics which had foiled the hopes of the northern earls."—Green, Short Hist., Lond. ed., p. 383.

[2] *L. c.*, i, 161, note. See Butler, i, 249–254.

[3] Butler, i, 254; Baynes, Shakespeare, in Encyc. Brit., 9th ed., xxi, 790. Hallam calls Somerville a half-lunatic.

Mary charged him with having interpolated the last letter of Babington, which was the principal evidence of her complicity in the plot to murder Elizabeth. "His administration of foreign affairs was founded on a system of bribery, espionage, and deception. He is said to have had in his pay fifty-three agents and eighteen spies in various countries."[1] In an age when diplomacy was universally tainted with intrigues and lies, the astute Walsingham would no doubt have considered that he was doing God's service in encompassing the death of one who he must have believed endangered England while she lived. The trial of Mary was, as Hallam says, an illustration of that "shameful breach of legal rules almost universal in trials of high treason during the reign of Elizabeth."[2]

Such are the palliations of the restored Church-State's persecutions of the Catholics. When we consider the splendid loyalty of the Catholics in the face of unparalleled provocation, the murderous venom of her tortures and hangings stains the history of the Church of England in her hour of triumph with ineffaceable dishonor and reproach.[3]

THE CHURCH'S ATTITUDE TOWARD THE PROTESTANTS.

The persecution of the Puritans, as the Protestant party in the Church of England came to be called, and the martyrdom of the Congregationalists, will be considered later. From the English Reformation, as finally established under Elizabeth, has evolved the Church of England, which has continued without radical change to the twentieth century.

[1] Art. Walsingham, Sir Francis, in Chambers' Encyc., ed. 1893, x, 540.

[2] *L. c.*, i, 164.

[3] There is much of truth in this complaint of a Catholic writer: "For three centuries and more, according to their opportunities and the progressive stages of opinion and civilization, the Anglicans have burned us and hanged us, ripped us up, confiscated our private property, seized our churches, universities, ecclesiastical titles and revenues, kept us out of parliament, insulted our hierarchy, and in all possible ways made the exercise of our faith difficult."—Cor. of The Tablet, Lond., Feb. 17, 1877.

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CHAPTER IX.

THE SCOTTISH REFORMATION—THE MARTYR PERIOD.

THE moral and intellectual degradation of the Roman Church in Scotland, which portended a reformation, has already been described.[1] In beginning a treatment of the Reformation itself it is well to speak first of those brave witnesses whose blood was the seed of a purer Church.

As early as 1407 John Resby, a Lollard, was burned for heresy, and in 1432 Paul Craw, a Bohemian Husite, suffered the same fate at St. Andrews. To prevent his giving testimony at his burning, his mouth was gagged by a ball of brass. But the martyrdom itself was a sufficient testimony. In 1494 several men and women were brought up before the archbishop of Glasgow. From the articles of accusation, which Knox copied from the Glasgow registers, it appears that they denied the lawfulness of images, worship of relics, war, tithes, indulgences, papal jurisdiction over purgatory, swearing, priestly celibacy, transubstantiation, excommunications, and worship of the Virgin. They held that we are not more bound to pray in the kirk than in other places, that we are not bound to believe all the doctors of the kirk have written, that such as worship the "sacrament of the kirk" commit idolatry, that the pope is Antichrist, that he and his ministers are murderers, and that they who are called principals in the Church are thieves and robbers.[2] King James IV himself presided at this trial, and so aptly and vigorously did the Lollards of Kyle, as they were called, defend themselves, that for that and other reasons the king would not allow them to be put to death. They were dismissed with the caution to give up their heresies.

EARLY MARTYRS.

Whether through the influence of the king or for other reasons, no one suffered on account of faith for several years. The Lollard preaching still went on; Tyndale's Bibles were circulated; and the way was preparing for Knox. Eventually alarm spread through

[1] See above, i, 645–647. For a fuller description see McCrie, Life of Knox, 6th ed., pp. 9–15.

[2] Works of John Knox, ed. Laing, Edinb., 1846, vol. i, pp. 8 ff. Calderwood, Hist. of the Kirk of Scotland (Wodrow Soc.), i, 50 ff. Calderwood thinks it doubtful whether some of these charges were not false.

the Church, and in 1525 the Scottish parliament responded to it by an act of unmistakable tenor. "Forasmuch as damnable heresies are being spread in divers countries by the heretic Luther and his disciples, and this realm and lieges have firmly persisted in the holy faith since the same was first received by them, and never as yet admitted any opinions contrary to the Christian faith, but ever have been clean of all such filth and vice; therefore, that no manner of person—stranger—that happens to arrive with the ship within any part of this realm, bring with them any books or works of the said Luther's, his disciples or servants, dispute or rehearse his heresies or opinions unless it be to the confusion thereof, under the pain of escheating of their ship and goods, and putting of their person in prison." It appears that the Leith and other east coast town skippers had carried on quite a profitable trade in Tyndale's Bibles, which were printed in Cologne.[1] Scotland was in a fair way of being leavened with Protestantism, and this aroused the Church authorities to look around again for victims. This time their eye met a shining mark.

PARLIAMENTARY ACT AGAINST LUTHERAN WRITINGS.

Patrick Hamilton, of knightly blood on his father's side and of royal blood on his mother's (though both parents were illegitimate), the cousin of two bishops and related to other persons in high places, was a brilliant young Scotchman of pure and noble character. He graduated at the university of Paris in 1520 and then proceeded to Louvain, where a college for the study of Hebrew, Greek, and Latin had been founded in 1507 under the direction of Erasmus, that he might pursue linguistic studies under the great Humanist.[2] He returned to Scotland, entered the university of St. Andrews, where he was soon made teacher, but his defending the reading of Tyndale's Bible brought the wrath of the authorities upon him, and he fled to the Continent. He then proceeded to the new university of Marburg, founded under Protestant auspices, where Tyndale, Frith, and Lambert were carrying on their fruitful studies. Here these four earnest and true-hearted lovers of truth were preparing themselves for that baptism of fire which they were to receive—one from the Spanish author-

PATRICK HAMILTON.

[1] N. S. Walker, Scotch Church History, Edinb., 1882, p. 27.

[2] The university of Louvain itself was much older, founded in 1425 or 1426. Five or six thousand students were in attendance during the heyday of its prosperity—its first one hundred and fifty years. The French Revolution swept it away, but it was restored in 1835, and still continues the center of Catholicism and conservatism.

ities of Belgium, one from the Catholic authorities of Scotland, and two from the Episcopal rulers of England. It was here that Hamilton composed that admirable treatise on the faith which Knox prints entire in his history of the Reformation in Scotland.[1] But the pious young scholar yearned to preach the truth in his native land. He therefore returned, but was seized, condemned to the flames, and suffered with heroic constancy in a lingering fire, at St. Andrews, February 29, 1528. Hamilton had attained the full joy and glory of the Protestant faith, and has the honor, perhaps, of being in the full sense the first martyr of the Scotch Reformation. The early death of this enthusiastic scholar, with his winning personal character and Christian spirit, made a profound impression in Scotland, so that his death wrought more harm to the Catholic faith than his life. "The reek of Master Patrick Hamilton," said one of the retainers of the archbishop of St. Andrews, "has infected as many as it did blow upon." "When those cruel wolves had, as they supposed," says Knox, "clean devoured the prey, they found themselves in worse case than they were before; for then within St. Andrews, yea, almost the whole realm who heard of that fact, there was found none who began not to inquire, Wherefore was Master Patrick Hamilton burnt?"[2]

The reforming principles spread and the fires were kept burning. Gourley and Straiton were burned at Greenside, Edinburgh, in 1534, and Henry Forrest at St. Andrews the same year.[3] In February, 1538, Robert Forrester, gentleman, Duncan Simpson, priest, Friar Kyller, Friar Beveridge, and Dean Thomas Forrest were burned at one stake on Castle Hill, Edinburgh. Of the last named a contemporary historian tells a racy anecdote which reveals the spirit of the old Church and of the new better than a lengthy description.

[1] Laing's ed., i, 19 ff.

[2] Works, i, 36. The late Professor Lorimer wrote an excellent life of Patrick Hamilton, Edinb., 1857; and T. P. Johnson has made him the subject of a drama, Edinb., 1882. See also Laing, Appendix iii to his ed. of Knox, Works, i, 500 ff. Hamilton, says Hetherington, "died a victim to the malice and treachery of the popish priesthood; but his death did more to recommend the cause for which he suffered to the heart of Scotland than could have been accomplished by a lengthened life, as a sudden flash of lightning at once rends the gnarled oak of a thousand years, and yields a glimpse of the strong glories of heaven."—Hist. of the Church of Scotland, N. Y. ed., p. 26. Calderwood prints—i, 80 ff.—a letter of congratulation of the university of Louvain to the "archbishop of St. Andrews and doctors of Scotland, commending them for the death of Mr. Patrick Hamilton."

[3] Calderwood, i, 96, 97.

"Dean Thomas Forrest, vicar of Dolor, preached every Sunday to his parishioners the epistle or gospel as it fell for the time, which then was a great novelty in Scotland, to see any man preach except a Black friar or a Gray friar. Therefore the friars envied him, and accused him to the bishop of Dunkell, in whose diocese he remained, as a heretic, and one that showed the mysteries of the Scriptures to the vulgar people in English to make the clergy detestable in the sight of the people. The bishop, moved by the friars' instigation, called the said Dean Thomas, and said to him, 'My joy, Dean Thomas, I love you well, and therefore I must give you my counsel how you shall rule and guide yourself.' To whom Thomas said, 'I thank your lordship heartily.' Then the bishop began his counsel on this manner: 'My joy, Dean Thomas, I am informed that you preach the epistle or gospel every Sunday to your parishioners, and that you take not the cow nor the upmost cloth from your parishioners, which thing is very prejudicial to the churchmen,[1] and, therefore, my joy, Dean Thomas, I would you took your cow and upmost cloth, as other churchmen do, or else it is too much to preach every Sunday; for in so doing you may make the people think that we should preach likewise. But it is enough for you, when you find any good epistle or any good gospel, that setteth forth the liberty of the holy Church, to preach that, and let the rest be.' Thomas answered, 'My lord, I think none of my parishioners will complain that I take not the cow nor the uppermost cloth, but will gladly give me the same, together with any other thing they have; and I will give and communicate with them any thing that I have. And so, my lord, we agree right well, and there is no discord among us. And where your lordship saith it is too much to preach every Sunday, indeed I think it is too little, and also would wish that your lordship did the like.' 'Nay, nay, Dean Thomas,' said my lord, 'let that be, for we are not ordained to preach.' Then said Thomas, 'Where your lordship biddeth me preach when I find any good epistle or a good gospel, truly, my lord, I have read the New Testament and the Old, and all the epistles and gospels, and among them all I could never find any evil epistle or evil gospel. But if your lordship will show me the good epistle and the good gospel, and the evil epistle and the evil gospel, then I shall preach the good, and omit the evil.' Then spake my lord stoutly, and said, 'I thank God that I never knew what the

PREACHING BY THOMAS FORREST.

[1] The corpse present of a cow and the uppermost cloth, or coverlet, of the bed, was demanded by the priest on the death of a parishioner.

Old and the New Testament was! Therefore, Dean Thomas, I will know nothing but my portuise [breviary] and my pontifical.'[1] Of these words arose a proverb, which is common in Scotland, 'Ye are like the bishop of Dunkelden, that knew neither the new law nor the old law.' 'Go your way,' said my lord, 'and let be all these phantasies; for if you persevere in these erroneous opinions, you will repent it when you may not mend it.' Thomas said, 'I trust my cause is just in the presence of God, and therefore I pass not much what do follow thereupon.' So my lord and he departed at that time. But soon a summons was directed, as we have heard."[2]

RUSSELL AND KENNEDY AT GLASGOW.

In 1538 a young friar, Jerome Russell, and a boy of eighteen, Kennedy of Ayr, perished at the same stake in Glasgow. Kennedy shrank from giving up his young life in so fearful a manner, but later, as the diligent old chronicler says, "inward comfort began to burst forth as well in visage as in tongue and word; for his countenance began to be cheerful and with a joyful heart and loud voice he uttered these words upon his knees: 'O eternal God! how wonderful is that love and mercy which thou bearest to mankind, and unto me, the most miserable wretch and caitiff, above all others. For even now when I would have denied thee and thy Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, and so have cast myself into everlasting damnation, thou by thy own hand hath pulled me out from the very bottom of hell and made me to feel that heavenly comfort which taketh from me that ungodlie feare wherewith before I was oppressed. Now I defie death; do what you please; I praise my God I am ready.'" When the persecutors railed upon Russell he answered: "This is your hour and power of darkness; now sit ye as judges, and we stand wrongfully accused, and more wrongfully to be condemned. But the day shall come when our innocence shall appear, and you shall see your own blindness, to your everlasting confusion. Go forward, and fulfill the measures of your iniquity."[3]

VICTIMS AT PERTH.

In Perth, 1543, five men and one woman met their death for heresy. The case of the woman, Helen Stark, was peculiarly diabolical. She had recently given birth to a child, and in the anguish of labor, when urged by the midwife to cry to the Virgin Mary, she answered that she could pray to God only. For this she was accused of heresy and condemned to die with her husband, one of these Perth martyrs. After witness-

[1] The pontifical was the mass book used by a bishop.

[2] Foxe, v, 622; Calderwood, i, 127.

[3] Calderwood, i, 133, 134.

ing his death by hanging she was dragged to a pool of water with her infant clinging to her bosom. She handed the babe to a kind neighbor and then gave herself up to death in the whelming waters, Scottish law making drowning the death penalty for women.

GEORGE WISHART.

The last of the noble army of Protestant martyrs whose blood has consecrated the soil of Scotland was George Wishart, schoolmaster and preacher. We first find him master of the grammar school at Montrose, where he taught his pupils the Greek Testament (Greek being then practically unknown in Scotland), for which in 1538 he was summoned before John Hepburn, bishop of Brechin. To save his life he fled to England, and for three or four years lived there and on the Continent. We next find him, 1543, at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge; in 1544 or 1545 he returned to Scotland and from that time until his arrest was employed in preaching the Gospel in various parts of Scotland.

While laboring in East Lothian he was the instrument of the conversion of John Knox. But he was betrayed into the hands of Cardinal Beaton and was burned at St. Andrews, March, 1546. The proud and luxurious cardinal witnessed the agony of Wishart from a castle window, and in one of those moments of spiritual exaltation in which the mind has an almost preternatural insight, the dying martyr, like Jacob, uttered a prophecy: "He who in such state from that high place feedeth his eyes with my torment within a few days shall be hanged out of the same window, to be seen with as much ignominy as he now leaneth there in pride." This made a deep impression on the bystanders, and they remembered the words when the vengeance of God overtook the slaughterer of his saints.[1]

[1] See Foxe, Acts and Monuments, ed. Cattley, v, 625-636; Calderwood, i, 184 ff.; Knox, i, 149 ff.; Hetherington, 30 ff. Patrick Fraser Tytler, the Episcopal historian of Scotland, tries to prove in his Hist. of Scotland, v, 343, that Wishart was privy to the assassination of Beaton. His main evidence is that a name similar to his appears among the men who were supposed to have been hired by the laird of Brunstone, in collusion with Henry VIII, to put away the cardinal. But (1) there is no evidence that, if the names are the same, they refer to our Wishart; (2) those who executed judgment on Beaton were not the English committee, but Scotchmen who wanted not English gold, but had their own terrible accounts to settle with the proud and licentious cardinal; (3) Wishart's character as a peace-loving scholar and preacher makes his embroilment in a scheme of assassination exceedingly improbable; (4) there are also chronological difficulties. See the remarks of David Laing in App. ix to his ed. of Knox,

The Scotch Reformation was thus early baptized by the blood of the martyrs. This awful history left an ineffaceable impression on the Scotch mind, and has doubtless been one of the reasons for the hearty Protestantism of North Britain. Nor has the impression been counteracted by any persecution on the other side. No Roman Catholic perished in the fire, and but one or two on the gallows, during Protestant ascendency in Scotland. Catholics were banished, not burnt.[1] If Scotland ever returns to either the Roman or Anglican type of Catholicism, it will be because she has turned a deaf ear to the teachings of history.

A CONTRAST IN PERSECUTION.

Works, vol. i; Thomas McCrie, Scottish Church History, 6th ed., i, 39-42; Hetherington, Appendix No. 1. Tytler's conjecture is accepted without proof by the eminent Roman Catholic historian of the Catholic Church of Scotland, Bellesheim, Edinb., 1897, ii, 167, and in a footnote to that page the translator, Father Blair, states that the identity of the emissary with the martyr "is established beyond doubt by the recently published correspondence, and preserved in the State Paper Office," but gives no proof. The High Church author of the History of the Church of Scotland, Dean Luckock, in the National Churches series, Lond., 1893, p. 119, repeats the charge, also without bringing forward proof, but adding that Wishart's "act is strangely condoned or ignored by Protestant biographers"—a statement singularly incorrect, as almost every Protestant writer who has treated of Scottish Reformation history since Tytler's time refers to it. This is even true of Professor Moffat's compact History of the Church in Scotland, Phil., 1882, p. 353. The oldest authorities do not mention the prophecy of Wishart.

[1] In 1573 a priest, named Thomas Robison, suffered death, and the next year another, though there is some doubt whether these two are not one and the same person. The Jesuit Father Ogilvie perished on the scaffold March 10, 1615, but this was under the Episcopal rule of Archbishop Spotiswood. See Bellesheim, iii, 230, 417. The laws were sufficient; the Scotch Protestants simply did not care to execute them. Of course Catholics suffered various disabilities and hardships, but on the whole their treatment for that age was remarkably tolerant. How different from the wholesale butcheries of Protestants by Catholics on the Continent!

CHAPTER X.

JOHN KNOX.

THE Reformation in Scotland, like that in Germany and Switzerland, but unlike that in England, gathered round a great personality, who summed up its principles in his own intense convictions and self-sacrificing life. It is a strange thing that we know very little of John Knox until he had reached the age of forty, and was launched without his desire on the stormy sea of reform. He burst forth almost from the unknown, like Elijah and John the Baptist. Born of peasant parents in or near Haddington in 1505, educated at the university of Glasgow, where he sat for a year under the instruction of John Major, the Renaissance teacher, who afterward made such a brilliant record in Paris, he disappears from view until he emerges in 1540 as a notary and priest in his native district. In 1543 he was still a faithful Catholic, for he describes himself in a notarial deed, "John Knox, minister of the sacred altar of the diocese of St. Andrews, notary by apostolical authority," and he dates the deed in such a year "of the pontificate of our most holy Father and Lord in Christ, the Lord Paul, pope by the providence of God." But between that and 1546 a change had come over Knox, for we then find him defending Wishart, and the next year, 1547, he is preaching in the Church of St. Andrews against the pope as the head of an antichristian system. We may therefore, humanly speaking, attribute the conversion of Knox to the influence of the life of the beautiful-souled Wishart, whose martyrdom sealed a greater than he to an irrevocable break with the hierarchy, and to the work for which his own life had been poured out—the restoration of biblical Christianity in Scotland. "Si Stephanus non orasset," says St. Augustine, "ecclesia Paulum non haberet."[1] When Wishart saw that his own time had come and Knox pressed to go with him, the earnest preacher forbade him, saying, "Nay, return to your bairns, and God bless you! One is sufficient for one sacrifice."

KNOX'S EARLIER CAREER.

WISHART'S INFLUENCE UPON KNOX.

Did Knox come into the light by the quiet path of intellectual enlightenment, like Melanchthon, or by a spiritual rebirth which

[1] Serm. i and iv, in Festo sancti Stephani.

meant a ~~total~~ change of front, a complete dislocation and rupture with the old faith? Unfortunately Knox's own most interesting and valuable history of his work gives but little light.[1] There remains, however, a short prayer or confession, which Knox wrote in a dark period of the Reformation, 1566, perhaps to reassure his faith and strengthen his confidence in God. From this the latest and one of the best biographers of Knox, A. Taylor Innes, infers spiritual struggles, from which he issued forth, like Luther, to bear testimony to that which he had felt and seen.

KNOX'S CONFESSION.

JOHN KNOX, WITH DELIBERATE MIND, TO HIS GOD.

"Be merciful unto me, O Lord, and call not into judgment my manifold sins; and chiefly those whereof the world is not able to accuse me. In youth, mid age, and now after many battles, I find nothing in me but vanity and corruption. For in quietness I am negligent; in trouble, impatient, tending to desperation; and in the mean [middle] state I am so carried away with vain fantasies, that alas! O Lord, they withdraw me from the presence of thy Majesty. Pride and ambition assault me on the one part, covetousness and malice trouble me on the other; briefly, O Lord, the affections of the flesh do almost suppress the operation of thy Spirit. I take thee, O Lord, who only knowest the secrets of hearts, to record, that in none of the foresaid do I delight; but that with them I am troubled, and that sore against the desire of my inward man, which sobs for my corruption, and would repose in thy mercy alone. To the which I clame [cry] in the promise that thou hast made to all penitent sinners (of whose number I profess myself to be one) in the obedience and death of my only Saviour, our Lord Jesus Christ. In whom, by thy mere grace, I doubt not myself to be elected to eternal salvation, whereof Thou hast given unto me (unto me, O Lord, most wretched and unthankful creature) most assured signs. For being drowned in ignorance Thou hast given to me knowledge above the common sort of my brethren; my tongue hast thou used to set forth thy glory, to oppugne idolatry, errors, and false doctrine. Thou hast compelled me to forespeak, as well deliverance to the afflicted as destruction to certain inobedient, the performance whereof, not I alone, but the very blind world has already seen. But above all, O Lord, by the power of thy Holy

[1] The reference is to Knox's History of the Reformation in Scotland. Of this John Hill Burton says: "There certainly is in the English language no other parallel to it in the clearness, vigor, and picturesqueness with which it renders the history of a stirring period."—Hist. of Scotland, iii, 339.

Spirit, hast sealed unto my heart remission of sins, which I acknowledge and confess myself to have received by the precious blood of Jesus Christ once shed; in whose perfect obedience I am assured my manifold rebellions are defaced, my grievous sins purged, and my soul made the tabernacle of thy Godly Majesty—thou, O Father of mercies, thy Son, our Lord Jesus, my only Saviour, Mediator, and Advocate, and thy Holy Spirit, remaining in the same by true faith, which is the only victory that overcometh the world." [1]

The last part of this beautiful confession certainly refers to the gladness of triumph through faith in Christ. But when and how this new life came to Knox we have no means of knowing.

JOHN'S GOSPEL, CHAPTER XVII.

It was the seventeenth chapter of John's gospel which proved an evangel to Knox. "Go, read, when I cast my first anchor," he said to his wife the day before his death. "And she read the seventeenth of John's gospel." It was this gospel which he had been expounding to his pupils at Longniddry, to whom Wishart sent him back; and when he was received into the castle of St. Andrews, which some bold men in sympathy with reform had taken possession of after the assassination of the bloody Beaton, he began to explain this gospel at a certain hour each day, starting where he left off at Longniddry. But he had taken no public function in relation to the new movement. The men of St. Andrews had urged him to preach, but he refused, alleging that he could not run where God had not called. They were sure of his call, however, if he was not, and so they told their preacher, John Rough, after a sermon on the power of the Church to call men to the ministry, to summon Knox to the work. Knox himself tells the story:

KNOX'S CALL TO PREACH.

"The said John Rough, preacher, directed his words to the said John Knox, saying, 'Brother, ye shall not be offended, albeit that I speak unto you that which I have in charge, even from all those that are here present, which is this: In the name of God, and of his Son, Jesus Christ, and in the name of these that presently called you by my mouth, I charge you, that ye refuse not his holy vocation, but that as ye tender the glory of God, the increase of Christ his kingdom, the edification of your brethren, and the comfort of me, whom ye understand well enough to be oppressed by the multitude of labors, that ye take upon you the public office and charge of preaching, even as ye look to avoid God's heavy displeasure, and desire that he shall multiply his graces with you.' And in the end he said to those that were present, 'Was

[1] Works, vi, 483.

not this your charge to me? And do ye not approve this vocation?' They answered, 'It was; and we approve it.' Whereat the said John, abashed, burst forth in most abundant tears and withdrew himself to his chamber. His countenance and behavior, from that day till the day that he was compelled to present himself to the public place of preaching, did sufficiently declare the grief and trouble of his heart; for no man saw any sign of mirth of him, neither yet had he pleasure to accompany any man, many days together."[1]

This was the second turning point in Knox's life. He spent a week of seclusion in the castle in prayer, meditation, and study, and when he came out he had taken up the cross. He not only determined to be the advocate of the despised Protestants, but he had apparently thought out from the Scriptures all the main lines of his work, policy, and doctrines. In the very first sermon he preached he denounced the whole Church system as antichristian, and took the latest Puritan ground that even in ceremonies we must wait upon the voice of God, "that man may neither make nor devise a religion that is acceptable to God." KNOX'S FIRST SERMON. Both theology and polity must be derived from Scripture, and Knox added this, that the magistrate has the power to reform religion and Church—a mistake founded on a misapplication of Rom. xiii, 4, but one natural, perhaps inevitable, for the times. But the great truth which he grasped with satisfying clearness was that the call of God comes to every man direct, without any intervention except the open word. This was the glory of his message—a message which quickened all Scotland and started it on its career of intellectual and spiritual achievement. Nor did Knox claim any special inspiration above other believers, or to be in any miraculous sense a prophet of God. He was not a prophet by unique revelation, but he was a witness-bearer of unique consecration. He rejoiced with all his brethren in "that doctrine and that heavenly religion whereof it hath pleased his merciful providence to make me, among others, a simple soldier and witness-bearer unto men."[2]

[1] Works, i, 187, 188.

[2] Works, iii, 155. Some of Knox's biographers have assumed a special supernatural call and endowment which fitted him to be a prophet in the sense of both a forthteller and a foreteller. Mrs. McCunn, in her excellent Life, says that he "constantly claimed the position accorded to the Hebrew prophets, and claimed it on the same grounds as they." P. Hume Brown hints at the same when he tells "how completely Knox identified his action with that of the Hebrew prophets"—i, 84. To this it may be said on the one hand (1) that Knox was a profound student of the Old Testament, and had all the freedom,

In 1547 St. Andrews was captured by a foreign fleet, and Knox and his companions were carried to France to serve in the galleys. "It was the specialty of France," says Hume Brown, "that it utilized heretics by converting them into galley slaves. . . . And if any form of torture could break men's spirits into playing false to their convictions, it may safely be said that one more effective could hardly be devised than the life of a slave in a French galley. The crew of one of these vessels amounted to

KNOX A GALLEY SLAVE.

boldness, and ethical and religious enthusiasm of the prophets; and (2) that he sometimes gave forth marvelous predictions which were marvelously verified. "I dare not deny (lest in so doing I should be injurious to the giver) but that God hath revealed to me secrets unknown to the world; and also that he hath made my tongue a trumpet to forewarn realms and nations, yea, certain great personages, of translations and changes, when no such things were feared, nor yet were appearing; a portion whereof cannot the world deny (be it never so blind) to be fulfilled, and the rest, alas! I fear shall follow with greater expedition and in more full perfection than my sorrowful heart desireth. These revelations and assurances, notwithstanding, I did ever abstain to commit anything to writ, contented only to have obeyed the charge of him who commanded me to cry."—Works, vi, 230. But this must not be pressed too far, for, on the other hand, it is true that the predictions formed no important part of his preaching, nor did he lay any store by them. When some urged him in 1572 to "enter into a particular determination of the present troubles," he replied that, "as I never exceeded the bounds of God's Scriptures, so will I not do in this part by God's grace."—Works, iii, 169. When some of his old friends seemed inclined to bring back the exiled Queen of the Scots, Knox denounced both the queen and themselves. They accused him of prejudging her and "entering into God's secret counsel." This charge troubled him greatly. "One thing that is most bitter to me," he says, "and most fearful, if that my accusers were able to prove their accusation, to wit, that I proudly and arrogantly entered into God's secret counsel as if I were called thereto. God be merciful to my accusators, of their rash and ungodly judgment. If they understood how fearful my conscience is, and ever has been, to exceed the bonds of my vocation, they could not so boldly have accused me. I am not ignorant that the secrets of God appertain to himself alone; but things revealed in his law appertain to us and our children forever. What I have spoken against the adultery, against the pride, and against the idolatry of that wicked woman, I spake not as one that entered God's secret counsel, but being one (of God's great mercy) called to preach according to his blessed will revealed in his most holy word"—vi, 592. It is incontestable that his work, both as a preacher and a reformer, was founded on the simple and scriptural principles which all could understand, and anything like miraculous knowledge of men or of the future were simply momentary intuitions which were infinitesimal in relation to the whole message and life of the man. Knox was not a Savonarola, though the two reformers had points of likeness. See the admirable treatment of the alleged prophetic calling of Knox in Innes, Life of Knox, pp. 39–44.

about one hundred and fifty men, and the usual complement of slaves was about three hundred. The rowers' benches were fixed at right angles to the vessel's sides, and to each of these benches were chained from four to six slaves, who sat on them without change of posture by day, and slept under them by night, absolutely without shelter at all seasons of the year. The officers in charge of the slaves, known as the *comite*, moved along the coursier, whip in hand, applying it to the bare shoulders of every wretch who showed signs of lagging in his work. . . . Beyond the physical horror of his surroundings, the character of his fellows in misery must have frozen the heart of the victim, who had known the sanctities of life and who was there for no other crime than the scrupulous interpretation of the leading of his conscience. Chained to the same oar might be the thief and the murderer, the Turk and the Moor, from whose presence he could not escape for one hour throughout the years it was his fate to live a life so unspeakably worse than death."[1] But through this horrible nightmare of his spirit, in spite of doubts and terrors, he kept his soul serene, and came out of this nineteen months' *inferno* chastened in spirit, but unconquered still in faith and hope.

KNOX IN ENGLAND.

The next five years (1549–54) were spent in England, where he rendered great service to the Edwardine reformers, and helped form the nucleus of that party which later, under the name of Puritans, became the saving element of English Christianity. He preached in many parts of England, became king's chaplain, and it was owing to his influence that King Edward's council placed the rubric in the Prayer Book to the effect that kneeling at the sacrament implies no adoration whatever—a rubric still preserved. "God gave boldness and knowledge," says Knox, "to the court of parliament to take away the round-clipped god [the wafer or lozengelike bread still used in the High Church celebration of the Lord's Supper] wherein standeth all the holiness of the papists, and to command common bread to be used at the Lord's table, and also to take away the most part of the superstitions (kneeling at the Lord's table excepted) which before profaned Christ's true religion."[2] Perhaps the Roman Catholic, Weston,

[1] John Knox, vol. i.

[2] Admonition to the Professors of the Truth in England, quoted in McCrie, Knox, p. 54. "He had influence," says McCrie, "to procure an important change in the communion office, completely excluding the notion of the corporal presence of Christ in the sacrament, guarding against the adoration of the elements, which was too much countenanced by the practice, still continued, of kneeling at their reception."—Life of John Knox, 6th ed., p. 53.

speaking in Mary's reign, exaggerates Knox's influence when he says that "a runagate Scot did take away the adoration or worshiping of Christ in the sacrament, by whose procurement that heresy was put into the last communion book; so much prevailed that one man's authority at that time." At any rate Knox's five years in England were by no means unfruitful.

KNOX ON THE CONTINENT.

The most of the next five years (1554–59) he spent on the Continent, for a while pastor of an English congregation in Frankfort, and after that holding the same office in Geneva. In this latter city Knox spent the happiest and most peaceful years of his life. There he had what was really the first Puritan congregation in history, and there he was able to carry out his own views as to church government and worship without fear either of Catholic nobles or avaricious half-Protestant lords.[1] The church order he drew up was that afterward adopted in Scotland; the Psalms of his Genevan church were the model for the English and Scotch versions; and, above all, the "Genevan Bible, prepared by the members of Knox's congregation at the very time he was their minister, continued for three quarters of a century thereafter to be the household book of the English-speaking nations."[2]

A VISIT TO SCOTLAND.

A visit to Scotland in 1555 was not without results. In his Letter of Wholesome Counsel to the nobles and other laymen he urges Scripture study: "Within your own houses, I say, in some cases, ye are bishops and kings; your wife, children, servants, and family are your bishopric and charge; of you it shall be required how carefully and diligently ye have always instructed them in God's true knowledge, how that ye have studied in them to plant virtue and repress vice. And therefore, I say, ye must make them partakers in reading, exhorting, and in making common prayers, which I would in every house were used once a day at least."[3]

He marked out a course for the reformed congregations which was a remarkable revival of the Pauline assemblies, but which he himself did not repeat in all its apostolic freedom when the Reformation was actually established in Scotland. This was left to Wesley to restore in the class meeting. "I think it necessary that for the conference [comparing] of Scriptures assemblies of brethren be had. The order therein to be observed is expressed by St. Paul, . . . after 'confession' and 'invocation' let some place of Scripture be plainly and distinctly read, so much as shall

[1] P. Hume Brown does justice to this aspect of Knox's life—i, 203 ff.
[2] Innes, p. 68.
[3] Works, iv, 129.

be thought sufficient for one day or time, which ended, if any brother have exhortation, question, or doubt, let him not fear to speak or move the same, so that he do it with moderation, either to edify, or to be edified. And hereof I doubt not but great profit shall shortly ensue; for, first, by hearing, reading, and conferring the Scriptures in the assembly, the whole body of the Scriptures of God shall become familiar, the judgments and spirits of men shall be tried, their patience and modesty shall be known, and finally the gifts and utterance shall appear." If any difficulty of interpretation occurs it shall be "put in writing before ye dismiss the congregation," with the view of consulting some wise adviser. Many would be glad to help them. "Of myself I will speak as I think; I will more gladly spend fifteen hours in communicating my judgment with you, in explaining as God pleases to open to me any place of Scripture, than half an hour in any matter beside." Why did not Knox carry out this scriptural program in the sequel? Was he afraid of the contentiousness of the northern mind and that pride of opinion which in exaggerated form has sometimes marked the perfervid Scot? Or did his experience with the continental Anabaptists and other enthusiastic religionists convince him that a more rigid form of service and doctrine was necessary for the times? No doubt it was this latter, as his letter "To the Brethren," from Dieppe, reveals.[1]

[1] Works, iv, 261.

CHAPTER XI.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF PROTESTANTISM IN SCOTLAND.

In spite of discouragements the reformed faith was winning its way. Many of the nobles and prominent men were irrevocably committed to it, and it only needed a few earnest preachers to go through the country in order to bring over the common people. Knox's rousing letters from the Continent were the next best thing to his personal presence. The Protestant lords and gentry met in Edinburgh and entered into a solemn compact to stand together for truth and right. This is the first of the "covenants" which mark the critical periods of Scottish history, and is one of the most notable as well as most noble documents in history:

FIRST COVENANT OF LORDS AND GENTRY.

"We perceiving how Satan, in his members the Antichrists of our time, cruelly doth rage, seeking to downthrow and destroy the evangel of Christ and his congregation, ought according to our bounden duty to strive in our Master's cause even unto death, being certain of the victory in him: the which, our duty being well considered, we do promise before the majesty of God and his congregation, that we by his grace shall with all diligence continually apply our whole power, substance, and very lives to maintain, set forward, and establish the most blessed word of God, and his congregation; and shall labor at our possibility to have faithful ministers purely and truly to minister Christ's evangel and sacraments to his people. We shall maintain them, nourish them, and defend them, the whole congregation of Christ, and every member thereof, at our whole powers, and wairing [expending] of our lives against Satan and all wicked power that does intend tyranny and trouble against the aforesaid congregation. Unto the which holy word and congregation we do join us; and also do renounce and forsake the congregation of Satan, with all the superstitions, abominations, and idolatry thereof. And moreover shall declare ourselves manifestly enemies thereto by this our faithful promise before God, testified to his congregation, by our subscription at these presents. At Edinburgh the 30 day of December, 1557 years. God called to witness."[1]

[1] Knox, Works, i, 273. A less formal covenant had already been entered into by the gentlemen of Mearns two years before.

What would not Luther have given if he could have had a declaration like that from the German princes! From the use of the word congregation to designate the assembly of God's true believers the Protestant nobles were called the lords of the congregation.

The next step was the resolution that common prayers be read in every church on Sunday, and that this should be done by the most qualified in the parish if the curate were incompetent. It was also resolved that preaching be "had and used privately in quiet houses, great meetings being avoided till God move the prince to grant the public preaching." The country was now ruled by Mary of Guise, widow of James V, who died in 1542, leaving as his only legitimate child the infant Mary, to be known in history as the most famous and unfortunate of the Scotch sovereigns. The French mother ruled as regent during the minority of the bairn—wily, conciliatory, not without a statesmanlike bent to compromise, but at heart a true Catholic. Several times on the verge of attempting to crush the Protestants, a show of strength on their part would lead her to withdraw her menaces and grant more concessions. Under her tentative partial toleration the reformed party consolidated and expanded.

MARY OF GUISE REGENT.

It is well known that the towns of Europe were the centers of liberty and movements toward self-government—"fortresses of freedom and the advance-guard of constitutional civilization." It was an important moment, therefore, when the congregation resolved that the brethren in every town "should assemble together. And this our weak beginning did God so bless that within a few months the hearts of many were so strengthened that we sought to have the face of a church among us." Dundee, for instance, "began to erect a face of a public church reformed."[1] In 1558 the "first petition of the Protestants of Scotland" was presented to the regent, in which they craved a "public reformation." Even the bishops went so far as to propose that the old Church should remain established, while the Protestants might privately pray in the vulgar tongue and baptize. This the reformers declined. After a time the regent "gave us permission to use ourselves godly, according to our desires, provided we should not make public assemblies in Edinburgh or Leith"—that is, in the capital. Some think that if it had not been for the pressure of the great scheme to unite the French and Scotch crowns, and thus, with the help of Spain, to dethrone Elizabeth and bring England back to the papal

[1] Works, i, 300.

obedience, Mary of Guise would have continued her tolerant policy, and Scotland would have been the first country in the world to grant complete freedom of worship. But such a consummation under a Guise would have presaged the millennium!

MARRIAGE OF MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

On April 24, 1558, the beautiful queen of Scotland at the age of sixteen was married to the boy heir to the French crown—the foolish girl putting her signature to a secret deed to the effect that if she died childless both her Scotch realm and her right of succession to the English throne (she was the great-granddaughter of Henry VII) were conveyed to France. Under such golden dreams the regent mother ceased her conciliatory attitude to the Protestants, and forbade unauthorized preaching. When they reminded her of her repeated promises, she replied that "it became not subjects to burden their princes with promises farther than it pleaseth them to keep the same"—an assertion that sounds well in the mouth of a Catholic Guise, and which more than one generation of men had good reason to remember under the "good old times" of the Stuarts.

Knox felt that his time was come. For better or worse, he must do his work in Scotland now. An excommunicated outlaw though he was, having been already burned in effigy, he appears suddenly on the scene. "I am come, I praise my God, even in the brunt of battle; for my fellow-preachers have a day appointed to answer before the queen regent on the 10th of this instant, where I intend, if God impede not, also to be present: by life, by death, or else by both, to glorify his good name, who thus mercifully has heard my long cries."[1] He landed May 2, 1559. A provincial council of the clergy was then sitting in Greyfriars, Edinburgh. It is said that the morning of May 3 a monk rushed in on the council in breathless haste, pale with terror, and exclaimed in broken words, "John Knox! John Knox is come! He slept last night in Edinburgh!" The council was panic-stricken and broke up in dismay[2]—recalling the words of the wise man, "The wicked flee when no man pursueth" (Prov. xxviii, 1).

KNOX'S RETURN TO SCOTLAND.

Knox was again declared an outlaw, but he had departed for Dundee, and thence for Perth, then the capital of Protestantism. He preached a vehement sermon against idolatry and other Catholic abuses and false doctrines, and began to pour courage into the hearts of the reformers. He traveled through other parts of the country, preaching everywhere his fiery sermons, calling the people back to the Gospel, and denouncing the corruptions of the Church

[1] Works, vi, 21. [2] Hetherington, Hist. of Church of Scotland, p. 42.

like a flaming evangel of wrath and truth. On the 16th of June, 1559, he appeared at the risk of his life in the old pulpit of St. Andrews, where he had first preached, and in which in his exile days he had prophesied he would yet again send forth the words of life. The archbishop said that if he appeared there he would give order to his soldiers to fire upon him. The Protestant lords were in doubt, fearing for Knox's life, yet greatly desiring to try the effect of his preaching at this critical juncture in that citadel of the faith—the ecclesiastical capital of the kingdom. They referred the matter to Knox himself. He prayed them not to hinder him from his privilege. "As for danger that may come to me, let no man be solicitous; for my life is in the custody of Him whose glory I seek. I desire the hand and weapon of no man to defend me. I only crave audience, which, if it be denied here unto me at this time, I must seek farther where I may have it." In spite, therefore, of the archbishop's hundred spears and dozen culverins, he carried out his intention. His text was the passage of Christ's casting the buyers and sellers out of the Temple—ominous challenge at the start. His awful appeal had the desired effect, and at the close of the sermon the magistrates of St. Andrews allowed the people to destroy the monasteries and the apparatus of "idolatry" in the churches.

KNOX AGAIN PREACHES IN ST. ANDREWS.

Knox and the congregation then moved to Edinburgh, whence the regent had departed, where he had the privilege of unfettered preaching. His soul must have been carried away with delight in those great days—laying the foundations again of empire and Church, and building a worthy house for the eternal Gospel. "The long thirst of my wretched heart is satisfied in abundance that is above my expectation; for now forty days and more hath God used my tongue in my native country to the manifestation of his glory. Whatever now shall follow as touching my own carcass, his holy name be praised."[1] Knox was so far successful in Edinburgh that a truce was granted for six months—until January, 1560, during which time freedom of conscience was allowed.

KNOX AT EDINBURGH.

With French troops pouring in to help the Catholic cause, it was evident that the congregation must seek help elsewhere. It is to the credit of the statesmanship of the Scotch lords and Cecil that the perpetual feud between the North and South was at least partially healed by the coming in of fresh and greater interests. So much let Protestantism take to herself of permanent contribution to

[1] Works, vi, 26.

civilization. Elizabeth's great statesman wrote to the congregation asking "if support should be sent hence, what manner of amity might ensue betwixt these two realms, and how the same might be hoped to be perpetual, and not to be so slender as heretofore hath been, without other assurance of continuance than from time to time hath pleased France." The reply in Knox's own handwriting is one of the most important statements in history. It assures England "of our constancy (as men may promise) till our lives end; yea, farther, we will divulgate and set abroad a charge and commandment to our posterity that the amity and league between you and us, contracted and begun in Christ Jesus, may by them be kept inviolated forever." This was signed by all the Protestant lords. Before the arrival of English help the forces of the regent drove the Protestants out of Edinburgh; but after that arrival the Catholic party saw the hopelessness of the struggle, and without fighting a battle made overtures for peace. The treaty of peace, signed July 7, 1560, provided for a removal of the French troops, amnesty for those who had been compelled to resist the regent, redress of grievances of the civil administration, a free parliament to be called to settle the religious and other affairs of the kingdom, and that during the absence of the king and queen, Francis and Mary (the regent died June 10), the government should be administered by a council of twelve, all natives of Scotland.

ALLIANCE OF SCOTCH AND ENGLISH PROTESTANTS.

On the first day of August, 1560, the most important parliament ever held in Scotland convened in Edinburgh. It was attended by nobles, lairds, burghers, and bishops. Would the men of the old Church make a stand now, and in this free assembly, where every man could speak his convictions, defend their doctrines and rights? They were silent, and made no fight. They saw the handwriting on the wall, and their acquiescence in this great crisis was a confession that the Roman Church had proved false to its duties to the Scotch people, and that it was justly reformed. When Knox presented his confession of faith to the parliament it was accepted almost unanimously, only three—possibly five—of the secular members voting against it, and the bishops, although they would not vote for it, allowing it to go without debate. The Church that could use only fire and sword in its day of power against inoffensive preachers and laymen was now intellectually impotent in the day of discussion.

THE PARLIAMENT OF 1560.

On the other side the Earl of Marischal said: "Seeing that my lords bishops, who for their learning can, and for that zeal they

should bear to the verity would (as I suppose), gainsay anything that directly repugns to the verity of God—seeing, I say, my lords here present speak nothing to the contrary of the doctrine proposed, I cannot but hold it to be the very truth of God and the contrary to be deceivable doctrine. The rest of the lords with common consent, and with 'as glad a will as ever I heard men speak,' allowed the same."[1] "Divers, with protestation of their conscience and faith, desired rather presently to end their lives than ever to think contrary unto that allowed there. Many also offered to shed their blood in defense of the same. The old lord of Lindsay, as grave and goodly a man as ever I saw, said, 'I have lived many years; I am the oldest in this company of my sort; now that it hath pleased God to let me see this day, where so many nobles and others have allowed so noble a work, I will say with Simeon, *Nunc dimittis.*'" The parliament passed acts outlawing the Church of Rome, and making it a penal offense to say mass. There was fortunately gradation in punishment for ecclesiastical offenses, which gave the Scotch Protestants an enviable reputation for moderation in a day when religious penal codes were atrociously severe.[2]

The ecclesiastical organization was left by parliament to the Church itself, and on December 20, 1560, ministers and laymen met in Edinburgh "to consult on those things which are to forward God's glory, and the weil of his Kirk, in the realm"—the first general assembly of the Church of Scotland. In its main features the dogmatic and ecclesiastical foundations of Scotch Protestantism, as settled in 1560 and the year following, have remained amid many trials and vicissitudes until the present time. For that reason it is not necessary to go into the romantic and tragic history of Mary Queen of Scots, or Knox's conflicts with her, or the numerous intrigues, scandals, and crimes which mark the secular history during the seven years of her sad reign. The Scottish Church emerged from

FIRST GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

[1] See in full in Calderwood, ii, 38.

[2] Only for the third offense was death decreed, and as the punishment for the second conviction was banishment, it is evident that the law desired not the death of any. "The only defense of these statutes," says Innes, "and it is a very inadequate one, is that they could not be fully enforced and were not, and that perhaps they were not quite intended to be enforced. In point of fact, Scotland in the Reformation time had little bloodshedding for mere religion on either side to show, compared to the deluge which stained the scaffold of continental Europe"—and, we might add, of England too.—Innes, Life of John Knox, pp. 100, 101.

this critical era pretty much as it entered—perhaps more firmly established.[1]

[1] This Marian era in Scotland is the battle ground of historians, but as not one of the disputed questions has any vital relation to the history of the Scotch Reformation it is not necessary to discuss them. One, however, is the question of Knox's relation to the murder of Rizzio and Darnley. There is no evidence to implicate him. P. Hume Brown in his voluminous and impartial Life acquits him in both cases. Knox's attitude was this: When a sinful enemy of the truth had been destroyed, he took it as the working out of God's providence, and might even go so far as to express gratification. Bellesheim—iii, 99—makes him party to Rizzio's death, but gives no proof, simply following the guidance of the biased Episcopal historian, Tytler—iii, 223. In fact, this part of Bellesheim's great book is based too much on second-hand Roman Catholic and other writers. The Anglican Luckock, who of course repeats the charge—p. 150, Hist. of the Church in Scotland, Lond., 1899—is even less reliable, his work being intensely partisan and bitter. What poison is it which too often infects Roman Catholic historians, which colors and prejudices all their judgments and angles of vision? Another question is the complicity of Mary in the murder of her husband. Here the circumstantial evidence is unfortunately strong against the fair, but—in her affections—fickle queen, who had allowed herself to become enamored of the coarse and brutal Bothwell. A statement of opinion of historians is given by Fisher, The Reformation, pp. 377, 378, note 3. The latest historian of Mary, D. Hay Fleming, Lond., 1897, holds that she accomplished the murder of Darnley, and was probably criminally intimate with Bothwell. As to the genuineness of the Casket Letters, since the publication of the article by Dr. H. Bresslau, in the Historisches Taschenbuch for 1882, and T. F. Henderson's Casket Letters and Mary Queen of Scots, Edinb. and Lond., 1889, doubt is set at rest. Take the briefest possible statement of simple facts like this: "The chief actor in this tragedy [murder of the King Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley] was undoubtedly James Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell, an unscrupulous noble, who since Moray's revolt, and still more since Rizzio's murder, had enjoyed a large share of the queen's favor. But there were suspicions that the queen herself was not wholly ignorant of the plot, and these suspicions could not but be strengthened by what followed. On the 12th of April Bothwell was brought to a mock trial and was acquitted; on the 24th he intercepted the queen on her way from Linlithgow to Edinburgh, and carried her, with scarcely a show of resistance, to Dunbar. On the 7th day of May he was divorced from the comely wife whom he had married little more than a twelvemonth before; on the 12th Mary publicly pardoned his seizure of her person, and created him Duke of Orkney; and on the 15th—only three months after her husband's murder—she married a man whom everyone regarded as his murderer."—Jos. Robertson, art. Mary Queen of Scots, in Chambers Encyc., rev. ed, 1893, vii, 76. Can it be a matter of regret that such a queen and such a Church were driven out of Scotland? As Innes well puts it, the "strong shudder of disgust that passed through the commons of Scotland shook her throne to the ground."—Knox, p. 141.

CHAPTER XII.

THE FOUNDATION OF THE SCOTTISH CHURCH.

JOHN KNOX'S association with Calvin, as well as his temperament and attitude toward religion and the Bible, made it certain that the Reformation in Scotland would proceed by paths different from the halting and dubious methods of the new Church of England. Both Knox and Calvin earnestly tried to build up the Church anew on scriptural foundations, without regard to that "historic continuity," that worship of Roman Catholic precedent, which hampered the genesis of the Church across the Tweed. If they failed it was either because they mistook the ideal or circumstances did not allow them perfectly to embody it. It must be confessed that Knox's plan for the reorganization of religion in Scotland was for that age eminently just and right, and he is not to be blamed if the rapacity of the nobles made it impossible of realization. In certain large particulars the Scottish reformers did carry out their thought in spite of various failures and temporary defeats, and their work has stood the test of time. The Presbyterian polity and doctrine have nurtured innumerable souls into unsurpassed strength and solidity of Christian character; have trained whole peoples for self-government and the enjoyment of constitutional liberties; kept a large and increasingly influential section of the Church Catholic both from sacerdotalism on the one hand and false liberalism on the other; and thus have vindicated the faith and daring of those reformers who parted from Luther in their determination to restore the old paths according to the Pauline pattern.[1]

KNOX'S REFORM AN APPEAL TO SCRIPTURE.

First, some description must be given of the form of Church government and discipline which the Scottish reformers set up. The first General Assembly of the Church of Scotland was held on December 26, 1560, consisting of six ministers and thirty-four laymen. One of their first steps was to draw up a book of Discipline. "They took not their example," says Row, one of the number, "from any kirk

[1] Luther's aim was to sweep away all gross abuses and to reform the Church in a moderate fashion, keeping all usages and doctrines that were not manifestly contradicted by Holy Scripture. Calvin's aim was to go back to the Scripture first, and work from that model.

in the world; no, not from Geneva," but from the Scriptures. They then submitted it to the privy council, not that they recognized the right of the secular power to dictate as to their polity, but that they might have the approval of that power in the carrying out of its provisions. This was necessary, because the old order which their Discipline was to supersede was intrenched behind numerous civil rights and privileges, and would not be dislodged unless compelled. The reformers wanted their own Church to be recognized as the legal and established polity of Scotland. In this they were not ahead of the sentiment of their time; but it is to be remembered that the historical situation in the beginnings of Protestantism required a kind of union between Church and State. It is hard to see how otherwise the new faith could have gotten a foothold. Would it not have been crushed as it was in France? At first the civil authorities refused to ratify the Discipline prepared by the Assembly of 1560–61, chiefly on account of its Christian disposal of the old Church property and wealth, and partly on account of its severe dealing with sin. But the second book of Discipline was thus ratified twenty years after, and as it is substantially like the first we are enabled to give an idea of the ecclesiastical foundation of Scotch Protestantism.

FIRST AND SECOND BOOK OF DISCIPLINE.

The officers of the Church were of four kinds: (1) the pastor or minister, who was to be elected by the people, called by God and the Church, carefully examined as to his intellectual fitness and doctrinal soundness, to whom preaching and administration were chiefly, though not exclusively, confined; (2) the doctor or teacher, or professional exegete and theologian, who taught in schools and universities; (3) the elder, elected by the congregation, at first for one year, who must assist the minister in discipline and government, and in administering the Lord's Supper; and (4) the deacon, also elected, who had a special charge of church moneys and the poor. This popular character of the Scotch Church—a carrying out of the priesthood of all believers—was modified somewhat both in practice and in law. Very often ministers, instead of being elected by the church they were to serve, were appointed by patrons, and were generally received without question. Besides, the Discipline provided that in case a church remained without a pastor for some time, a minister was to be assigned them. The examination as to fitness was severe, as the reformers held it better that there be no ministers at all than that these should be incompetent. The elders were afterward elected

OFFICERS OF THE CHURCH.

for life. Knox was strongly opposed to this, as he thought they might attain such power as would put in jeopardy the freedom of the Church of God. In the appointment of ministers the laying on of hands was not at first used. "Other ceremony than the public approbation of the people, and the declaration of the chief minister (or of the president) that the person there presented is appointed to serve the church, we cannot approve; for albeit the apostles used imposition of hands, yet seeing the miracle is ceased, the using of the ceremonie we judge not necessary."[1]

There were two or three other classes of officers in the reformed Church of Scotland, which appear only as expedients to meet the distress then present. With the growth and consolidation of the

[1] Laying on of hands did not have in apostolic times the meaning we attach to ordination; it was rather a symbol of prayer and blessing for a specific work or time. The word "ordain" in the modern ecclesiastical sense does not occur in the New Testament. Ordination by imposition of hands was afterward adopted by the Scottish Church. In the second book of Discipline we read: "There are four ordinary offices or functions in the Church of God—the pastor, minister, or bishop; the doctor; the elder; and the deacon." "The office of doctor is to open up the mind of the Spirit of God in the Scriptures simply, without such application as the minister uses. . . . Under the name and office of doctor is also comprehended the order in schools, colleges, and universities." The chief office of the elder is government and discipline. Dr. John Cunningham thus describes the difference between the first and second books of Discipline: "The first book exhibited a system of polity sagaciously suited to the circumstances of the country and the Church: it seemed to grow out of the times. The second aims at elaborating a system from the New Testament, without reference to circumstances. The one looked to practice, the other to the establishment of general principles. They differ in several respects. The first book had abolished the imposition of hands in ordination; the second restored it. The first book gave its sanction to superintendents and readers; the second removed the superintendent, as he savored of the diocesan bishop, and the reader, as his office had no warrant in the word of God, however much it might be required by the times. In the first there is no mention of the courts of the Church, though we can trace in some of its arrangements the beginning of them all; in the second there is an elaborate chapter upon assemblies, but, singularly enough, the presbytery, now reckoned the fundamental court of a Presbyterian Church, is not marked out as a court separate and distinct from the kirk session. . . . Time has made havoc upon the polity established by the second book of Discipline, as upon everything human. The doctor and deacon have disappeared from the office-bearers of the Church; the minister and elder alone remain. The kirk session has been discriminated from the presbytery; and by kirk session, presbyteries, synods, and general assemblies the government of the Church is now carried on. But the second book possesses much that is enduring, and to this day remains the foundation stone of an ecclesiastical constitution."—Church Hist. of Scotland, i, 444, 445.

Church they were discontinued, and it is doubtful if they were meant to be permanent. Readers and exhorters were men who, in the absence of ministers or in places destitute of the services of religion, could read the Scriptures in the congregation, and add a word of exhortation. They were analogous to Methodist local preachers, though their field was much more restricted. The idea of a trained, educated ministry was such an important one in the mind of the reformers that they could not have sympathized with Wesley's large and systematic use of lay talent. There was also a body of men called superintendents. They were elected by the burghers and chief men of the Church, and their duty was to travel through the country, preach and administer the sacraments in destitute places, overlook the work of country ministers and exhorters, examine them as to their fitness, and supply the needs of distant and neglected parishes. They anticipated the work of the original Methodist circuit rider and the first presiding elders. When the Scotch Church grew and had ministers sufficient for its parishes these superintendents were superseded. They had few of the functions of a Roman Catholic bishop, but were a good expedient for the trying hour. The last of them died in 1591. In all ecclesiastical annals no finer illustration exists of the prompt and effective meeting of a great and sudden emergency than in the original and complex method by which the Scotch reformers seized their golden moment at once to undo a dark Roman Catholic past and to lay the granite foundations, enduring as their own dear Highlands, of a spotless and heroic Protestantism.

TEMPORARY CHURCH OFFICERS.

Public worship was carried on substantially as at present in Presbyterian Churches, though the liturgy which Knox used at Geneva was at first largely employed. A meeting was also held weekly, called the prophesying, which was attended by all the ministers and educated men of the vicinity, the work of which was not prayer, testimony, exhortation, and the free interchange of spiritual counsel, but rather the study of the Scriptures. This was afterward converted into the presbytery. Like all the reformed Churches, the Scotch made no provision in its polity for the due expression and training of religion considered as an experience—a large feature in the Apostolic Church and the chief excellence of the polity of certain Protestant Churches.[1]

PUBLIC WORSHIP.

A remarkable factor in the Reformation plans in Scotland was the provision for education. Every parish must have at least one

[1] See this point ably handled by Rigg, Comparative View of Church Organizations, Lond., 1887; 2d ed., 1891; 3d ed. rev., 1899.

schoolmaster, and if a parish could not afford this the minister or reader must see to the instruction of the children. "In every notable town there should be erected a college, in which the arts, at least logic and rhetoric, together with the tongues, might be read by sufficient masters, for whom honest stipends must be provided, as also provision for those that are able by themselves or by their friends to be sustained at letters." School attendance was compulsory. The rich and powerful were obliged to dedicate their sons to the Church and commonwealth; the children of the poor were to be supported at the charge of the Church, if they showed a genius for learning. The ministers and the learned men in the town were to examine the youths every quarter to see what progress had been made. They had the course marked somewhat as follows: two years catechism and elementary grammar; three years grammar; four years logic, rhetoric, and Greek; then, till the age of twenty-four, whatever study would most profit Church or State, whether law, physic, or divinity. Not every youth, of course, was expected to go so far. The appointed "time being expired in every course, the children should either proceed to further knowledge, or else they must be set to some handicraft, or to some other profitable exercise: provided always that first they have the knowledge of God's law and commandments; the use and office of the same; the chief articles of the belief; the right form to pray to God; the number, use, and effect of the sacraments; the true knowledge of Christ Jesus, of his offices and natures; and such other points without the knowledge whereof neither any man deserves to be called Christian, neither ought any to be admitted to the participation of the Lord's table."

EMPHASIS ON EDUCATION.

The whole scheme was crowned by the university, and the reformers had the courses of study there also well marked out. This great educational program, which with daring faith and far-sighted wisdom Knox and his colaborers constructed, was not carried out fully, on account of failure of means, but it was in part realized. And may we not believe that the preeminence of Scotland, in both learning and religion, is due to this magnificent emphasis on popular intelligence, informed by intense piety and leading to the profoundest and widest erudition?[1] The divorce of Christianity from culture, which is one of the lamentable and perhaps necessary features of the American educational system, was guarded against by the Scotch reformers.

[1] See this educational scheme outlined in Principal Lee, Hist. of Church of Scotland, i, 192 ff.

The means for developing the work to which God had set the Scotch reformers were to come from the patrimony of the Church, a Church which had in fact absorbed a great part of the wealth of the kingdom, and which in the judgment of the reformers ought now justly to be returned. This wealth was to be devoted (1) to the support of the clergy in such "honest provision as would give neither occasion for solicitude nor yet of insolence and wantonness;" (2) to schools and universities; (3) for the care of the sick and poor. Unfortunately the nobles would not consent to this, and in their greed seized upon much of the estate of the Church. There was, however, as one historian remarks, a rough justice in this, as they were but reclaiming their own.[1]

The founders of Scottish Presbyterianism were Calvinists, and yet it is remarkable that although they presented to the estates in 1560 a strong and evangelical creed, it contained not a hint of the severer features of Calvinism. In this respect it differs widely from the historic standard of the Scottish Church—the Westminster Confession of Faith, 1648, which is one of the most thoroughgoing and consistent statements of doctrine from the Calvinistic standpoint in all literature. The men of 1560 were intent on giving an outline of their faith as against Roman Catholicism, and there is little in their Confession which a hearty Arminian could not accept, being in this respect, though for a different reason, very similar to the creed of the English Presbyterian Church of 1889. The first Scottish Confession is rather, in fact, a religious and ethical document than a collection of theological statements in the sense of the discriminating, vigorous, and systematic creeds of a later time. It begins with this noble protest: "If any man will note in this our Confession any articles or sentences repugning to God's Holy Word, that it would please him

FIRST SCOTCH CONFESSION.

[1] Speaking of the cupidity of the landholders, who rendered partially abortive the grand scheme outlined above, Dr. Norman L. Walker says: "It is an obvious calumny to say that what attracted the barons of the Reformation at the first was their hope of sharing in the spoils of the Church; for, with the court against them, nobody could have expected the revolution which so soon took place. But it casts a shadow on the subsequent sincerity of some of them that they made their Protestantism pecuniarily so profitable. And yet let us not refuse to confess that there was, after all, a certain wild justice in their depredations. The ancestors of these men had given land to the monks under the belief that they could intercede for them in heaven; and the monks accepted the gifts as for value promised or bestowed. The vanity of the bargain was now disclosed, and goods were reclaimed that had been taken on false pretenses."—Scottish Church History, p. 34.

of his gentleness and for Christian charity's sake to admonish us of the same in writing, and we of our honors and fidelity do promise unto him satisfaction from the mouth of God, that is, from the Holy Scripture, or else reformation of that which shall prove amiss. For God we take to record in our consciences that from our hearts we abhor all sects of heresy and all teachers of erroneous doctrine; and that with all humility we embrace the piety of Christ's Gospel, which is the only food for our souls, therefore so precious unto us that we are determined to suffer the extremity of worldly danger, rather than we shall suffer ourselves to be defrauded of the same. For hereof we are most certainly persuaded that whosoever denieth Christ Jesus, or is ashamed of him in the presence of men, shall be denied before the Father and before his holy angels. And therefore by the assistance of the mighty Spirit of the same our Lord Jesus, we firmly propose to abide to the end in the confession of this our faith." These are words of men who were as earnestly intent on finding the truth as they were in holding on to it at the risk of life.

A few brief quotations will give the spirit of the confession on controverted doctrines. ELECTION: God "of mere grace elected us in Christ Jesus, his Son, before the foundation of the world was laid" (Art. viii). SOURCE OF RELIGIOUS AUTHORITY: "Thus our faith, and the assurance of the same, proceedeth not from flesh and blood, that is to say, from natural powers, within us, but is the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, . . . who sanctifieth us and bringeth us into all verity by his own operation" (Art. xii). "The authority of the Scriptures proceeds from no Kirk, but from God alone, and depends neither on men nor angels" (Art. xix). TOTAL DEPRAVITY: By original sin the "image of God is utterly defaced in man, and he and his posterity by nature become enemies of God, slaves to Satan, servants to sin" (Art. iii). "Of nature we are so dead, so blind, so perverse that neither can we feel when we are pricked [by the Spirit], see the light when it shineth, nor assent unto the will of God when it is revealed, unless the Spirit of the Lord Jesus quicken that which is dead" (Art. xii). THE CHURCH: The Kirk is "a company and multitude of men chosen of God, who rightly worship and embrace him by true faith in Christ Jesus, who is the only head of the same Kirk." This Church is Catholic because it contains the elect of all ages and nations, whether Jews or Gentiles, providing they have communion with God and with Christ, through the Spirit (Art. xvi). This Kirk is invisible. The notes of a true (visible)

POINTS OF DOCTRINE.

Church are the true preaching of the word, right administration of the sacraments, and ecclesiastical discipline (Art. xviii). The authority of councils is only that of the truth they utter, and the ceremonies and other regulations they ordain may be changed if they foster superstition or become obsolete (Art. xx).

THE SACRAMENTS: "We utterly damn the vanity of them that affirm the sacraments to be nothing less but naked and bare signs. No, we assuredly believe that by baptism we are engrafted in Christ Jesus, made partakers of his justice, by which our sins are covered and remitted; and also that in the Supper, rightly used, Christ Jesus is so joined with us that he becometh the very nourishment and food of our souls." There is no transubstantiation or consubstantiation, as the elements are only "sacramental signs," but the use of these signs by faith becomes to the believer a feeding on the body and blood of Christ (Art. xxi). The sacraments can be administered only by lawful ministers (Art. xxii). The sacrifice of the mass as a propitiation for sin is "blasphemous to Christ Jesus, makes derogation to the sufficiency of his only sacrifice once offered for purgation of all those that shall be sanctified," and that doctrine "we utterly abhor, detest, and renounce" (Art. xxii). DAMNATION OF HEATHENS AND MORALISTS: "We utterly abhor the blasphemy of them that affirm that men who live according to equity and justice shall be saved, what religion that ever they have professed" (Art. xvi). DAMNATION OF CHILDREN OF UNBELIEVING PARENTS: After saying that only those who avow the doctrine of Christ and believe on him can be saved, the creed adds, "we comprehend the children with the faithful parents." INFANT BAPTISM: "We confess that baptism appertains as well to the infants of the faithful as unto them that be of age and discretion. And so we damn the error of the Anabaptists." THE STATE: Emperors, kings, dukes, princes, and magistrates are of God's ordinance, "ordained for the manifestation of his glory and for the singular profit and commodity of mankind" (Art. xxiv). RELIGIOUS TOLERATION: "To kings, princes, rulers, and magistrates we affirm that chiefly and most principally the conservation and purgation of religion appertaineth, so that not only they are appointed for civil policy, but also for maintenance of true religion, and for suppressing of idolatry and superstition whatsoever, as in David, Josephat, Ezekias, Josias, and others highly commended for their zeal in this case may be espied" (Art. xxiv).[1]

[1] The Creed of 1560 is quoted in full in Knox, Works, ii, 93 ff.; Calderwood, ii, 15 ff.; Schaff, Creeds, iii, 437 ff., with Latin translation; Dunlop, Collections of Confessions of Faith, and Catechisms, of the Church of Scotland, ii, 13 ff.

The doctrine of election was not left ambiguous designedly, but the writers of the creed were content to give a general statement of a principle which in its Calvinistic sense no one doubted. After the work of Arminius such a statement, of course, would not suffice, and in the hands of the Westminster theologians the real teaching of the Church was fully set forth. "By the decree of God, for the manifestation of his glory, some men and angels are predestinated unto everlasting life, and others foreordained to everlasting death. These angels and men thus predestinated and foreordained are particularly and unchangeably designed; and their number is so certain and definite that it cannot be either increased or diminished." "Neither are any other redeemed by Christ . . . but the elect only." "Whatsoever comes to pass is freely and unchangeably ordained by God."[1] The doctrines of religious intolerance, damnation of the heathen and of nonelect infants, were reaffirmed by the Westminster divines.

In 1580 a brief creed was adopted as a kind of appendix to that of 1560, and is sometimes called the second Scotch Confession. It is the strongest antipapal document of the Reformation times, being taken up almost entirely with a catalogue of Catholic errors, which are characterized with a frankness of objurgation which would satisfy the most fanatical Protestants. The Roman Antichrist's doctrine as now damned and confuted by the word of God and Kirk of Scotland "we detest and refuse—his usurped authority on the Scriptures, the Kirk, the civil magistrate, and consciences of men; his tyrannous laws against Christian liberty; his erroneous doctrine against sufficiency of the written word; his corrupted doctrine concerning original sin; his five bastard sacraments; his cruel judgment against infants departing without the sacrament; his absolute necessity of baptism; his blasphemous opinion of transubstantiation; his dispensations of solemn oaths, perjuries, and decrees of marriage; his cru-

SECOND SCOTCH CONFESSION.

[1] Westminster Confession of Faith, chap. iii, § iii, iv, vi, i. Efforts have been made in many directions to tone down or modify these clear and perfectly truthful and logical statements of original Calvinism. The best that could be done is the explanatory preface adopted by the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland, which says that the confession must be interpreted in accordance with God's loving and *bona fide* proposals of salvation to all men. The Cumberland Presbyterian Church in the United States exscinded the Calvinistic articles of the third chapter, and placed in their stead articles of an Arminian tenor. With this type of theology, as with other antediluvian extremes, the new time has softened the old asperities. The larger brotherhood has forever taken the place of the insular and the individual.

elty against innocent divorced; his devilish mass; his blasphemous priesthood; his profane sacrifice for the sins of the dead and quick; . . . his erroneous and bloody decrees made at Trent, with all the subscribers and approvers of that cruel and bloody band conjured against the Kirk of God." Everything savoring of Rome is anathematized in the ringing sentences of this creed. If the Church of England had from the heart adopted anything near the uncompromising Protestantism of that creed, the whole course of history would have been changed, and we might not hear to-day the rumblings of that storm which may yet sweep that Church from off her worldly vantage ground. The Calvinism of the Scottish Church, though still uttered by her statute books, has long since been weakened and disintegrated, if not completely dissolved, by the larger truth and intenser love which no Church, at least of late, has received more hospitably than she; but her Protestantism she has held fast as a sacred trust from God, and she has thus realized the truth of his promise, "Them that honor me will I honor." Holding on to the important and essential in Christian doctrine, the limitations and errors which she necessarily adopted at the first she has long since left behind; she has been used of God as a promoter of learning, philanthropy, literature—the mother of civilizations and the reclaimer of heathenisms; and she promises to be in the coming time, as she has been for the last quarter century, the most regnant influence in theology in all English-speaking lands.

CARLYLE'S TRIBUTE TO PROTESTANTISM.

"I need not deny," says Thomas Carlyle, "that Protestantism was a revolt against spiritual sovereignties—popes—and much else. Nay, I will grant that English Puritanism, revolt against earthly sovereignties, was the second act of it;[1] that the enormous French Revolution itself was the third act, whereby all sovereignties earthly and spiritual were, as it might seem, abolished or made sure of abolition. Protestantism is the grand root from which our whole subsequent European history branches out. For the spiritual will always body itself forth in the temporal history of men; the spiritual is the beginning of the temporal. . . . In our island there arose a Puritanism which even got itself established as Presbyterianism and national Church among the Scotch; which came forth as a real business of the heart, and has produced in the world very notable fruit. In some senses

[1] But it must be remembered that, in the Middle Ages and after, the pope and Roman Church often revolted against earthly sovereignties. The difference is that Protestants revolted against insufferable tyranny, and the pope against kings who would not follow his beck.

one may say it is the only *phasis* of Protestantism that ever got to the rank of being a faith, a true heart-communication from heaven, and of exhibiting itself in history as such. We must spare a few words for Knox, himself a brave and remarkable man, but still more important as chief priest and founder, which one may consider him to be, of the faith that became Scotland's, New England's, Oliver Cromwell's.

CARLYLE ON KNOX.

"In the history of Scotland, too, I can find properly but one epoch; we may say it contains nothing of world-interest at all but this Reformation by Knox. . . . Common man as he was, the vague shoreless universe had become for him a firm city and a dwelling place which he knew. Such virtue was in belief, in these words well spoken, *I believe.*

"Well, this is what I mean by a whole 'nation of heroes'—a believing nation. There needs not a great soul to make a hero; there needs a God-created soul which will be true to its origin—that will be a great soul. . . .

"This that Knox did for his nation, I say, we may really call a resurrection from death. It was not a smooth business, but it was welcome surely, and cheap at that price had it been far rougher. On the whole cheap at any price!—as life is. The people began to live; they needed first of all to do that, at what cost and costs soever. Scotch literature and thought, Scotch industry; James Watt, David Hume, Walter Scott, Robert Burns—I find Knox and the Reformation acting in the heart's core of every one of these persons and phenomena; I find that without the Reformation they would not have been. Or what of Scotland? The Puritanism of Scotland became that of England, of New England. A tumult in the High Church of Edinburgh spread into a universal battle and struggle over all these realms; these came out after fifty years' struggling, what we all call the 'Glorious Revolution,' a Habeas Corpus Act, Free Parliament, and much else! Alas! is it not too true what we said, that many men in the van do always, like the Russian soldiers, march into the ditch of Schweidnitz, and fill it up with their dead bodies, that the rear may pass over them dry shod and gain the honor? How many earnest, rugged Cromwells, Knoxes, poor peasant Covenanters, wrestling, battling for very life in rough, miry places, have to struggle and suffer and fall, greatly censured, bemired, before a beautiful Revolution of Eighty-eight can step over them in official pumps and silk stockings, with universal three-times-three!"[1]

[1] Heroes and Hero Worship: Hero as Priest, in Works, Estes & Lauriat's ed., i, 349, 367, 369, 370.

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CHAPTER XIII.

PRELUDE TO THE IRISH REFORMATION.

THE interval from the establishment of English rule and the Roman system in Ireland to the Reformation was marked by broils, disturbances, troubles—a time of political and religious anarchy. Between the exaction of the secular lords on the one hand and the spiritual on the other, the poor Irish were ground as between millstones. To the spiritual lords was now given an increasing power. The pope encouraged the clergy to refuse submission to lay tribunals, and required them to reserve all matters like wills and titles to their own courts. An instance of the justice for which the Irish might look to their masters appears in the case of Widow le Blunde. Her petition to Edward I declares that property awarded her by the king's judges had been detained by the archbishop of Cashel (MacCarwill, 1253–1289); that this prelate had killed her father, imprisoned her grandfather and grandmother until they perished by famine, and starved to death her six brothers and sisters, who claimed a share of the inheritance of which the archbishops retained possession. She says that the writs obtained by her in the king's courts had been rendered useless by the bribery of the oppressor, and that she had been obliged to cross the Irish Sea no less than five times to seek redress.[1] Even if we allow that the petitioner has exaggerated, an indictment remains sufficient to brand with infamy such an administration of trust.

ANTECEDENT PERIOD OF ANARCHY.

Then by the power of excommunication the spiritual courts had a menace which indeed made them formidable to the luckless wight who provoked their ire.[2] An instance of the power of the Church occurred in 1267, when the mayor and citizens of Dublin made an

[1] Leland, Hist. of Ireland, i, 234; Killen, Eccl. Hist. of Ireland, i, 237.

[2] Hallam says that temporal penalties attached to Church censures were an established principle in Europe in the Middle Ages: "By our common law an excommunicated person is incapable of being a witness or of bringing an action; and he may be detained in prison until he obtains absolution. By the Establishments of St. Louis (Ordonnances des Rois, i, 121), his estate or person might be attached by the magistrate. (He might, however, sue in the lay, though not in the spiritual, court.) These actual penalties were attended by

effort to reduce the fees of the clergy. The archbishop denounced the arrangement, and placed the city under an interdict.[1] The pope's legate confirmed this. The privy council then interfered, and a compromise was effected in these terms: For a public sin a citizen should make satisfaction by a sum of money; in the case of a second transgression he should be cudgeled about the Church; for a third, a public cudgeling attended by a procession; and if he still proved incorrigible he should be exiled from the city or cudgeled through it.[2] The unhappy victim, who for some offense had been made obnoxious to the heavy financial claims of the clergy, was thus saved from too heavy drafts by an institution to which as an Irishman he could not greatly object—the shillalah.[3]

POWER OF THE CHURCH.

With the papal and English heel on Ireland, the Church was at the mercy of foreigners. English and Italian ecclesiastics overran the country and seized upon all the offices and benefices. Very often these men did not reside in the country, but took its revenues without any service in return. Finally the Irish could not stand this injustice, and in 1250 passed the resolution that no Englishman should be admitted canon into an Irish church. King Henry appealed to the pope, who at

IRELAND OVERRUN WITH ECCLESIASTICS.

marks of abhorrence and ignominy still more calculated to make an impression on ordinary minds. The excommunicated were to be shunned, like men infected with leprosy, by their servants, their friends, and their families. Two attendants only, if we may trust a current history, remained with Robert, who, on account of an irregular marriage, was put to this ban by Gregory V, and these threw all the meats which had passed his table into the fire (Velly, t. ii). Indeed, the mere intercourse with a proscribed person incurred what was called the lesser excommunication, or privation of the sacraments, and required penitence and absolution. In some places a bier was set before the door of an excommunicated individual, and stones thrown at his windows—a singular method of compelling his submission (Vaissette, Hist. de Languedoc, t. iii, App., p. 350; Du Cange, v. Excommunicatio). Everywhere the excommunicated were debarred of a regular sepulture, which, though obviously a matter of police, has, through the superstition of consecrating burial grounds, been treated as belonging to ecclesiastical control."—Middle Ages, chap. vii, pt. i, standard ed., N. Y., 1880, i, 643; Lond. ed., ii, 171, 172. In the East it was a universal opinion that the dead bodies of excommunicated persons never decay, austere Mother Earth refusing to mix with their contaminated flesh!

[1] On the interdict, see above, i, 765, note.

[2] Harris, Ware's Bishops of Ireland, 1322–23; Killen, i, 260.

[3] No offense intended. To whatever other forms of violence the Irishman may plead guilty, of the institution of lynch law anywhere in his island he must in justice be fully acquitted.

once annulled the proposition.[1] The position of Ireland gave the pope an excellent opportunity to levy on her limited resources, when stronger and more independent kingdoms resented his exactions. In addition to his ordinary revenues he obtained special assessments four times in forty years, three being to help him carry on his war against Germany, and the fourth to assist him in contending against the king of Aragon.[2] Italian cupidity went farther. "Those who laid violent hands on the clergy could not obtain absolution except from a legate charged with that special commission. And such a legate seldom left the island without a very substantial addition to his wealth. Jacobus, who arrived in 1220 or 1221, and who was sent, according to the annalists, 'to regulate and constitute the ecclesiastical discipline,' is said to have 'collected horseloads of gold and silver from the clergy of Ireland by simony.' The patience with which the people submitted to such barefaced rapacity supplies evidence as well of their spiritual as of their political degradation. To satisfy the demands of these greedy foreigners the ecclesiastics were sometimes obliged to sell the ornaments of their churches, and the laity were compelled to deprive themselves of their ordinary comforts."[3] Some Catholic writers ascribe the compliance of the Irish to their attachment to the holy see, but Killen is much nearer the truth when he says that it obviously proceeded from their helplessness.[4]

PAPAL RAPACITY.

The attitude of the pope to the Irish attempts at independence is interesting. The Irish who lived in the Pale, that is, that part of eastern Ireland actually occupied and ruled by the English, were the victims of a rapacious and cruel tyranny. They were denied the benefits of the English law, and they were out of reach of the Brehon code. Their position was something like that of the Jews of the Middle Ages—men whom no law protected, who might be exploited according to the opportunity of any who had the desire. The Irish were robbed of their cattle, stripped of their lands, might even be killed by any Englishman, and in all cases had no redress. They often petitioned the English king to admit them to the privilege of the English laws, but the English in the Pale always defeated their application.

Irish troubles with England go back far beyond the establishment of Protestantism, and for the heavy score of this Niobe

[1] See this bull in Liber Munerum Publicorum Hibernicæ, pt. iv, 55, 56.

[2] These levies were in 1229, 1240, 1247, and 1270.—Mant, Hist. of the Church of Ireland, i, 13.

[3] Killen, i, 264.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 263, note.

of the islands against her English sister she may thank a Roman Catholic people who forged her chains and a brutal pope who closed the last link. When Robert Bruce had won the independence of Scotland on the field of Bannockburn, June 24, 1314, the Irish in despair invited him to come over and interfere for them. His brother, Edward Bruce, responded to the call, liberated them, and for three years, 1315–18, reigned king of Ireland. But famine so weakened his forces that he was overthrown and slain, October, 1318. Yet no sooner did their deliverer appear than the pope thundered his excommunications against him and his adherents. The noble appeal which the Irish made to the pope had no effect. "By means of base and wicked scheming they have so far prevailed against us that after expelling us violently from our spacious habitations and patrimonial inheritances, they have forced us to retire for the preservation of life to mountains, woods, bogs, and barren moors, and even to the caves of the rocks, and there like wild beasts to dwell for a long period. Nay, even there they were incessantly molesting us and exerting themselves with all their might to drive us away; and recklessly seizing for their own use every spot where we reside, they mendaciously assert, in the extreme frenzy that blinds them, that we have no claim to any free dwelling place in Ireland, but that of right the whole property of the country belongs to themselves. Because of these and many other things of the same description, there have arisen between us and them implacable enmities and perpetual wars. . . . From the time of the grant [of Adrian] to the present more than fifty thousand people of both nations have perished by the sword, besides those who have fallen victims of famine, to grief, and to the rigors of captivity. These few facts concerning the general history of our forefathers, and the miserable condition to which the pope of Rome has reduced us ourselves, may suffice for this occasion."[1]

TROUBLE WITH ENGLAND.

The memorial calls attention to the deprivation of their rights by the English. Though anyone could go to law with an Irishman, no Irishman, except a prelate, could commence an action with an Englishman. If an Englishman killed an Irishman of any degree, no punishment was awarded. English monks said it was no more sin to kill an Irishman than it was to kill a dog, and

[1] This appeal was addressed by King Donald O'Neill, who styles himself "king of Ulster and true heir to the throne of all Ireland by hereditary right," to Pope John XXII (1316–34), in the name of the nobles and people of Ireland. The original is in Fordun, Scotichronicon, A. D. 1318.—Killen, i, 275.

that if any ecclesiatic was guilty of such an act he need not refrain from saying mass for a single day. At the close of the memorial the petitioners say: "Seeing it is freely allowed for every person to renounce his right and make it over to another, and the whole right to the said kingdom [of Ireland] is known to pertain to us as its true inheritors, we have by our letters patent given and granted to the said [Edward Bruce], and for the establishment of judgment, justice, and equity in the land, which, for default of a proper supreme authority, have utterly failed therein, we have constituted him our king and lord, and appointed him ruler by unanimous consent in our realm aforesaid." They conclude by requesting the pope "mercifully to sanction their proceedings, and to prohibit the king of England from giving them further molestation." This memorial the pope answered by sending it to the English king, with the admonition to reform the evil ways of his government in Ireland, but with no threat of excommunication if he did not—the pope's lightnings being reserved for the other party.

IRISH APPEAL TO THE POPE.

The pope's obsequiousness to the most abominable laws by which his Irish children were robbed and destroyed comes out in the statute of Kilkenny, 1367, for which eight of his prelates who sat in the Anglo-Irish parliament voted, and which they confirmed farther by threatening excommunication to all who violated the statute. This famous law was one of the most odious abuses of power ever inflicted on Ireland by England. It was a deliberate attempt to outlaw the Irish and keep them beyond the pale of either mercy or right. The Irish were to be treated as inferior beings, to whom the ordinary principles that affect human intercourse do not apply. The statute of Kilkenny (it was really a series of statutes—thirty-four distinct acts) provided that all relations to the Irish on the part of the Anglo-Irish, such as marriage, fosterage,[1] gossipred,[2] and traffic, were to be punished as high treason; that if any of the English should use an Irish name, or the Irish language, apparel, or custom, he should forfeit his lands and horses;[3] that no Irishman should be admitted to any

THE STATUTE OF KILKENNY.

[1] Fosterage was the giving out of a child to be nurtured by another.

[2] Gossipred was an intensification of the Catholic idea of sponsorship. In Ireland the sponsor actually reared the infant, and thus the parties came to cherish toward each other the feeling of parents and children. "One Irish chief brought up the offspring of another; so that their families were often knit together in indissoluble friendship."—Killen, i, 291.

[3] For instance, if an Englishman were to ride a horse without a saddle, he might be made a pauper.

cathedral or collegiate church, or to any benefice among the English, and if he ever was so admitted such presentation should be considered void; that no monastery among the English in Ireland should receive any Irishman, and that if it did its temporalities should be forfeited to the king; and that no Irish bard, storyteller, piper, or mower should be entertained at an Anglo-Irish home. The pope never raised his voice concerning this signal exhibition of Christian fraternity. However, nature is stronger than artificial laws, and very soon no attempt was made to enforce the Kilkenny statute. "Coyne and livery continued to be exacted from the colonists by the three great earls, Kildare, Desmond, and Ormond, and the Irish and English went on intermarrying, gossipring, fostering, and quarreling on their own account, just the same as before."[1] The prohibitions as to the Irish priests and monks, however, were made fairly effective, though the government had to allow of exceptions.

In the fourteenth century the begging friars overran Ireland, and they were friars such as Wyclif knew, not as they were in the purity and enthusiasm of their first years. Richard Fitzralph, archbishop of Armagh in 1347, one of the most enlightened prelates of the time, describes the shamelessness of their mendicancy. "Scarce could any great or mean man of the clergy or laity eat his meat but such kind of beggars would be at his elbow—not like other poor folks, humbly craving alms at the gate or door, but without shame intruding themselves into courts and houses, and lodging there, where, without inviting at all, they eat and drink what they can find among them; and, not content with that, they carry away with them either wheat, or meal, or bread, or flesh, or cheeses, although there were but two in the house, in a kind of extorting manner, there being none that can deny them, unless he would cast away natural shame."

SHAMELESS MENDICANT FRIARS.

But Fitzralph's chief objection to the mendicant orders was their dissolution of all moral bonds by indiscriminate absolution. "I have, as I reckon, in my diocese of Armagh, two thousand subjects who have become involved in sentences of excommunication passed upon willful homicides, public robbers, incendiaries, and other such characters, out of whom there scarcely came fourteen in the year to me or my peni-

FITZRALPH'S CONTENTION WITH THE FRIARS.

[1] Joyce, Short Hist. of Ireland, Lond., 1893, p. 320. The Kilkenny statute is published, with translation and notes by James Hardiman, M.R.I.A., for the Irish Archeological Society, in Tracts Relating to Ireland, Dublin, 1847.

tentiaries, and all such persons receive the sacrament like other people, and are spoken of as absolved, and this by none others than the friars."[1] In fact, Fitzralph went farther and denied the validity of mendicancy at all as a foundation of an order. He said that Christ did not prefer poverty for its own sake, that he never voluntarily begged, that he never taught his followers to go about as mendicants, and that no one ought to devote himself to a life of perpetual begging. He also claimed that all who confessed to these friars ought also to confess the same sins once a year to the parish priests. These teachings the friars could not stand, and they preferred charges of heresy against him before the pope at Avignon. His opinions were condemned, and the man who reflected more credit on Irish Catholicism than almost any other man of the fourteenth century was silenced. An interesting illustration of the intellectual condition of the times is the sending by Fitzralph of three or four of the priests of his diocese to study divinity at Oxford, since in the degradation of the country they could not get an education at home; but the priests failed to find a Bible to purchase, and had to return home in consequence.[2] It may be that the archbishop, who confessed that "the Lord had taught him, and brought him out of the profound vanities of Aristotle's philosophy to the study of the Scriptures," in his distrust of the barren discussions of scholasticism, had told his priests that if they could not be instructed in Holy Scripture they were to come back.

The clergy of Ireland, both English and native, were not inclined to exemplify that charity that suffereth long and is kind, or that humility which hesitates at being lords over God's heritage. The bishops scourged, fined, imprisoned, or even murdered those who became obnoxious to them, and the clergy whipped the people as though they were cattle—this last a display of force which the Irish priest, both at home and in America, still has occasion to use. The bishop of Waterford had forfeited the good will of Archbishop Kelly. The latter gathered a band of men, assaulted him at night, and "grievously wounded him and many others, who were in his company, and robbed him of his goods." The bishop of Limerick assaulted the archbishop of Cashel, and compelled him to flee from Limerick. This lordship over the Gentiles was shown in the tithes which pre-Reformation Ireland had to pay for its spiritual privileges. Everything the

OVERBEARING CLERGY.

[1] Defensorium Curatorum, ed. 1633, p. 11. See Killen, i, 288, 289.

[2] Olden, The Church in Ireland, p. 285.

poor parishioner had was levied on. Tithes must be paid on milk, meadows, lands, fisheries, turbaries, bees, game, ducks and other fowl, sheep and swine, trees, grain and vegetables, and profits of labor and merchandise. Anyone who resisted was forbidden to enter the church. The priest claimed also a gallon of liquor from every brewing, a tenth of the goods of all deceased persons when their debts were paid, and special offerings at baptisms, churchings, marriages, and confirmations.

The doctrinal unity of the Church of Ireland before the Reformation was not broken. There was no difference of view between the Anglo-Irish and the Irish sections of the Church in regard to doctrine or to the papacy. The ordinary accompaniments of mediæval Catholicism were in full evidence in Ireland. The hawking of indulgences went merrily on. Superstition was rife. The delivery of souls from purgatory was a large element in the clerical revenue. This revenue and the hold of the Church on the people were increased by the reverence for venerated names and places. On the old tradition that St. Patrick spent forty days and forty nights on the mountain Croagh Patrick, near Westport, Mayo, in prayer and fasting,[1] grew up the practices of pilgrimages to the top of the mountain, with the idea, says Jocelyn (1185), that they would thus be saved from hell, Patrick having obtained this privilege by his merits and prayers. Some say they suffered terrible things during the night, and were purged from their sins, and therefore they call it St. Patrick's purgatory. So writes old Jocelyn.

DOCTRINAL UNITY OF THE CHURCH IN IRELAND.

But why could not the Anglo-Norman-Irish have a purgatory of their own? They saw no reason why they should not. They therefore associated the name Patrick with a cave in Station Island, Lough Derg, County Donegal, and made it the entrance to his purgatory. From the twelfth to the fourteenth century pilgrims flocked in large numbers to this sacred spot, and the Augustan canons of the adjoining priory enjoyed a rich harvest. The penitents sometimes spent fifteen days in fasting and devotion before entering the vault, and when inside were sometimes frightened, it was said, by unearthly terrors. It was believed that at one time there was a subterranean communication between the priory and the purgatory, and that the priests sometimes operated on the terrors of the dupes. The whole atmosphere of Lough Derg lends itself to the pious frauds of the

LOUGH DERG PURGATORY.

[1] This tradition is as old as the Book of Armagh, 807, and the Tripartite Life of Patrick, 9th or 10th century.

manipulators of conscience, the landscape being desolate and somber in the extreme. It must be said to the credit of the Church, however, that in 1497 the purgatory was disused, because "it was the occasion of shameful avarice,"[1] and because the people came to understand that "this was not the purgatory that St. Patrick obtained from God."[2] It was afterward reestablished, and flourished for a long time. But it became such a moral nuisance that in 1632 the lords justice of Ireland again destroyed it and shut up the priory. In the reign of James II (1685–88) Lough Derg purgatory was once more opened, and ever since has done a thriving business.[3]

The degeneracy of pre-Reformation Ireland seemed about complete. The old learning had perished. Bible study was almost unknown. The possession of a complete copy of the Scriptures seemed to be so rare as to occasion comment.[4] Alms were freely bestowed at death for the repose of the soul. When Thady O'Connor, half-king of Connaught, died, "it was difficult to account how many offerings—cows, horses, and moneys—were bestowed to God's honor for his soul."[5] Prelates left funds to endow priests to pray for their souls, wanting to be sure of heaven even if their lives on earth pointed to another destination. An archbishop who got into a dispute with the dean and chapter of the see of Raphoe, then vacant, as to the temporalities of the see, granted forty days' indulgence to all who should fall upon the Raphoe ecclesiastics and dissipate their substance (1442). Bishops often led their retainers to battle, and sometimes were slain in the fray. Fifteenth century chroniclers sometimes speak of the sons of prelates, of clerical incontinence and licentiousness. Unless such living became too much of a public scandal, penance was the only penalty, when any penalty at all was exacted; though when the bishop of Down (1413–41) lived openly for years with another

A DEGENERATE PERIOD.

[1] Bollandists, March 17, p. 590.

[2] Annals of the Four Masters, A. D. 1497 (vol. iv, p. 1238).

[3] Malone, Church Hist. of Ireland, Dublin, 1863, says: "The season for pilgrimage now opens by order of the bishop on the 1st of June and closes on the 15th of August. . . . The boatman pays the landlord, as yearly rent, £200 or £300. The average number of pilgrims during the last month is estimated at one thousand daily."

[4] In the proceedings of the Kilkenny and S. E. of Ireland Archeological Society, new series, 1864, pp. 8–12, there is an account of a manuscript copy of the Latin Bible written in France about 1350, and which had been in Ireland since 1400.

[5] Annals of Ireland, 1443–68, p. 225.

man's wife he was at length deprived of his bishopric. The bishop of Raphoe's bestowal of some of his lands on his concubine was also resented. The great Bishop Richard O'Hedian of Cashel was powerful and popular enough, however, to keep his see in spite of his concubine.[1] Simony was rife. The papal court had a refined system of extortion in the matter of its appointments. Some of the prelates became insolvent in trying to meet these simoniacal charges—the pallium costing occasionally £30,000 of present money.[2]

Though the country was poor and distracted, nunneries and monasteries sprang up everywhere in the fifteenth century. Poor Ireland seemed to be on the road to ruin. Under Roman Catholic England and Rome she had been beaten, robbed, and left half dead by the side of the highway of the nations. "The Church of Ireland, which once shone so brightly in the spiritual firmament, was now blank as a fallen star. The people were degraded and demoralized, and little above the condition of savages. There was no truth, nor mercy, nor knowledge of God in the land. Strangers had entered into her palaces and devoured her pleasant fruits. Her chieftains were almost continually at war, 'living in malice and envy, hateful and hating one another.' Her independence was gone, and her parliament was the merest mockery of a legislature. It represented only the English and Anglo-Irish of the Pale; and all its acts were dictated by the British government. She had now no Patrick to go everywhere throughout her borders preaching the word; no Columbkille filled with the spirit of missionary enterprise; no Columbanus to protest against the errors of Rome. What could be expected of the lower order of her clergy when so many of her bishops wallowed in licentiousness or girded on the sword and marched to the battlefield to fight for the enslavement of the people! Surely we have now reached the very midnight of Ireland's history. As we grope our way through her obscure annals, and as we see no signs of a coming reformation, well may we ask with the prophet, 'O Lord, how long?' But this darkness is not to endure forever. The light of a better day shall at length dawn; and though a cloudy and tempestuous morning shall still hide the beams of the great luminary from many a lovely glen, all Ireland shall yet rejoice in his glorious radiance."[3]

MIDNIGHT OF IRELAND.

[1] On O'Hedian see Harris, Ware, i, 535; Killen, i, 304, 310, 320.

[2] Wordsworth, Ch. of Ireland, p. 96, note.

[3] Killen, i, 325, 326.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE REFORMATION IN IRELAND.

THE Irish Reformation was the missing of a great opportunity. The slavery to the English which the pope first decreed and then continually fostered, the taxes which went to the papal courts, and the indifference of the ecclesiastical rulers toward both religion and morals, would have made an excellent foundation on which to appeal from the pope to Christ, or even from the Ireland of the fourteenth century to that of the sixth. The total and final disruption of Ireland from the papacy ought to have been the result, even if we could not expect her evangelization in the interest of the Gospel. It is one of the saddest ironies of history that in a time when everything favored the reenthronement of Christianity in the quondam "Isle of the Saints," the methods of the Tudor Reformation served in the end to bind the papal chains more securely than ever on the hapless inhabitants. If on the strength of the English hand some new St. Patrick could have gone through the island, calling the people to repentance, a great and beneficent work might have been accomplished. But in no single European country was the Reformation a return to pure apostolic Christianity; how much less in Ireland, where, more than in England, it was simply a fiat of kings, politicians, and dragoons.

A LOST OPPORTUNITY.

In Ireland, at the opening of the sixteenth century, no change could be for the worse. Between the despotism of the pope, the king, and the local princes, the people were indeed in a forlorn and sorry plight. In a country without schools and printing presses, superstition and ignorance had full sway. There was no preaching except by the begging friars, and theirs was about as good as none. In one of Henry VIII's state papers we have the following language: "Some sayeth that the prelates of the Church and clergy is much cause of all the misorder of the land; for there is no archbishop ne bishop, abbot ne prior, parson ne vicar, ne any other person of the Church, high or low, great or small, English or Irish, that useth to preach the word of God saving the poor friars beggars." The pope succeeded in getting most of the nominations to vacant benefices in his own hands, and these nominations were not given by merit,

FORLORN CONDITION OF IRELAND.

but were bought at good round sums. The terrors of the Church were constantly used to foster the English overlordship. The parliament at Dublin in 1467 knew it could safely appeal to these terrors, for it passed the following resolution: "Whereas our holy Father Adrian, pope of Rome, was possessed of all the seigniory of Ireland, in right of his Church, which for a certain rent he alienated to the king of England and his heirs forever, and by which grant the people of Ireland owe their obedience to the king of England and his heirs, as their sovereign lord—it is therefore ordained that all archbishops and bishops of Ireland shall, upon a monition of forty days, proceed to the excommunication of all disobedient subjects; and if such archbishops and bishops be remiss in discharging their duties in the premises, they shall henceforth be liable to a penalty of one hundred pounds."[1] The animosity between even the Irish and English monks sometimes went to such extremes that an old writer records that the Leinster Irish burned eighty innocent souls in one church, "asking no more but the life of their priest, then at masse, whom they notwithstanding sticked with their javelins, spurned the blessed sacrament, and wasted all with fire; neither feared they the pope's interdiction, nor any censures ecclesiastical denounced against them."[2]

Under these conditions it is no wonder that the Church of Ireland was going to ruin. There was not enough interest in religious things to keep the buildings in repair. The wind and snow came in through the windows and roof; many churches and monasteries were destroyed by warring chieftains, and others were left without divine service. The cathedral of Clonmacnois was described in 1516 as "in a half-ruined state, unroofed, with only one altar, covered with straw. Here mass is seldom celebrated."[3] In 1517 another report described the diocese of Armagh in terms far from flattering. "A large proportion of the inhabitants live with the cattle in the fields and in caves; almost all of

DESOLATE CHURCHES.

[1] Killen, Eccl. Hist. of Ireland, i, 323.

[2] Campion, i, 129, Dublin, 1809; Olden, The Church of Ireland, p. 288.

[3] Clonmacnois was one of the most famous abbeys in Ireland. It was founded in 548 by St. Kiernan, whose harp remained for centuries one of the chief relics of the place. Here Colgn (died 789) held forth as professor of theology—the "Doctor of all the Scots," to whom Alcuin wrote a letter (quoted in Ussher, Sylloge, ep. 18). Here Tighernach was abbot (d. 1088), the author of the valuable Annals of Ireland from B. C. 300 to A. D. 1088, which has been a thesaurus for later annalists. When the Norwegian king, Thorgils, plundered Clonmacnois, about 840, his wife Ota gave oracles from the high altar of the principal church.

them wear no shoes, and are given up to robbery. . . . In the cathedral there is only one altar—indeed it is wholly exposed to the air; and in it, by one priest only, and that but seldom, mass is celebrated."[1] The moral ruin was as bad. If we may believe the report of the royal commissioners in 1537, the morals of many of the clergy were as dilapidated as their churches.[2] Besides violation of the vows of chastity, the clergy thought nothing of murder. If an abbot whom they disliked was appointed over them, the Irish monks "threw themselves into the churches, mounted to the belfry, let fly arrows, and repelled all approach."[3] The bishop of Leighlin was murdered by the abbot of Deske's son, that the abbot might enjoy the bishopric.[4]

Having reduced the Church in England to his obedience, Henry VIII was determined to do the same with that in Ireland. For this purpose he sent over George Browne as archbishop of Dublin in 1535, who began to preach that men should cease to adore the saints and address their prayers to Christ alone. But his efforts were opposed by Cromer, archbishop of Armagh, and Browne saw the necessity of parliamentary action. In May, 1537, a parliament met in Dublin, which, under the stimulus of the Henrician whip, and as no Irishman sat in it, soon passed the necessary laws. The authority of the pope was renounced, and all maintainers of it were made subject to *præmunire;* the first fruits of all bishoprics, deaneries, and other ecclesiastical offices were claimed by the king; officials temporal and ecclesiastical were obliged to take the oath of supremacy, and all who refused were guilty of treason; no dispensations, licenses, or faculties could be procured from the pope; and many of the monasteries were suppressed. Marriage and fosterage with the Irish

HENRY VIII AND IRELAND.

[1] Theiner, Vetera Monumenta, p. 518. In 1525 the earl of Kildare declared that "all the churches for the most part in the counties of Kilkenny and Tipperary are in such extreme decay by reason that no divine service is kept there." A memorial of 1543 describes the churches and monasteries "in utter ruin and destroyed." See Carew manuscripts, 1515–74, pp. 33, 55 (Lond., 1867), quoted by Killen, i, 336.

[2] The following items from the report reveal the situation: The abbot of Inislonaght is a man "of odious life, taking yearly and daily men's wives and daughters, and keepeth no divine service." The abbot of Innislawenaghte beside Clonmel "useth no divine service, but has his leman or harlot openly," and every monk in the monastery has like liberty. The same is true of other religious houses mentioned in the report.—Killen, i, 336, note.

[3] Malone, Church History of Ireland, p. 376.

[4] Carew manuscripts, 1515–74, p. 33.

were forbidden, as well as the use of the Irish language or dress in the Pale. Thus was Ireland changed from Roman to Anglican Catholicism by the stroke of a pen. To his credit it must be said that Browne visited some of the towns, preaching against superstition and trying to justify the new laws, and urging the people to trust in Christ rather than in images and relics, which latter he even destroyed. But it is evident, as Olden points out, that there was at this time little if any change in doctrine.[1]

The pope tried to incite the Irish chieftains and bishops to resist the change. The king of Ulster, O'Neill, did make a show of resistance, but he was soon overpowered by the English troops, and the whole island speedily fell away from Rome. One chief after the other signed articles of submission. That signed by O'Neill may be taken as a specimen: "I entirely renounce obedience to the Roman pontiff and his usurped authority, and recognize the king to be the supreme head of the Church of England and Ireland under Christ, and I will compel all living under my rule to do the same." With hardly a blow struck, the pope saw the whole country as if by magic transferred to another allegiance. The Irish knew that the pope had always been on the side of their oppressors, and under the horrible conditions that prevailed from the Norman Conquest to the Reformation the Irish had lost both their religion and patriotism. They were therefore in no condition to offer resistance to the new Anglicanism, the establishment of which called out none of that splendid heroism on the part of both Roman Catholics and Protestants which we have seen was a part of the history of the English Reformation. And if it had not been for the intolerance and stupid lack of statesmanship in Anglican dealing with the Irish, the latter would have been forever lost to Rome.

IRELAND SUBMITS TO HENRY'S ANGLICANISM.

It is a singular illustration of the dilemmas suggested by this crooked history that the English king had to face the question, Since you have overthrown the pope in Ireland, upon what basis does your own right to the crown of that island rest? Your ancestors received that sovereignty from the pope, to the pope they appealed when it was in danger, and they found him always a faithful defender of their rights. Now that you have denied papal jurisdiction, your own claim falls to the ground. To meet this argument of the papal advocates the king summoned a parliament in Dublin, 1542—the first national assembly, as in it the Irish chiefs sat along with the Anglo-Irish and

THE DUBLIN PARLIAMENT.

[1] See Olden, The Church of Ireland, pp. 300, 301.

English deputies. By this parliament Henry was declared to be king of Ireland, and thus his right was assumed to be placed beyond dispute. At the bottom, however, now and previously the English right to Ireland rested on the sword alone—that instrument which justifies so many of the arrangements of history. In 1542 the monasteries were suppressed, the heads of the houses and many of the monks receiving pensions.

The end of the reign of Henry VIII saw Ireland legally cut off from the pope, but otherwise still Catholic. The reign of Edward VI (1547–53) made little change. The two indispensable adjuncts of reformation, native literature and native preaching, were lacking. The Prayer Book of Edward VI was printed in Dublin in 1551—the first book printed in Ireland; but outside of a few garrison towns it had no use in the churches, and so few copies were published that there is only one copy now in existence—that in the library of Trinity College, Dublin. The Latin mass was used everywhere. In fact, for the people in Ireland as a whole the English liturgy was useless. And no effort was made to minister to the people in their own tongue. The so-called Reformation in Ireland was a political arrangement entirely, forced upon the people by their conquerors, which touched neither their hearts nor intellects.

EDWARD VI AND IRELAND.

There was, indeed, an ecclesiastic with the true spirit of a reformer, John Bale, made bishop of Ossory in 1552.[1] He was an English Carmelite, educated at Cambridge, whose zeal for the Reformation made him an exile. On the accession of Edward he returned to England, and when most Englishmen declined to serve in Ireland he accepted the bishopric of Ossory. He made a brave effort to Christianize his diocese, but what could one do among so many? "My first proceedings," he says, "were these: I earnestly exhorted the people to repentance for sin, and required them to give credit to the Gospel of salvation; to acknowledge and believe that there is but one God, and him alone, without any other, sincerely to worship; to confess one Christ for an only Saviour and Redeemer, and to trust in none other man's prayers, merits, nor yet deservings, but in his alone for salvation. . . . Helpers I found none among my prebendaries and clergy, but adversaries a great number. I preached the Gospel of the knowledge and right invocation of God. But when I once sought to destroy the idolatries and dissolve the hypocrites'

JOHN BALE.

[1] Ossory is that diocese in southern Ireland of which Kilkenny is the cathedral city.

yokes, then followed angers, slanders, conspiracies, and in the end the slaughter of men. Much ado I had with the priests; for that I had said, among other, that the white gods of their making, such as they offered to the people to be worshiped, were no gods, but idols, and that their prayers for the dead procured no redemption to the souls departed, redemption of souls being only in Christ, of Christ, and by Christ. I added that their office, by Christ's straight commandment, was chiefly to preach and instruct the people in the doctrine and way of God, and not to occupy so much of the time in chanting, piping, and singing."[1]

He tried also to correct the licentiousness of the clergy. When he visited one of the churches of his diocese in 1553, the parish priest told him that the last prior of the suppressed monastery in that town (Knockstopher, County Kilkenny) was his father. "I asked him," said Bale, "if that were in marriage? He made answer, No; for that was, he said, against his profession. Then counseled I him that he should never boast of it more. 'Why,' saith he, 'it is an honor in this land to have a spiritual man, as a bishop, an abbot, a monk, a friar, or priest, to father.' With that I greatly marveled, not so much of his unshamefaced talk, as I did that adultery, forbidden of God and by all honest men detested, should there have both praise and preferment, thinking in process for my part to reform it."[2] One of the means taken by the zealous bishop to instruct the people was the Miracle Play. A company of young men acted a "tragedy of God's promises in the old law at the market cross, and a comedy of John the Baptist's preaching, of Christ's baptizing, and of his temptation in the wilderness, to the small contentation of the priests and other papists there." But on the accession of Mary the godly and earnest Bale was compelled to leave, and the efforts of this solitary Protestant to really reform his diocese came to naught.[3]

[1] Bale, Vocayon, p. 342; Killen, i, 361; Reid, Hist. of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, i, 39.

[2] Bale, Vocayon, ap. Harleian Miscellany, i, 340, Lond., 1809; Reid, i, 12, note 27.

[3] Bale fled to the Continent, where he remained until Elizabeth came to the throne, 1558. He then returned to England, and was made prebendary of Canterbury, 1560. He died in November, 1563. A selection from his works, though not the most valuable, is published by the Parker Soc., Lond., 1849. His play, Kynge Johan, was printed by the Camden Soc. in 1838. His Illustrium majoris Britanniæ Scriptorum Summarium was published in 1548, enl. ed., 1547–49. We find Queen Elizabeth writing to St. Leger, the lord deputy of Ireland, "to send over the books and writings of Bale, a man that hath been

Under Mary (1553–58) the island was received back into the Roman Church. No one suffered for heresy; the leading men in Church and State trimmed their sails to suit the gale. Mary carried out the same general policy as her predecessors. The monasteries were not reestablished, and the power of England over the unfortunate natives was asserted with, if possible, even more arbitrariness and cruelty. They were hunted down like wild beasts, their villages were burnt, and they were shot as rebels—as of old, Romanists against Romanists showing more cruelty than the later Protestants did to Romanists. Mary was the first sovereign to inaugurate a systematic and thorough plan of colonization or settlement, a method which has since played a large part in Irish history. The inhabitants of what are now Kings and Queens counties had given much trouble to the Pale, and the English authorities were determined to close up that source of annoyance. After reducing the people, parliament confiscated their entire territory and handed it over to English settlers. All native rights, their language, manners, laws, were to disappear. The territory was made into two counties, named after the titles of the English sovereigns, Kings and Queens, and the county seats were named Philipstown and Maryborough, names which to this day remind their citizens of the reign of terror under their Catholic forbears. The country was not completely conquered, and the English settlers had to fight for their new lands. One is reminded of the wars between the North

IRELAND UNDER MARY.

studious in the search for the history and antiquities of this our realm, which he left behind him in the time of our late sister Queen Mary, when he was occasioned to depart out of Ireland, for the illustration and setting forth of the story of this our realm."—Calendar of the Patent and Clare Rolls of Chancery in Ireland, edited by Morrin, Dub., 1861, vol. i, Pref. p. xli, quoted by Killen, i, 362, note. He used the most of his means to buy books, and his magnificent library at Kilkenny was seized by his enemies, who killed his servants and would have doubtless killed Bale if he had remained. A contemporary epigram reveals the impression that he made as a reformer:

Plurima Lutherus patefecit, Platina multa,
Quædam Vergerius, cuncta Balæus habet.

He even exceeded Luther in the length he would go against Rome. He was in fact a Puritan rather than an Anglican, and Benjamin Brook, in his learned Lives of the Puritans, 3 vols., Lond., 1813, does well to begin with him. In Brook and in the Biographia Britannica the best life of him will be found. Bale was a voluminous author (see list in Brook, i, 113, 114), but all of his books were placed in the Index Expurgatorius, Madrid, 1667, with objurgatory remarks.

American Indians and the Spaniards. "Atrocities were committed which have not yet been forgotten. At Mullaghmast the English settlers by a preconcerted plan massacred the Irish whom they had decoyed to a conference. In 1557 Connal O'More was executed with peculiar brutality on Leighlin bridge; in retaliation the natives robbed, burned, and slew the settlers when opportunity offered. The merciless struggle went on far into Elizabeth's reign between the natives and the colonists, until the Celtic tribes, decimated and utterly savage, sank to the level of banditti and ultimately disappeared."[1]

Before leaving the reign of Mary it remains to speak of a story which is said to rest on the excellent authority of Ussher, and which is certainly typical enough to be true. Dr. Cole was commissioned by Mary to proceed to Ireland in order to make inquisition for heresy, and was straitly charged to bring delinquents to justice. On his way he stopped at Chester, where he boasted to his hostess that he had a commission that would lash the heretics of Ireland. During the night the lady, fearing for her brother in Dublin who was inclined to Protestantism, managed to take the commission from the box, and substituted for it another package of like appearance. On his arrival in Dublin Dr. Cole appeared before the lord deputy and privy council, and with great ceremony opened his box to show them his commission. To his consternation he found that the required document had vanished, and in its place was a pack of cards with the knave of clubs uppermost.[2]

ANGLICANISM REESTABLISHED UNDER ELIZABETH.

In the reign of Elizabeth (1558–1603) there was a decided change in the religious status of Ireland, but not much change in its religious life. The Anglican Church was once more established by law; statutes against heretics were repealed; the oath of supremacy was made obligatory on all officials in State and Church, though not exacted of all; the second Prayer Book of Edward VI was sanctioned;

[1] Richey, Lectures on the Hist. of Ireland, 2d series, Lond., 1870, pp. 255, 256. The chief town of Kings County now is Tullamore, and not Philipstown.

[2] Ware, Annals, A. D. 1558; Killen, i, 368, note 4; Reid, i, 44, 45; Olden, p. 319; Ball, Reformed Church of Ireland, app. K. The woman's name was Elizabeth Edmonds, sister of John Edmonds, who with others went over to Dublin to escape persecutions by the Catholics in England. Several Protestants did this during this reign, and formed religious societies in some Irish towns. It is said that the lord deputy was pleased at the discovery, not being of a persecuting turn, and laughingly remarked, "Let us have a new commission, and we will shuffle the cards in the meantime."

and the first fruits of ecclesiastical benefices were restored to the crown. The men in authority in the Pale easily conformed under Elizabeth. The same deputy who had established Catholicism under Mary established Anglicanism under Elizabeth—a pliancy characteristic of many in an age represented by Paulet, lord treasurer under four reigns, who, on being asked how he held his place under so many changes, said, "I sprang from the willow and not from the oak."[1] Curwin was archbishop of Dublin under Henry, Mary, and Elizabeth, and there were few in Ireland who resigned their sees owing to the accession of Elizabeth. In fact, in large parts of the country, outside the range of the English arm, the Roman Catholic religion (what there was of it left, for whole sections of country had been reduced to barbarism and semi-paganism by civil dissensions and the wars consequent on the English occupation) was not interfered with. Men still went to Rome to seek from the pope Irish benefices. Irish bishops sat in the council of Trent during this reign. The statement of some Anglican historians,[2] that all the Irish bishops except two conformed, has been abundantly disproved. The evidence rather bears out the showing of Brady, that twenty-one bishops did not conform, though a careful sifting might lessen these figures.[3] The Irish parliament in 1571 stated that the dean and chapter of Armagh cathedral "were Irishly affectioned and small hope of their conformities." The names of several who remained true to the pope are known, though it is also known that there were some who outwardly conformed who were at heart of the old allegiance.[4]

THE BIBLE IN IRELAND.

Something was done to disseminate Bible knowledge, but unfortunately it did not go far. Heath, a Roman archbishop of York, afterward deprived, presented two large English Bibles in 1559 to the two cathedrals in Dublin. The coming of these Bibles caused a sensation like the appearance of

[1] Ortus sum ex salice non ex quercu.

[2] Mant, Hist. of the Church of Ireland, i, 278; Wordsworth, Hist. of the Church of Ireland, Lond., 1869, p. 209.

[3] See Brady, Irish Reformation, 5th ed., Lond., 1867. See a résumé of the case in Killen, i, 379–383.

[4] A question has arisen of interest to sacerdotalists as to the validity of the orders of the Irish Episcopal clergy, owing to the lack of bishops to assist in the consecrations. Did Archbishop Curwin have assistants? There seems to be no decisive evidence either way, though it may be assumed that he had. To a New Testament student the question is an impertinence, and especially as the apostolic succession through such a man as Curwin, even though legally correct to the sacerdotalist, has nothing to recommend it to the Christian.

a king in state. Everybody came to see them and hear them read. They were chained, as was the wont in Reformation times, and readers would give forth their truths to gaping crowds. A Dublin bookseller, on the strength of this interest, imported small Bibles in 1566, and sold seven thousand in two years. Elizabeth was interested in providing a Bible for the Irish in their own tongue, and gave for this purpose a printing press and Irish type. A catechism and primer in Irish were published in one volume in 1571, and Walsh, bishop of Ossory, began a translation of the New Testament into Irish, which his assassination did not allow him to finish. The work was taken up by others and completed and published in 1608. The Book of Common Prayer was published in Irish in 1603. But nothing farther was done. All well-wishers of Ireland, like Sir Francis Bacon, were desirous that means should be used "for the recovery of the hearts of the people" by having, among other things, "versions of the Bible and catechisms and other books of instruction made in the Irish language;" but the ruling powers in Ireland then, as always before, cared for none of these things, if they were not actually hostile to the good work. They even allowed the Irish types which the queen had provided to be sold to the Jesuits, who took them to the Continent and used them to print books against the Reformation.

It must be acknowledged that the Reformation did little for Ireland. No effort was made either to educate or christianize the people. The Irish parliament passed a bill in 1569 for the establishment of a free school under an English master in every diocese in Ireland, but this noble act remained a dead letter. The kind of men inducted into ecclesiastical office was little better than the priests whom they supplanted. Persons "without lawfulness of birth, learning, English habit, or English language, descended of unchaste or unmarried abbots, priors, deans, choristers, and obtaining their dignities by force, simony, or other corrupt means," had been admitted to office. Some of these, though nominally Protestant, were really Catholic. Camden, a contemporary, describes the priests' sons as either succeeding to their fathers' offices or becoming notorious thieves, and their daughters in case of their fathers' death either begging or selling their bodies.[1] The churches, as might be expected, were in ruinous condition. The Irish lord chancellor, writing in 1570, says that "churches and chapels are so universally down or decayed, as though there were no God nor

SMALL GAIN FROM THE POLITICAL REFORMATION.

[1] Ireland, pp. 144, 145; Killen, i, 404.

CENTRAL EUROPE
AT THE ABDICATION OF CHARLES V (1556)
AUSTRIAN HABSBURGS
SPANISH HABSBURGS
ECCLESIASTICAL STATES OF THE EMPIRE
STATES OF THE CHURCH
THE RED LINE SHOWS THE BOUNDARY OF THE EMPIRE.
K. OF DENMARK
SCHLESWIG
HOLSTEIN
MECKLENBURG
ELEC. OF BRANDENBURG
Berlin
POLAND
Stettin
Lübeck
Hamburg
Bremen
Osnabrück
Münster
Paderborn
Minden
Hildesheim
Halberstadt
DUCHY OF BRUNSWICK
ELEC. SAXONY
Dresden
Leipzig
Erfurt
Cassel
HESSE
Amsterdam
Utrecht
Ghent
Antwerp
Brussels
Calais
Cologne
Aix la Chapelle
Liège
Juliers
Cleves
Mentz
Frankfurt
Worms
Treves
Luxemburg
Metz
Verdun
Paris
Chalons
Toul
Nancy
DUCHY OF LORRAINE
PALATINATE
Heidelberg
Nuremberg
UPPER PALAT.
KINGDOM OF BOHEMIA
Prague
Brünn
MORAVIA
Silesia
Breslau
Vienna
Danube
Passau
Inn
Salzburg
A'BP.
SALZBURG
Gratz
STYRIA
CARINTHIA
CARNIOLA
Trieste
Drave
Save
Pressburg
HUNGARY
Stuttgart
WÜRTEMBERG
Augsburg
DUCHY OF BAVARIA
Munich
AUSTRIA
Orleans
Loire
Nevers
Bale
Constance
Zurich
SWISS CONFEDERATION
Bern
Geneva
Savoy
FRANCE
Lyons
Grenoble
Turin
DUCHY OF MILAN
Milan
Pavia
Verona
Venice
REPUBLIC OF VENICE
Parma
Modena
Rimini
Ancona
Valence
Rhone
Lyons
Arles
Nice
DUCHY OF FLORENCE
FLORENCE
Pisa
Siena
STATES OF THE CHURCH
CORSICA
(To Genoa)
Rome
K'DOM OF NAPLES
Benevento
Naples
SARDINIA
TURKISH EMP.

CENTRAL EUROPE
WING THE DISTRIBUTION OF RELIGIONS AT THE
BREAK OF THE THIRTY YEARS WAR.
1618 A.D.
OTESTANT
THOLIC
EEK
OHAMMEDAN
K. OF DENMARK
SCHLESWIG
HOLSTEIN
MECKLENBURG
ELEC. OF BRANDENBURG
Berlin
Stettin
Danzig
Thorn
Posen
POLAND
PRUSSIA
K'GDM OF
Bremen
Verden
Lüneburg
Hamburg
Lübeck
Strasbourg
Amsterdam
Utrecht
Osnabrück
Münster
Ruhrort
Cassel
Brunswick
Magdeburg
Elbe
DUCHIES OF BRUNSWICK
HALBERSTADT
ELEC. OF SAXONY
Leipzig
Dresden
Breslau
SILESIA
Weimar
Erfurt
Frankfurth
Aschaffenburg
Bamberg
Würtzburg
Eger
Pilsen
KINGDOM OF BOHEMIA
MORAVIA
Brünn
Budweis
Prague
UPPER PALATINATE
Nuremberg
Ansbach
Heidelberg
Mainz
Worms
Spires
Treves
Luxemburg
Metz
Verdun
Thionville
Sedan
Rheims
Paris
Marne
Arduenna
Ghent
Antwerp
Brussels
Liege
Namur
Aix la Chapelle
SPANISH NETHERLANDS
PALATINATE
WESTERN PALATINATE
DUCHY OF LORRAINE
WÜRTEMBURG
Stuttgart
Donauwerth
Augsburg
Ulm
Danube
Vienna
Pressburg
AUSTRIA
Salzburg
BAVARIA
A'BP.
Grätz
STYRIA
SALZBURG
TYROL
CARINTHIA
Inspruck
Basle
Zurich
Bern
SWISS CONFEDERATION
FRANCHE COMTE
Geneva
D. OF SAVOY
Lyons
Trent
Save
CARNIOLA
Trieste
Venice
Verona
Mantua
DUCHY OF MILAN
PRINCIPALITY OF PIEDMONT
Turin
Parma
Genoa
REPUBLIC OF GENOA
Rhone
Avignon
Nice
Pisa
Florence
Ancona
GRAND DUCHY OF TUSCANY
STATES OF THE CHURCH
Rome
KGDM OF NAPLES
Benevento
Naples
CORSICA
SARDINIA
FRANCE
KINGDOM OF
2
4
6
8
10
12
14
16
18
34
32
30
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46
44
42

religion." In 1576 one hundred and five of the parish churches in the diocese of Meath, "then the best peopled and best governed part of the country"—that is, the section most under Anglican influence—were in ruins.

Sir Henry Sidney, the excellent deputy, says that the clergy who had charge of these parishes are "very simple or sorry curates." "Only eighteen," he says, "were found able to speak English, the rest Irish priests, or rather Irish rogues, having very little Latin, less learning and civility. All these live upon the bare altarages, as they term them, which, God knoweth, are very small; and are wont to live upon the gain of masses, dirges, shrivings, and such like trumpery, godly abolished by your majesty. . . . In many places the very walls of the churches down, very few chancels covered, windows or doors ruined or spoiled."[1] The bishop of Waterford says that most of the incumbents of his diocese were "little better than wood-kerne" (wood robbers). The clergy were often wholly unfit for their work—illiterate, mere boys, apprentices, soldiers—and thrust into their position by patrons without ordination. The bishop of Cork from 1572 to 1582 acknowledged that he sold his livings to horsemen and soldiers, his poverty compelling him to this simony. Alas, unhappy Erin! Under Catholicism disunited, spoiled, enslaved, hardly brighter is her outlook under that nominal Protestantism which is the next stage in her pathetic history!

[1] State Papers, ed. Brady, p. 16.

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Osiander.

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PART III.

THE INTERMEDIATE PERIOD.

I. CONTINENTAL EUROPE.

CHAPTER I.

THEOLOGICAL CONTROVERSIES WITHIN THE LUTHERAN CHURCH.

EVEN before the death of Luther there were evidences of divergence of opinion among the Lutheran Protestants. Caspar Schwenkfeld, a Silesian nobleman, refused to be called a Lutheran because Luther held too exclusively to the letter and failed to acknowledge the spirit of the Gospel. Not only must tradition be rejected and the Scriptures accepted, but together with the external word there must also be the inner. Accordingly the Lord's Supper and baptism were to be estimated only by their spiritual significance. Luther took up the dispute against him, in the course of which he wrote his so-called Short Confession. Agricola also attacked Luther because he continued to preach the law, whereas Agricola went entirely over to antinomianism. Melanchthon, too, soon forsook the strictly Augustinian view of salvation, and taught that, so far from being the author of sin, God held every man responsible. Man's salvation could only be brought about by his own cooperation. So, too, good works were necessary to the believer in order to final salvation, while with reference to the Lord's Supper he went over almost to the view of Zwingli. Partly because of Luther's confidence in Melanchthon he failed to notice these variations from the original Protestant faith, and the great reformer defended Melanchthon against all attacks.[1]

EARLY DIVERGENCE IN DOCTRINE AMONG LUTHERANS.

It was after the death of Luther, however, and when it became necessary to decide whether the Augsburg interim should be accepted or rejected, that the principal and more serious controversies began. The interim had indeed been rejected by the elector Maurice, and he proceeded to its modification, by the aid of Melanchthon and others, so that

THE ADIAPHORISTIC CONTROVERSY.

[1] Comp. Möller, iii, 253, n. 1.

the Leipzig interim was introduced in its stead. But even this allowed many objectionable forms to remain, and these were declared by the elector's theologians to be matters indifferent (*adiaphora*). Out of this arose the Adiaphoristic controversy. Flacius, Amsdorf, Aquila, Wigand, Judex, and Gallus, who had made Magdeburg their headquarters because of its decided stand against the interim, attacked the Leipzig interim as a compromise with papal institutions and disloyalty to confessional obligation.[1] Just in proportion as Maurice was held responsible for the disasters of the Smalcald war were the Lutheran masses aroused against any concessions by him or his theologians. The Interimists, or Adiaphorists, were attacked bitterly by the assembled theologians of Magdeburg. In fact, Melanchthon himself regarded the ceremonies to which objection was made as admissible only in order to prevent the complete annihilation of the evangelical congregations. The effect, however, was to divide the Lutheran camp into two distinct parties, the strict Lutherans and the Philipists.[2]

This unfortunate division, however, was destined to be emphasized and perpetuated by events to come. In 1552, when the adiaphoristic controversy had about reached its conclusion, George Major, professor of theology at Wittenberg, declared that good works were necessary to salvation. Amsdorf went so far in his refutation as to affirm the hurtfulness of good works to salvation. Amsdorf also involved Justus Menius in the controversy, now known as the Majoristic. Menius was superintendent of Gotha. He was anxious for peace, and strove to satisfy Amsdorf of his orthodoxy, but neither Amsdorf nor Flacius would accept his explanations, and to avoid further trouble he removed to Leipzig. The Wittenbergers, especially Melanchthon, declared the position of Major to be admissible although easily misunderstood. Since, however, Major was not dismissed from his professorship, all the Wittenbergers were, by the strict Lutheran party, associated with him in heresy. Melanchthon advised that the language which had been so offensive should

THE MAJORISTIC CONTROVERSY.

[1] These men, who headed the so-called Gnesiolutheran—that is, genuine or strict Lutheran party—were more Lutheran than Luther himself. One of the points he insisted upon against the fanatics in Wittenberg was the adiaphoristic character of external forms. Even the elevation of the sacramental elements was not abolished by him until 1543.

[2] Baur gives a lucid account of these parties and their origin.—Geschichte der christlichen Kirche, iv, 307–309. His entire treatment of the controversies described in this chapter is recommended to the student of history.

be avoided and not defended. Major yielded in 1558. In the same year Andreas Musculus, of Frankfort-on-the-Oder, asserted that those who preached the necessity of good works to salvation belonged to the devil.

The question at issue in the adiaphoristic controversy was whether, and under what circumstances, matters of religious faith and practice may be regarded as indifferent. In the Majoristic controversy the dispute raged around the question of obedience to the law as relative to salvation after justification. Connected with the latter, or similar to it in their attempt to modify the doctrine of justification by faith alone, are two other controversies. The first grew directly out of the Majoristic controversy, but was limited to a brief time and narrow locality. Poach and Antony Otho, of Nordhausen, in attacking the Majorites had denied that the justified person had any need whatever of the law, since he is enlightened by the Holy Ghost, and is good because of this inner light and power. This was opposed by Wigand, Mörlin, and others as a suspicious and dangerous form of Mysticism. The second was the Osiander controversy, which began in 1550 and continued until 1566 with much bitterness, involving the entire Prussian Church. Andreas Osiander was one of the opponents of the Philipists, and, like Poach and Otho, fell into disfavor with the strict Lutherans while trying to defend their cause. Nevertheless, he had attacked the doctrine of imputed righteousness as "colder than ice," and had tried to give the doctrine of justification by faith alone some warmth by teaching that Christ dwells in the justified by faith, and thus imparts a real divine righteousness. Luther appears to have heard this doctrine from Osiander's lips, and to have approved it. But the Flacianists were undoubtedly more Lutheran than Luther himself, and they would not tolerate any such modification of the Lutheran doctrine as they understood it. Osiander's principal opponent in this terrific strife was Joachim Mörlin, his colleague in Königsberg. At Osiander's death his son-in-law, John Funck, became the leader of the party, but his favor with Duke Albert was fatal. When the government fell into disfavor with the states, Funck, the duke's chief counselor, was executed, more from political than religious considerations. With him died Osiandrianism.[1]

POACH AND OTHO.

OSIANDER.

The so-called synergistic controversy was in reality a continuation of the Majoristic, only that while the latter emphasized the

[1] The reader who desires access to the original sources on this subject should not overlook the notes in Gieseler, iv. 469–480.

works which were necessary to salvation, the former considered the agencies employed. Pfeffinger, in Leipzig, and Striegel, in Jena, had taught, in accordance with Melanchthon, the cooperation of man's will in human salvation. This was made the occasion of a violent assault on the part of Amsdorf and Flacius, and as the former in the Majoristic controversy had declared good works hurtful to salvation, so now the latter, far from granting human nature any power to participate in its own salvation, affirmed that original sin was the very essence of human nature since the fall.[1] Flacius also took occasion to assault Melanchthon for having introduced certain changes in the interest of synergism into the "Theological Commonplaces" of 1548.

THE SYNERGISTIC CONTROVERSY.

But the unfortunate series of controversies was not ended. In 1552 Joachim Westphal, of Hamburg, assaulted the *Consensus Tigurinus*, by which it had been expected that the Swiss reformers would be brought into practical harmony with one another. In doing so, however, Westphal accused Melanchthon of agreeing with Calvin concerning the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. Melanchthon did not then, nor later, deny the accusation. Hence the Philipists were now called Crypto-Calvinists. The suspicion against Melanchthon increased when, after a period of silence, Calvin and Bullinger, incensed by the refusal of Denmark and northern Germany to admit the Calvinist John à Lasco and the French Protestants driven from England under Mary, appealed to the writings of Melanchthon, especially the Augsburg Confession, in support of their agreement with the Lutherans. The dispute took another form in Bremen, where John Timann asserted the settled character of the doctrine of the ubiquity of Christ's body. Such was his influence that he carried most of the preachers of the city with him. Albert Hardenberg, because he would not subscribe to the doctrine, was abused as a Crypto-Calvinist. Still later Tilemann Hesshusius was one of the strongest and most bigoted advocates of the ubiquity. Melanchthon advised constantly against contentiousness for the truth, but his entire course only tended to increase the suspicion that he agreed with Calvin rather than Luther.

THE CRYPTO-CALVINISTS.

While the theologians were so fiercely contending for the truth as each one conceived it, the princes felt the importance, from a political point of view, of bringing the divided provinces into harmony. A general synod was proposed, but could not easily be

[1] Even as late as 1567 he published a work supporting this extreme doctrine. See copious notes in Gieseler, iv, 460–462, and comp. Möller, iii, 262.

secured. Upon the crowning of Emperor Ferdinand at Frankfort in 1558, a number of the princes came together and agreed upon a recess, which, in reference to the questions of justification, good works, the Lord's Supper, and the adiaphora, was quite Melanchthonian.[1] The articles, which proposed no new confession, but claimed to be based upon the chief confessions already in existence, were signed for the electorate of Saxony, Brandenburg, the Palatinate, Würtemberg, Hesse, and some smaller principalities. They were then sent to the other evangelical princes. Duke John Frederick of Saxony declined to coincide with the views expressed in the recess and called his strict Lutheran theologians together, and published the Weimar Confutation (1559), written by Flacius. It condemned nine heresies, among them some of the views held by the Philipists,[2] and was followed by the arrest of such as dared to contend against its utterances. John Frederick had been led by his theologians, and partly by jealousy of electoral Saxony, to take the position he did. It was not long until he was compelled to drive out the strict Lutherans and call Wittenbergers in their place, to escape their tyranny. Before the next important effort at peace was consummated Melanchthon passed away from these scenes of strife, April 19, 1560.

THE FRANKFORT RECESS.

Still the princes were unwilling to allow the divisions to continue. Duke Christopher of Würtemberg proposed a diet of the evangelical princes, which met at Naumburg, January 20, 1561. Melanchthon had favored this measure, and proposed that beforehand each prince should consult his theologians as to the best plan to follow, and bring with him to the diet some of the theologians who would aid and not hinder an understanding. As Philip of Hesse alone of all those who in 1530 signed the Augsburg Confession still lived, it was proposed that the princes should sign afresh. There were at the diet the electors of Saxony and the Palatinate, Palgrave Wolfgang, Dukes John Frederick of Saxony, Christopher of Würtemberg and his son Eberhard of Mecklenburg, Ernst of Braunschweig and his brother Duke Philip, Margrave Carl of Baden, and Count George Ernst of Henneberg, while the other Protestant princes were represented by duly author-

THE DIET OF NAUMBURG.

[1] The substance of the articles may be seen in Gieseler, iv, 444, 445, n. 33.

[2] Gieseler, in a lengthy note, gives in Latin the principal points of the Confutation—iv, 445–447. On pp. 447–451, notes 38–40, may be seen Melanchthon's opinion of the Confutation, together with much other interesting original matter from the great theologian.

ized ambassadors.[1] After much dispute as to which edition of the Augsburg Confession should be adopted for signature, it was agreed to choose that of 1531, but without rejecting that of 1540, which was described in the preface as the more explicit. Against this only Dukes John Frederick of Saxony and Ulrich of Mecklenburg objected. The former declared that the signers were at heart Zwinglians, and had driven from their territories the truest supporters of the Augsburg Confession; that the heretics were passed by in silence in the preface, and thereby encouraged, while the Smalcald articles, the clearest presentation of the evangelical doctrines, were not even mentioned. All effort to bring him to terms failed. Once more he had destroyed the hopes of peace in the evangelical ranks.

CALVINISM OF FREDERICK III.

The action of Frederick III of the Palatinate in introducing a Calvinistic tendency into his territories was regarded as apostasy. His profession of loyalty to the Augsburg Confession, the Apology, and the recesses of Frankfort and Naumburg could not convince his accusers. He laid the blame of the entire difficulty at the door of the theologians. An attempt on his part, in common with Christopher of Würtemberg, to bring about an understanding (colloquy of Maulbronn) resulted rather in increasing the bitterness of the strife. Christopher called upon all the other dukes and princes to join him in a league to prevent the spread of Zwinglianism, which was rapidly encroaching upon German soil. The reference was particularly to the Heidelberg doctrine of the Lord's Supper. At the diet of Augsburg, in 1566, Christopher, together with the Palgrave Wolfgang, seriously strove to secure the exclusion of Frederick III and the church of the Palatinate from the benefits of the Religious Peace of Frankfort. The emperor Maximilian also proposed to compel Frederick to do away with the Calvinistic features of church order, and to restore certain foundations and convents of which he had taken possession. This brought the other princes to an agreement that they would not tolerate any imperial interference with Frederick, and that they would strive once more to harmonize with him.[2]

[1] Baur, iv, 317. His treatment of this diet is remarkably clear and full.

[2] When the emperor made his outrageous proposition, Frederick defended himself with such energy and earnestness as to impress emperor and princes most favorably. Elector Augustus of Saxony slapped him on the shoulder and said, "Fritz, you are more pious than the rest of us." The Margrave of Baden used similar language and suggested the folly of opposing him farther.

Upon the accession of John William to the duchy of Saxony in 1567, the strife broke out with intense bitterness between ducal and electoral Saxony. The duke was a strong supporter of the strict Lutheran party, and immediately dismissed the Philipists who had been called to Jena by John Frederick, and recalled those whom he had deposed.[1] The cordial reception into electoral Saxony of the Philipist theologians was significant and led to strained relations, which were intensified by the confession issued from Jena, in which the doctrines of Wittenberg and Leipzig were plainly assaulted. Selnecker replied indignantly. The princes both declared their desire for peace, and a colloquy was arranged at Altenburg for October, 1568. The only result was to increase the partisan spirit. The duke and the duchy came out more clearly than ever against the Melanchthonian novelties, and the elector and the electorate more positively defended them and condemned the Flacians.[2]

STRIFE BETWEEN DUCAL AND ELECTORAL SAXONY.

The conquests of the Philipists were now very rapid in Saxony, and the emperor required abjuration of Flacianism. Upon the death of John William, Augustus became regent of ducal Saxony also, and deposed the extreme Lutherans of Jena. But their successes proved their ruin. They felt themselves so secure that they ventured upon the more open proclamation of their doctrines. Perhaps they had not intended to deceive, but certain it is they left upon the elector the impression that they were more loyal to Lutheranism than they were, and as his suspicions were aroused they knew how to allay them.[3] The publication of the anonymous work, Exegesis Perspicua Controversiæ de Cœna Domini, was charged to the account of the Wittenbergers in the ears of the elector by the strict Lutheran princes. About the same time a letter of Stössel's fell by mistake into the hands of the elector, in which he had declared his full concord with Calvinism as to the Lord's Supper. This was too much. The elector was enraged because he had been deceived. He caused the principal Philipists to be arrested, and he subjected to close imprisonment Peucer, Melanchthon's son-in-law, until 1586. Privy counselor Cracow, and court preacher Stössel, died

ALTERNATE TRIUMPHS OF PHILIPISTS AND FLACIANISTS.

[1] John William even called to Jena the pugnacious Hesshusius.

[2] The failure was due to stubbornness on both sides. The objections of the ducal theologians to the Philipist opinions and alterations of the Augsburg Confession are given in detail by Gieseler, iv, 458, 459, n. 18.

[3] Especially by the *Consensus Dresdensis* of Oct., 1571, the substance of which is given at length in Gieseler's notes, iv, 466–468.

in prison. The Torgau articles (1574) pretended that Luther and Melanchthon agreed, and that only a few Crypto-Calvinists had been discovered in Saxony.[1] The doctrine of the ubiquity of Christ's body was rejected, but the strict Lutherans' doctrine of the Lord's Supper was maintained. All theologians were required to subscribe to these articles or leave the country. The Philipists had been overthrown.

It will be evident that the attempt to make it appear that Luther and Melanchthon agreed in their doctrine was not pleasing to the strict Lutherans. Nevertheless, enough had been done to prepare the way for the more complete victory which was secured by means of the Formula of Concord. This was early encouraged by Duke Christopher of Würtemberg. He was at first aided by Duke Julius of Braunschweig and Landgrave William, the eldest son of Philip of Hesse. The theologian to whom, more than any other, the final adoption of the Formula of Concord is due, was Jacob Andreæ. The first efforts resulted in failure. In 1574, however, Andreæ prepared what is known as the Tübingen Book, or the Swabian Concordia. The views of the lower Saxon theologians were afterward incorporated with it, under the name of the Swabian-Saxon Concordia. This was now abbreviated and adopted, under the name of the Maulbronn Formula, by the theologians of Würtemberg and Baden in council at Maulbronn, January, 1576. This work, which had been undertaken at the instigation of Elector Augustus, was sent to him together with the Swabian-Saxon Concordia. He called a convention of theologians at Lichtenberg in February, 1576, and found them ready to make any reasonable concessions for the sake of peace.

EFFORTS FOR HARMONY.

A convention of theologians from the electorates of Saxony and Brandenburg, including Chemnitz, Selnecker, Chrytræus, Musculus, and Christopher Körner, met in Torgau, and, with the Swabian-Saxon Concordia as a basis, produced the Torgau Book in May and June, 1576. The Concordia had mentioned Melanchthon with honor, but in the Torgau Book this mention was omitted, while the whole work was more strictly Lutheran. Few, however, were satisfied. To some it appeared too severe against Melanchthon; to others the distinction between Lutheranism and Philipism was objectionable. Some wanted Melanchthon to be expressly condemned; others thought both the Melanchthonians and Flacians ought to be included in the condemnation. At the convent of Bergen, near Magdeburg, the Torgau Book was revised

THE TORGAU BOOK.

[1] Möller, iii, 264.

into the Bergen Book, more in accord with criticisms which had been made. This was in March to May, 1577. Andreæ had made an epitome of the Torgau Book, which the same theologians now revised and approved. In the Bergen Book the traces of Philipism almost totally disappeared. It was hastily signed by many. Objections which had been made known after the signatures of such large numbers had been attached could only be noticed in a preface, which was prepared at the convention in Smalcald, in 1578, and Jüterbock in January and June, 1579. In February, 1580, the final Formula of Concord was adopted at the convent of Bergen, and on June 25, 1580, the fiftieth anniversary of the Augsburg Confession, it was solemnly published at Dresden by Elector Augustus. It had been signed by fifty-one princes and lords, thirty-five cities, and about nine thousand theologians.

THE FORMULA OF CONCORD.

There were, however, many who for various reasons declined to subscribe, including Schleswig-Holstein, Hesse, Pomerania, Anhalt, and Silesia, together with the cities of Frankfort-on-the-Main, Spires, Worms, Magdeburg, Nuremberg, Nordhausen, and Strasburg. Duke Julius of Braunschweig became offended and refused to sign because he had been censured for allowing his three sons to receive emoluments at the hands of the Roman Catholic Church. The king of Denmark refused to allow its publication in his realm, and with his own hand threw two richly-bound copies, sent him by his sister, the electress of Saxony, into the chimney fire.

The Formula of Concord became an apple of discord. Its adoption and promulgation, though enacted with good intentions, was a high-handed act. It violently interdicted free thought, and gave the Lutheran Church for a long time to come a direction as truly dogmatic and uncharitable as the Roman Church from which it had sprung.[1] But the worst feature of all was the confirmation of the division between Calvinism and Lutheranism. The predestinarianism of the Formula of Concord and of Calvinism were but slightly different, but the divergence was found in the doctrine of the Lord's Supper and in the practical features of church life. Yet the Lutherans openly professed themselves more favorable to Romanism than to Calvin-

THE FORMULA A MISNOMER.

[1] Wilhelm Kabe, in a recent small work, says that the Reformation produced no sentiment in favor of confessional equality, and attributes the spirit of tolerance now prevalent to the idea of natural right which sprang from Humanism.—Ueber Parität, pp. 7, 9. Such facts as we have given might seem to substantiate his conclusion; but in the Reformation intolerance was accidental, while in Romanism it was embodied as a principle.

ism. A little later Nicholas Krell, the jurist, whom Elector Christian I of Saxony had made chancellor, was arrested under the regency of Duke Frederick William, and charged with having tried to seduce his master to Calvinism. Because he had favored the claims of Henry IV of Navarre to the French throne Krell was also accused of conduct prejudicial to the emperor, and was beheaded in 1601. Crypto-Calvinism had been completely stamped out.[1]

Within the ranks of the orthodox Lutherans, as judged by the Formula of Concord, there was, however, not perfect peace. That document had left the question as to reconciliation between the doctrines of particular election and universal grace unsolved. It became customary to lay the blame of perdition upon the soul itself. A modification of this view was attempted by Samuel Huber, a Lutheran pastor in Wittenberg. He undertook to place alongside of the doctrine of grace that of universal election, and by yielding the doctrine of an effectual call placed the entire responsibility of the actual reception of the benefits of this election upon the believing or unbelieving spirit of the individual. In the effort to refute this position Ægidius Hunnius was compelled to take the view that God decided upon the election or reprobation of a soul, on the ground of his own foreknowledge of the individual's attitude toward the Gospel. But since the doctrine of original sin forbade the possibility that an unconverted soul should in its own strength put faith in God, he maintained that the soul was responsible merely for the attention and submissiveness with which it gave heed to the word as declared. If the sinner put no obstacles in the way of the word, but gave heed thereto, he would be saved. Hunnius was adjudged correct and Huber was deposed. More idle and more bitter was the dispute between the theologians of Giessen and Tübingen. The former held that in his humility Christ had emptied himself voluntarily of some of his divine attributes (Kenosis); the latter that he did not empty himself of them, but hid them (Krypsis). By electoral decision the former was proclaimed as essentially true, and this doctrine was taught in Saxony. In Hesse-Darmstadt the same doctrine was officially promulgated. The decision was reached in 1624. The progress of the Thirty Years' War overshadowed the protests of the Tübingenites.

FURTHER PREDESTINARIAN DISPUTES.

[1] See an extensive account in Möller, who, however, evidently desires to apologize for the severity of the strict Lutherans—iii, 262–272. The account in Gieseler, with the usual invaluable notes, should not be overlooked. iv, 481–483.

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CHAPTER II.

PROGRESS OF CALVINISM IN GERMANY.

OPEN and avowed Calvinism, however, continued to make rapid progress. This was not a little furthered by the accession of the Philipists, who, but for the Formula of Concord, might have become a means of uniting the Calvinists and Lutheran branches of the Church. Notwithstanding, the Reformed doctrine, as it was called in distinction from the Lutheran, made its chief gains in the western portions of Germany, where the civilization and cultivation were of a higher type, and among the higher classes of the eastern portion.[1]

As long as Frederick III lived, the Palatinate electorate was Philipist and even Calvinistic in sentiment. Olevianus and Ursinus prepared and published (1563) the Heidelberg Catechism. Yet while Frederick was so decidedly Calvinistic, chiefly owing to the excessive zeal of the extreme Lutherans, he favored a military union of all the Protestant States. His son, Louis VI, strongly Lutheran, deposed the Calvinistic theologians and preachers to the number of about five hundred, and reintroduced the strict Lutheran forms in connection with the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper. His brother, John Casimir, however, was a strong Calvinist, and in his cities of Kaiserslautern, Neustadt, and Brockelheim the refugees found a place of resort. Upon the death of Louis VI, in 1583, John Casimir became regent and guardian for his minor nephew in the Palatine. He at first claimed a church in Heidelberg for the Reformed, and forbade the preachers to accuse each other of heresy in the pulpit. His attempts to give both parties a place in his domains were opposed by the Lutherans, and as a result he deposed them and appointed only Reformed as members of the ecclesiastical council. A farcical colloquy resulted in a victory for the Reformed party. John Casimir now proceeded to depose about four hundred ministers. Upon his death, in 1592, Frederick IV, at the age of eighteen, took the government into his own hands. He was of the Reformed faith, which he established in his realms. Like his

MORE ALTERNATIONS IN THE PALATINATE.

[1] Comp. Möller, iii, 273. The name Reformed soon came to carry with it the implication that the Lutherans were not reformed.

brother, however, he strove, though in vain, to unite the Protestant states of Germany.

CALVINISM IN NASSAU.

In Nassau it was the wish both of the rulers, who were inclined toward the policy of Frederick III of the Palatinate, and of the population, who were influenced by the conditions prevailing in the Netherlands, to preserve the Calvinistic faith and practice. The Philipist theologians, Widebram and Pezel, who were driven from Wittenberg in 1574, found their way into Nassau, where in 1578 they prepared a confession decidedly opposed to the Formula of Concord. In the same year the Reformed discipline and the Presbyterian order were introduced, while in 1581, the use of the Heidelberg Catechism was legally permitted. Olevian, who had been deposed from Heidelberg by Louis VI, was called to Herborn, where he, together with Ursinus and Piscator, became the principal professors in the new university. By the general synod at Herborn, in 1586, the Calvinistic system was formally established. At the same time the counties of Wittgenstein, Solms-Braunfels, Sayn, Isenburg, and Wied joined with Nassau in reference to their ecclesiastical arrangements.[1]

GLANÆUS AT BREMEN.

In Bremen the strongest and latest opposition to the Calvinistic ideas was that of Jodocus Glanæus, pastor of St. Ansgar church. The council called Widebram and Pezel to their aid, 1580, but Glanæus refused to treat with them because they were suspects. Glanæus was deposed and Pezel called in his place, and thus harmony was introduced between the pastor of St. Ansgar and the Philipist superintendent, Mening. Upon the death of the latter, 1584, Pezel was made superintendent of church and schools and professor of theology of the lyceum established by the mayor, Daniel von Büren. He composed the so-called Bremen Catechism, which, together with the Heidelberg, remained in use until the last century. He introduced the breaking of bread in the place of the host, did away with exorcism in connection with baptism, and abolished "idols and pictures" from the churches. Although Bremen declined as late as 1590 to be called Calvinistic, yet the doctrine was strongly predestinarian, proving that the city was following Calvin rather than Melanchthon. Bremen also later sent delegates to the council of Dort. Such Lutherans as remained were obliged to find their church services outside of the city. But in 1638 the cathedral, which had been closed for a long period, was opened to them.

We have seen that Anhalt refused to subscribe to the Formula

[1] Möller, iii, 276–278; Gieseler, iv, 494, 495.

of Concord. John George I (1587–1603) was the mainstay of Calvinism during his rulership. This prince's father, Joachim Ernst, had held to Philipistic rather than Calvinistic ideas. But in 1589 John George abolished exorcism from the rite of baptism, and John Arndt, because of his opposition to this measure, was driven from his pastorate at Badeborn. While the prince did not regard this as a religious innovation, his opponents recognized its Calvinistic tendency. The marriage of the prince with a daughter of Palgrave John Casimir in 1596 led naturally to many changes in forms of worship. Pictures, the burning of candles at the Lord's Supper, priestly garments, surplices, altars, and Latin hymns were forbidden, while the breaking of bread was substituted for the use of the wafer, and the Heidelberg Catechism was introduced. The opposition was considerable, and as late as 1603 a recess of the Landtag declared that the Augsburg Confession was still the confession of the Church. But gradually the principality became Calvinistic, with the exception of Anhalt-Zerbst, which became Lutheran in 1644.

ANHALT CALVINISTIC.

Philip of Hesse, as we have seen, was imbued with the Zwinglian doctrine of the Lord's Supper, and gradually assumed still more the spirit of Strasburg and Switzerland, as distinguished from Luther. At his death the territory was divided into Upper and Lower Hesse, of which the former inclined rather to the Lutheran, the latter to the Reformed faith, although only a part of Upper Hesse subscribed to the Formula of Concord. The strife between the two territories became so sharp that after 1582 it was regarded unwise to bring the theologians together in a general synod, as had previously been done. The division of religious interests undoubtedly made it possible for the Landgrave Maurice to make changes in accordance with his Calvinistic ideas. In 1604 a part of Upper Hesse fell to him as a result of the death of Landgrave Louis IV, his uncle. In 1605 he announced three points in which the affairs of the Church were to be improved. These were: First, the omission for the future of the dangerous and unedifying disputes about the person of Christ. The theologians were to content themselves by asserting the omnipresence of Christ, not to contend for the omnipresence of his humanity. Second, the Ten Commandments were to be taught as God himself wrote them with his own finger upon the tables of stone. This gave the commandment against graven images a place by itself in the list, thus abolishing pictures and images from the churches. Third, the bread was to be blessed and broken according to the

HESSE DIVIDED ON DOCTRINE.

institution of the Lord himself in the Holy Supper. The confession of faith of the synod of 1607 was essentially Calvinistic, although professing to accept the Augsburg Confession and the Apology.[1] Meantime the Landgrave Louis V had founded a university at Giessen as a Lutheran stronghold.

The Giessen divines affirmed that behind these points of improvement lay the intention to introduce the Heidelberg Catechism and other Reformed writings and practices; and this ought logically to have followed. The points of improvement had met with much opposition because of the fear excited by the Giessen divines. In order to allay this alarm the theologians of Marburg had assured the people that their fears were groundless. Hence, although the Marburgers preferred the Heidelberg Catechism, and did not hesitate to declare their choice to the Landgrave, they advised him not to introduce it lest all the old opposition might be aroused and increased. As a result of the decidedly reformed character of the religious innovations in Hesse, that part of Upper Hesse which Maurice had obtained was taken from him during the Thirty Years' War by the imperial council. The territory fell under the control of the Landgrave Louis V of Hesse-Darmstadt, and Lutheranism was established, not to be again overthrown. But the unfortunate effect was to place the two Hesses on opposite sides during the Thirty Years' War. Hesse Cassel was on the side of Sweden, Darmstadt with the emperor. The peace of Westphalia restored the lost territory to the Landgravine Amelia of Hesse Cassel, but it remained Lutheran.

The elector John Sigismund of Brandenburg had been under Reformed influence, and as early as Christmas Day, 1613, had received the Lord's Supper according to the Reformed ceremonial. In doing this he claimed not to propose the compulsion of others' consciences, but merely to satisfy his own. His act, however, caused intense excitement, and the elector's liberality toward both faiths only served to occasion increased bitterness, so that on February 24, 1614, he was compelled to issue an order forbidding useless disputes and denunciation against other churches from the pulpits. In May, 1614, he published his confession (Confessio Sigismundi), which professed to be merely a copy of the improved Augsburg Confession and the purification of Lutheranism from the remains of papal superstition. He did not propose to compel the acceptance of his views by the

THE CONFESSION OF SIGISMUND.

[1] It will be remembered that Calvin had signed and always maintained his essential agreement with the Augsburg Confession as a whole.

preachers of the Mark, but hoped to be able by personal influence to win the churches to his views. In the absence of compulsion he felt the more justified in making every effort to gain converts to his ideas. He gave the theological faculty at Frankfort-on-the-Oder such instructions as practically excluded Lutheranism. But the churches, free to accept or reject the preachers, according to their faith, being mostly Lutheran, chose preachers educated at Wittenberg. The parity of the two faiths was established, although with much attendant friction, and with but few and small congregations. Two important results followed—enmity between Saxony and Brandenburg, weakening the Protestant cause during the Thirty Years' War, and the establishment of the policy which was afterward (1817) made the basis of the union in Prussia.[1]

SOUTHERN GERMANY.

The *Corpus Philippicum* was made the standard of doctrine in the Silesian duchy of Brieg in 1601, and in 1619 Duke John Christian publicly espoused Calvinism, while on March 5, 1620, King Frederick of Bohemia granted the Reformed the free exercise of their religious faith, which, however, was lost during the vicissitudes of the Thirty Years' War. Nor was Lutheranism without progress in Breslau and elsewhere. The Calvinistic advantages in Baden came to an end with the death of Margrave Ernst Frederick in 1604.

ORGANIZATION OF THE GERMAN REFORMED CHURCH.

On the Lower Rhine the German Reformed Church was formed at first by Walloon refugees from the persecutions of Charles V in the Netherlands. Settling in Wesel, they became the germ of the first Reformed Church in that part of Germany. The banishment of all evangelical teachers from Wesel, and the reestablishment of the Roman Catholic doctrine and ceremonial subsequent to the Smalcald war, did not change the sentiments of the populace, which, though in retirement, maintained its Reformed faith and cherished its antipathy to Romanism. Under Bloody Mary, the Walloon, French, and English refugees found homes in Wesel. The attempt of the Lutherans to compel obedience to their views was resisted by these foreigners, who succeeded also in bringing about the abolition of the compulsory use of exorcism in connection with baptism. The introduction of the Heidelberg Catechism (1564) marks the transition to the Reformed faith. In 1567 another immigration of Hollanders brought thousands of Reformed believers into all the cities of the Lower Rhine. They carried with them their form of church government, and in the national convention at Wesel in

[1] See Möller, iii, 283.

1568, and the synod at Emden in 1571, completed the organization begun in 1566 in Antwerp. It was the Dutch Reformed Church banished by Alva to western Germany. Both Roman Catholics and Germans banished them wherever they could, but in other places they were tolerated, and in Wesel they completely displaced Lutheranism. The synod at Emden provided for three provinces of exiled churches, the German and East Friesian, the Belgian-Netherland, and the English, which was to be organized. The church constituted a free association of congregations under the Belgic and Gallican confessions, and using the Genevan or Heidelberg Catechism. The German Reformed congregation of Wesel, followed by other Reformed congregations on the Lower Rhine, became part of the Netherland Church. The return to their native land of a large part of the Hollanders gave the Germans the majority, and the German language displaced the Hollandish, although the congregations remained organically a part of the Church of the Netherlands. This was known as the synod of Cleves. Another, that of Juliers, was soon formed, including the cities of Aachen, Juliers, Cologne, and Neuss. The congregations of Bergen, whose history is full of romance, joined in the first provincial synod of Juliers. The first Bergen synod, separately held in 1589, represented five congregations. It was convened in profound secrecy for fear of their persecutors. In 1610 these three synods dissolved their connection with the Church of the Netherlands, and held their own independent synods. In Westphalia the Church generally was Lutheran, in the Lower Saxon sense; although under great difficulty congregations of the Reformed grew up which attached themselves to the synods of Juliers, Cleves, and Bergen.[1]

[1] Möller's treatment of the Church on the Lower Rhine is particularly satisfactory—iii, 284–287.

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CHAPTER III.

CHRISTIAN LIFE OF THE PERIOD OF PIETISM.

One who overlooks the factors which most contributed to bring about the Reformation will not be able to judge rightly of its effects upon the life of its adherents. The doctrine of justification by faith alone was not so much directed toward the sanctification of the life as toward the pacification of the conscience. To one who was religiously and morally earnest this would prove no detriment, but to the careless, or those who desired an easy way of settling their accounts with God, it would open the door to great moral irregularity. That this was exactly the effect it did produce in many no one will deny who knows the facts. Not only did enemies and critics of the Reformation, as Erasmus, declare that the evangelicals were no better, and in some cases were worse, than the Romanists in practical life, but Luther himself affirmed that many of those who lived in the clear light of the Gospel were morally worse, at least in some particulars, than those who were in papal darkness.[1] Luther often reminded the Lutherans that they must commend themselves by something better than denunciations of the papacy, and it was common to distinguish between an evangelical Christian and those who called themselves Lutherans.[2] This moral degeneration was not, indeed, a necessary result of the Reformation doctrine, but it was a natural result.

SOME ANTINOMIAN RESULTS OF THE REFORMATION.

The excessive stress which soon came to be placed upon doctrine in the Lutheran Church led almost inevitably to the same consequences. Luther even comforted himself with the thought that if the people did not live as they ought, their correctness of faith and doctrine was more than a compensation.[3] In the nature of the case, the release of an ignorant and passionate man from the constant oversight of the Church, and the requirement that he should

[1] He says, "The devil is found among the people to such an extent that under the clear light of the Gospel they are more covetous, treacherous, prejudiced, unmerciful, undisciplined, impudent, and vexatious, than under the papacy." —Hauspostille (Walch), xiii, 19.

[2] So Hans Sachs, "Gespräch eines evangelischen Christen mit einem Lutherischen."

[3] Möller, iii, 389.

take the conduct of his own moral life into his own hands, would result at first in a degeneration; for in the absence of external regulation a high degree of moral and religious earnestness is necessary.

MORAL PERILS ATTENDING THE REFORMATION.

This was not produced. The adherents of the Reformation, so far as the masses were concerned, did not join the ranks of the evangelicals because they were impressed with its positive truth, but because they deeply sympathized with its negations. If they were not moved by convictions of positive duty, much less were they controlled in their lives by the high Christian principle of love—the most powerful of motives, but one of the last to take effect upon human hearts. The Reformation made the entire period one of dissolution, and when the time of reconstruction set in it was unfortunately one of doctrinal, divorced from practical, emphasis. The masses, set free from Romanism, did not know what was expected of them, and confusion was the result. Against all these influences there was no adequate provision. Many of the clergy were ignorant and only in part emancipated from the Roman ideals. It was to take many decades for a new race of preachers with genuine Christian zeal to be raised up. Then, to offset the motive of merit and reward for good works, there was the more spiritual motive of Protestantism, which could not possibly be felt in all its force at once. Geneva exhibited the value of a strict church discipline in the development of a high moral life; and had this been exercised with a firm hand in Germany the results would have been different. But it was impossible from the standpoint of German civil law to exercise such a discipline. Besides, it was entirely contrary to the German conception of Christian freedom, and even the hopes of a better result in the second generation were thwarted by the excessively dogmatic interests which were subserved by catechetical instruction.

MORAL IMPROVEMENT FOLLOWING THE REFORMATION.

It would be erroneous, however, to suppose that even at this early stage some of the benefits of the evangelical ideas were not apparent. In the abolition of compulsory celibacy there resulted a pure and beneficent home life. Domestic and public decency grew in favor. Begging was no longer a legitimate occupation. Secret marriages were less common. Vergerius, in 1562, compared the situation in papal Rome, where even the popes tolerated and drew revenues from licensed unchastity, with Protestant Germany, to the decided advantage of the latter. The frightful procedures against witches were based upon doctrines which Romanism had not contradicted in the long course of its history, and which were held by Roman-

ists as well as Protestants.[1] The church life of Protestantism gradually came to be far more the result of inner conviction than was possible in Romanism. The germs of the true Protestant conception of Christian life, privilege, and duty were there. They only needed sufficient time and opportunity to demonstrate their superior power and character. If charity was neglected at first, it was only to bloom out with the greater charm of absolute unselfishness when it began to appear. Time is needed to form character. Literal obedience to external rules may be promptly rendered. Until character is produced the Romanist may, therefore, appear to better advantage, but in the course of the centuries both truth and results have spoken for Protestantism.

The effect of the Reformation upon culture has been variously estimated.[2] That its first effects were dangerous, if not disastrous, to the Humanistic culture, is unquestionable. The minds of men were powerfully attracted toward religious and ecclesiastical topics. The interests involved were so weighty that in their contemplation the less practical concerns of literary and social culture were neglected. This, and not a necessary nor even actual antagonism of the Reformation to culture, caused the paths of the two movements to diverge. But so far as the Reformation hindered the progress of Humanism it worked a real benefit in the end; for the Humanism of the times was strongly tinged with heathen elements, and led to the subordination of the religious to the intellectual life. The culture which resulted from the principles of the Reformation was no less complete than that of Romanism, while it gave it its true place of subordination to religion.

EFFECT OF THE REFORMATION ON CULTURE.

The Protestant is the true Christian principle, that the religious life is to include, coordinate, and harmonize every other department of legitimate activity. If Protestantism sometimes stood in

[1] For details see Möller, iii, 393. See also Die Teufellitteratur des XVI Jahrhunderts, by Max Osborn. Berlin, 1893. In Die Jahrbücher der Jesuiten zu Schlettstadt und Rupach, 1615-1765, we find (p. 380) that in Schlettstadt ninety-one persons were burned as witches from 1629 to 1642, or at the rate of about seven per year in a comparatively small population. Vol. i, reaching to 1713, Strasburg, 1895. According to page 91, forty-six devils were cast out of one girl by exorcism.

[2] Even Professor Paulsen, Geschichte des gelehrten Unterrichts, pp. 129 ff., 139 ff., agrees with Janssen, Geschichte des deutschen Volkes, ii, 293 ff., iv, 86 ff., that the Reformation led to the decadence of a thriving intellectual life. Zweynert, however, argues throughout to the contrary. See his Luthers Stellung.

the way of scientific investigation, it was the result of the Roman Catholic remnant remaining in it, and contrary to its own true principles. From the very first Luther insisted upon public instruction for children. Pastors and sacristans were to teach the catechism and song. Würtemberg provided as early as 1559 for a German school in every village, and in 1619 Weimar introduced the principle of universal education for boys and girls alike.[1] On the other hand, Bavaria under the Jesuits did all it could to prevent the spread of intelligence among the masses.[2] In the evangelical States numberless higher institutions were put into operation, while universities which have been an untold power in the life of the intellectual world were organized under reformatory influences: in Marburg (1527), Strasburg (1538), Königsberg in Prussia (1544), Jena (1557), Altorf (1575), Helmstädt (1576), Giessen (1607), Rinteln (1619), Zurich, the collegium carolinum (1521), Lausanne, the theological academy (1537), Geneva (1558), Leyden (1575), Franeker (1585), Hardewyk (1600), Groningen (1614), Utrecht (1636). In France academies were established in Montauban (1562), Sedan (1562), Saumur (1601); while between 1578 and 1685 thirty-two colleges were established throughout the kingdom by Protestants. These institutions provided courses of study extending over a period of seven years each.[3] While at first the number of those who were suitably educated for the evangelical ministry was small, and the clergy had to be drawn generally from the artisan class, and many unworthy persons were ordained, the number of students at the universities increased until there was no difficulty in securing an educated ministry.

EDUCATIONAL RESULTS OF THE REFORMATION.

The important parts of the public services in the Lutheran Church were the preaching and the sacraments, but the Lord's Supper was considered necessary to a complete religious service. The pericopes were retained because there were so many untrained pastors, notwithstanding Luther saw great defects in the selection and arrangement. Altars, lights, pictures, organs, and priestly garments were held to have an educating influence, both religiously and æsthetically. Sunday was not at first based upon the fourth commandment, although the

PUBLIC WORSHIP AND THE SABBATH.

[1] Zweynert rightly denies to Luther the praise of having been the herald of compulsory education.—Luthers Stellung, p. 19.

[2] See Möller, iii, 392.

[3] Bulletin de la société de l'histoire du protestantisme français, 1856, pp. 497–511, 582–595. See also Gieseler, iv, 561, 562.

keeping of it was regarded as necessary from both the religious and social standpoint. But the abuses of freedom which followed, to the great detriment of the religious services of the Lord's Day, occasioned the ecclesiastical legalization of the day before the close of the sixteenth century.

LUTHERAN HYMNISTS.

The Lutheran Church, preserving as it did the singing of hymns by the congregation, raised up a large number of hymn writers and produced a rich hymnody. Luther set the example, but he was followed by many others only less able than himself. Nicolas Hovesch (Decius) wrote the German *Gloria,*

"To God alone be glory in the highest,"

and the German *Agnus Dei,*

"O spotless Lamb of God."

Michael Weysse wrote

"Let us now the body bury,"

and translated and published a collection of one hundred and fifty-five hymns of the Bohemian Brothers (1531). John Poliander (†1541) wrote the hymn,

"My soul now praises God;"

Lazarus Spengler, of Nuremberg (†1534),

"Our ruin is complete by Adam's fall;"

and Paul Speratus (†1551),

"Salvation to us now hath come."

During the bitter strifes of the theologians in the last half of the sixteenth century the spirit of religious song maintained its existence and produced some of the best of the German hymns. Bartholomew Ringwaldt (†1598) wrote

"Lord Jesus Christ, thou Highest Good;"

Nicolaus Selnecker (†1598),

"Let me be thine and thine remain;"

Hans Sachs, the master singer of Nuremberg (†1576),

"O thou my heart, who so disturbed?"

and Melissander (†1591),

"Send me, O Lord, whate'er thou wilt."

In the first half of the seventeenth century, in part under the terrors of the Thirty Years' War, Philip Nicolai (†1608) wrote

"'Awake,' so calleth us the voice,"

and

"How brightly shines the morning star!"

Valerius Herberger (†1627),

"Farewell will I to thee now give;"

J. N. Meyfart (†1642),

"Jerusalem, thou city on the heights;"

and Johann Heermann (†1643),

"Zion groans with pain and woe,"
"O God, thou perfect God,"

and

"Dear Jesus, what hast thou done amiss?"

Paul Fleming also, although a lyric poet, deserves mention among the hymn writers for his

"In all my deeds."

The profound interest in dogmatic themes which distinguished very many of the Lutherans in the latter part of the sixteenth and early part of the seventeenth century was not universal. Partly in revolt from this dogmatism, but chiefly as a result of the need of an inner experience of the truths of religion, arose the mystical writings of such men as Weigel, Böhme, and others. Valentine Weigel, pastor in Zschoppau, Meissen, where he died in 1588, held many ideas which he did not make known during his lifetime, but whose publication after his death aroused immense excitement. By subscription to the Formula of Concord he had escaped the inevitable assault for himself.[1] He distinguished mystically between the outer and the inner man, was a Quietist, taught the fundamentally divine nature of man, and thereby prepared the way for a complete overthrow of historical Christianity. The posthumous publication of his writings led to the name Weigelism, by which all those were characterized who held to these mystical and theosophical opinions.

VALENTINE WEIGEL.

Jacob Böhme, *philosophus teutonicus*, the philosophic shoemaker of Görlitz (†1634), wrote independently of Weigel, but was

[1] He complained of the necessity of subscription, and said that he complied because the formula intended to express the doctrines of the Apostles' Creed, but that the theologians of the schools did not know Christ.

influenced both by Paracelsus[1] and Schwenkfeld. Speculatively and devotionally he was richer than Weigel. His Aurora, or the Rising Dawn, was circulated at first in manuscript (after 1612), but was printed in 1634. Having been forbidden to write other works he kept silence, from 1612 to 1619, when he again began his literary activity, and after much difficulty was finally acquitted in Dresden. In his works he gave expression to the longings of the heart after the inner satisfaction which the theology of the schools could not give. He taught the doctrine of the inner light, but coupled his theories with gnostic speculations and unfortunately confused piety with the esoteric and miraculous, while he believed in the power of the philosopher's stone and the secrets of alchemy.

JACOB BÖHME.

In 1614 appeared at Cassel a work entitled The Universal and General Reformation of the Whole World, together with the Fama Fraternitatis of the Praiseworthy Order of Rosicrucians; in 1615 the Confession of the Fraternity of Rosicrucians; and in 1616 the Chymical Wedding of Christian Rosenkreuz, anno 1459. They excited immense interest. They were in part, at least, the work of Johann Valentine Andreæ, who was born in 1586, became deacon of Vaihingen 1614, superintendent at Calw 1620, court preacher and consistorial councilor at Stuttgart 1639, abbot of Bebenhausen 1650, and of Adelberg 1654, where he died in the same year. He was a man of large outlook, who had no sympathy with the dead orthodoxy and formality of his time. Comprehensive and multifarious studies had not destroyed in him the feeling of the necessity for a religious and moral awakening in the Church. He declared that all his efforts to bring about a rejuvenation were met with hindrances insurmountable.[2] Yet if Herder's opinion is correct that these works were written to ridicule the credulity of the mystics, he was as little in sympathy with them as with the scholastics. Although the Order of Rosicrucians was but a myth, yet many there were who took it for a reality and organized accordingly, while others combined to carry out in fact the pleasantry.[3]

JOHANN VALENTINE ANDREÆ.

[1] Paracelsus, a mystic who died in Salzburg, 1541, was a physician whose ideas were first applied by his followers in the practice of medicine, but which were afterward wrought out in opposition to the Protestant scholasticism of the seventeenth century.

[2] He said that anyone who undertook to lead a correct life was sure to be called an enthusiast, a Schwenkfeldian, or an Anabaptist.

[3] There is a lodge of the Order of Rosicrucians in Boston, Mass.

Johann Arndt, pastor in Badeborn in Anhalt, in Quedlinburg, Braunschweig, and Eisleben, and superintendent in Celle, where he died in 1621, was also destined to bear the abuse of the scholastics. His work on True Christianity taught the necessity of sanctification, the ideal of personal Christian perfection, and the cultivation of fellowship with God. These ideas were attacked as detrimental to the doctrine of justification by faith and as fanatical enthusiasm.

ARNDT'S TRUE CHRISTIANITY.

The Reformed Church was ever willing to effect a union with the Lutherans, and although the latter were generally bitter in their opposition to such a union there were enough of a contrary mind to mark a distinct phase in the church life of the period.

In the same way it was that from the Palatinate in which the Reformed tendency prevailed came efforts at union. Francis Junius favored the cessation of strife about points which had been sufficiently discussed, particularly because of the dangers to which the Protestants were exposed (1592 and 1606). Still later (1614) David Pareus, professor in Heidelberg, declared that nothing should be held obligatory which did not necessarily proceed from the Bible, and that in fundamentals the two communions agreed. In 1628, under the pseudonym of Rupertus, Mildenius called attention to the losses which Protestantism was sustaining on account of theological strifes. This writer was probably the first to employ the expression, "In essentials unity; in nonessentials liberty; in both charity."[1] But it was of no avail. The Lutherans refused these offers of peace.

The colloquy at Leipzig in 1631, in which Saxon, Brandenburg, and Hessian theologians discussed the question as to how far the two communions agreed, accomplished nothing. And the efforts of the Scotchman, John Dury (Duræus), who strove to the end of his life for union, were also fruitless, except that he aroused the cooperation of George Calixtus,[2] professor at the University of Helmstedt. His studies in church history had widened his intellectual horizon until he was ready to include Romanists, Reformed, and Lutherans in one great Christian community. But his irenic spirit suggested a syncretism which the dogmatism of the period would not tolerate. He was no more successful in bringing about a union than others had been.

DURY AND CALIXTUS.

[1] In necessariis unitas, in non necessariis libertas, in utrisque caritas. See a lengthy and valuable note on these words in Schaff, vi, 650–653.

[2] Born 1586, died 1656.

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CHAPTER IV.

THE COUNTER-REFORMATION—THE COUNCIL OF TRENT.

When the Reformation broke out almost simultaneously and with tremendous energy in very many countries, the Church was apparently stupefied by what was going on. The far-reaching significance of these movements did not appear at first sight. Time was required in which to study their direction, velocity, scope, and spirit. Until they were clearly understood no concerted and effectual efforts could be put forth to check them. This on the one side, and the political situation on the other, gave the Reformation time to establish itself before any serious attempt to stay its progress could be made.

MAGNITUDE OF REFORMATION NOT RECOGNIZED.

The secular authorities, particularly in Germany, were shut up to thoughts of concession and reunion. This was the almost uniform policy, however it crossed the wish of Charles V. After his abdication in 1558, and the accession of his brother Ferdinand in the same year, the new emperor maintained his rights against Pope Paul IV, and thus found it necessary to deal gently with the Protestants. In Austria and Bavaria it was necessary to concede the right of communion in both kinds, and the marriage of the priests, in order to prevent the complete secession of the masses from the Church. These concessions were made by consent of the emperor, the princes, prelates, and even of Pius IV (April 16, 1564), although Pius V withdrew the right of the cup upon his accession in 1565. Under Maximilian (1564–1576) the situation was, owing to the emperor's personal leanings, still more favorable to Protestantism, and the Reformation spread in many directions. Attempts at reunion at the religious colloquy of Worms, 1557, and at the diet of Augsburg, 1566, as well as propositions to the same effect made by various irenically disposed Roman Catholics, utterly failed and were finally given up. Disputations held with the Jesuits generally ended in the reconversion of Protestants to Rome, and the order in all its approaches toward Lutheranism seemed to be actuated by the motive of aggravating the division between the Lutherans and the Reformed Church.

CONCESSIONS TO PROTESTANTS.

But while all these facts deserve mention as preliminaries, they

were not the counter-reformation itself. The movement known by this name continued until the close of the Thirty Years' War in 1648, and had for its objects, first, a genuine practical reformation of the Roman Catholic Church which should meet the demands of those who were discontented; second, the blocking up of the progress of the Protestant Reformation; and, third, the reconquest of the territories and peoples already lost to the Church. The records of these movements will include the council of Trent, the rise and progress of the counter-reformation orders, particularly the Jesuits, together with the peaceable and forcible recovery of Protestant lands.[1]

A THREEFOLD MOVEMENT.

The council of Trent was called by Paul III to be opened at Trent, May 22, 1542. The Germans wished to have the assembly held on German soil. But though the pope recognized the necessity of a council which should institute real reforms, he was too jealous of the influence of the emperor to allow it to convene outside of Italy. It was pretended that the proximity of Trent to German territory was a sufficient guarantee of its impartiality. Upon the opening of the council it was found that the war between Charles and Francis I had greatly reduced the attendance. It was therefore postponed until July 6, 1543, and later again until March 15, 1545. By the latter part of May of that year twenty bishops had arrived. The council really opened December 13, 1545. There were present twenty-five bishops, one of whom was a German. The pope, by special grants of funds to some of the poorer Italian bishops, thus making their presence at the council possible, and by other means, secured the requisite number to assure the execution of his wishes.[2]

THE COUNCIL OF TRENT.

It had been the wish of the emperor that the council should first take up and pass necessary reforms, upon which he would coerce the Protestants into attendance. The pope, on the other hand, wished to pass hasty acts against the Protestant doctrines and then to execute the conciliary decrees by war. It was finally agreed that both dogmatic

ATTEMPTED REMOVAL OF COUNCIL TO BOLOGNA.

[1] The view here taken differs somewhat from that set forth by Ward, The Counter-Reformation, pp. vii–x.

[2] In order to secure the performance of the pope's desires, the method of voting by nations, which had been employed at Constance and Basel, was abolished, and the vote was by individuals. This made it necessary for the pope to look after the *personnel* of the council.

and reform measures should be considered at the same time.[1] The real work of the council was performed in three assemblies simultaneously convened each day and presided over by papal legates. By thus dividing the members of the council into three parts it was easy to secure obedience, especially as no proposition could be brought before the assemblies or congregations except by the legates. From the question of the relative powers of council and pope the legates held aloof. The sessions of the council had nothing to do but to accept what had been prearranged in the congregations. It was also distinctly understood that the pope reserved the right to judge of the expediency of any measures which proposed the correction of ecclesiastical abuses. Eight sessions were held, and then, under the pretense of fear of an epidemic which was threatened, the pope removed the council to Bologna, March 11, 1547. His real motive, as it afterward appeared, was to get it more completely under his control or even to do away with it altogether. At the command of the emperor the Spanish bishops remained at Trent, but undertook no conciliary acts. The emperor's demand that the council should be returned to Trent was refused.[2] The bishops at Bologna decided to postpone further labors, and on September 17, 1549, the pope dismissed the bishops and sought to perform such work as was pleasing to him by means of conferences held at Rome. The Spanish and French bishops refused to attend these conferences, since they did not represent the Church.

The death of Paul III, November 10, 1549, brought to the papal chair Julius III, who, seeking the imperial cooperation, called the council together at Trent in May, 1551. France, on account of the friendliness of the pope for Charles, refused to send bishops. Nothing was accomplished, however, and on April 28, 1552, the council was suspended for two years. JULIUS III AND PAUL IV. Paul IV (1555–1559) was a brutal and passionate man who, though as Cardinal Caraffa he had proposed certain emendations in the Church, now placed the work in which these propositions had been made by himself in the Index, and declared in a bull of 1559 that all persons who had apostatized, whether priests or laymen, rulers or subjects, had forfeited and were deprived by him of

[1] This was practically impossible, and resulted in giving the dogmatic problems the preference, thus destroying all hope that the Protestants might be persuaded to participate.

[2] A full and vivid account of the antagonisms between the emperor and the popes during and in reference to the council, as, indeed, of the council itself, is found in Ward, The Counter-Reformation, pp. 58–100.

all dignities and rights, and gave any and every Roman Catholic the right to execute this sentence. His nepotism and hatred of the house of Hapsburg did the Church untold harm. He refused to recognize the imperial rights of Ferdinand, chosen by the heretical electors, and, because he wished to employ the Inquisition rather than reforms to check the growth of Protestantism, prevented the meeting of the council during his reign, and attempted pretended reforms from Rome. Pius IV (1559–1565) followed in the nepotistic footsteps of his predecessor and placed his youthful nephew, Carl Borromeo, in the highest positions of Church and State. As cardinal archbishop of Milan he brought about reforms in the convents and among the priests, but by his Jesuitical principles he was able to work the destruction of evangelism in his spiritual realm. When the council met at the call of Pius IV on January 18, 1562, ten years after its postponement by Julius III, there were many more bishops present, but the Italians were still in decided majority. The refusal of the Protestants to accept the invitation to the council gave it a purely Roman Catholic aspect and made it nonrepresentative of the Western Christian world. The council was finally closed on December 4, 1563.

PIUS IV.

The doctrinal questions taken up and settled by the council were such as in one way or another touched upon the Reformation. In the main, whatever the Reformation taught was condemned, and the dogmatic statements of the council were intended to correct or contradict those of the Reformers. Against the doctrine of the sole authority of the Scriptures it was decreed that tradition was of equal value,[1] while the apocryphal writings of the Old Testament were also declared canonical. The Vulgate, which was to be improved by the pope, was made the only authentic recension of the Scriptures, and the Church alone had the right to interpret the Bible. The decrees concerning original sin and justification were so framed as to form a clear contradiction to the view of Protestantism. The freedom of the will was regarded as injured by sin; salvation was the product of divine grace and human effort; the concupiscence remaining in the baptized was declared to be not of the nature of sin; faith was in reality only intellectual belief in the divine revelation and brought about initial justification; the evangelical ideas of

DOCTRINAL DECREES OF THE COUNCIL.

[1] Buckley, History of the Council of Trent, p. 121 f. Buckley gives the substance of the debates in readable form with reference to all the points taken up by the council.

faith as confidence in forgiving grace, grace as divine love, justification as the forgiveness of sins, and assurance, were all rejected. Justification is an act of God which is wrought in baptism, and is repeated for every subsequent mortal sin in the sacrament of penance. Pardon and sanctification are produced by the influx of divine grace upon condition of proper effort on the part of man, including essential acceptance of the teachings of the Church, while the process of justification is regarded as lifelong, man meriting eternal life by his good works, although this merit must also be considered as the gift of God. Thus the merit of good works as against justification by faith alone is asserted.

The seven sacraments of the Church are declared to have been established by Christ. They accomplish the will or purpose of the ministering priest, since they are themselves the vehicles of grace. In reference to all these decrees the council spoke its condemnation of the Protestants. The Lord's Supper was so defined as to support the doctrine of transubstantiation with all its concomitant ceremonies and superstitions. The council also strove to give a dogmatic foundation to the denial of the cup to the laity, although, in view of the situation in Germany, the granting of the cup was to be permitted by the pope under some circumstances and was therefore not authoritatively condemned. Masses both for the living and the dead were approved; but the imperfect form of repentance which arose from fear or other such motives was now condemned, although it had been one of the principal causes leading to the Reformation, and true repentance was required. The priests not only spoke but imparted absolution. Indulgences were still admitted, though it was confessed they had been abused, and no attempt was made to give the practice a dogmatic foundation. The doctrine of purgatory and the practice of venerating saints, relics, and images were retained. Priestly marriage was anathematized.

With reference to practical reforms very little was accomplished. Bishops were to do their own preaching or provide capable substitutes; the pastors were to see that the doctrines of religion were duly presented on Sundays and holidays; monks were allowed to preach under certain restrictions, mendicant monks not at all. The clergy, including the bishops, were forbidden to remain long away from their charges, although the pope had power under certain circumstances to release them from this decree. The corruptions of the lower clergy and monks were to be severely punished, and the churches dili-

SLIGHT PRACTICAL REFORM ACCOMPLISHED.

gently visited by the bishops. Diocesan synods were to be held annually and provincial synods once in every three years. Bishops were to be chosen only after careful testing of their intelligence and morals, and the inheritance of benefices was to cease.

The decrees were signed by 4 papal legates, 2 cardinals, 3 patriarchs, 25 archbishops, 168 bishops, 39 ambassadors, 7 abbots, and 7 vicars general.[1] They brought about the final division of the western Church, although from the beginning it had been the hope of those who most favored the calling of the council that precisely the opposite results might ensue.

With all its efforts to destroy Protestantism, the council could not go so far as it would. To the protest of the princes it is due that a confession to be sworn both by the clergy and the civil officers was not proclaimed. But in its stead Pius IV issued in 1564 a bull containing the so-called Tridentine Profession of Faith,[2] which was composed of the Nicene Creed, the contents of the decrees of Trent, and an appendix on the Roman primacy, which was to be subscribed by all ecclesiastical officials and by university teachers. In addition, the Catechismus Romanus was published in 1566 as a work begun, but not completed by the council. The council had also begun, and the pope completed, by a congregation instituted for that purpose in 1571, the Index Librorum Prohibitorum. In order to regulate and to render uniform the ceremonial of the Church in all lands, the Roman Breviary was published in 1568, and the Missal in 1570. The Vulgate, which was to be prepared for the Church by the pope, was issued by Sixtus V in 1590. It omitted third and fourth Ezra and third Maccabees, together with the prayer of Manasseh. But Pope Gregory XIV, yielding to the many criticisms, instituted a new commission for the revision. Clement VIII bought up all the copies of the Sixtine edition and in 1592 issued another, including third and fourth Ezra and the prayer of Manasseh. One infallible pope had corrected the mistakes of his infallible predecessor.

FURTHER RESULTS OF THE COUNCIL.

The results of the council were beneficial to Roman Catholicism and injurious to Protestantism. Calvin and others, by their criticisms, destroyed the influence of the decrees among genuine Protestants, but the Roman Catholic Church started out on a new propaganda with new enthusiasm. The absolute monarchy which had been confirmed by the council deprived men of the right of free

[1] Baur, iv, 182.

[2] See a translation of the creed in Buckley, History of the Council of Trent, pp. 519–521, and in Schaff, Creeds of Christendom, i, 98, 99.

thought, but it secured unity. The pope declared himself to be the sole interpreter of the decrees (January 26, 1564), which had in some instances been purposely left vague. The decrees were to be in force after May 1. Italy (including Venice), Poland, and Portugal, at once accepted the decrees. In Spain, Naples, and the Netherlands the decrees were accepted, but with the reservation of the right to modify them when they came into conflict with the interests of the secular authorities. In France the clergy adopted the decrees, while the secular authorities, though agreeing with them in substance, refused to publish them because they appeared to limit the freedom of the Gallican Church. By conceding the cup to the laity the pope won Ferdinand and Maximilian in Germany to the acceptance of the decrees. But both in Germany and Hungary the authorities refused to make them the law of the realm, and they were held subject to legislative modification.

ATTITUDE OF EUROPEAN COUNTRIES TOWARD THE DECREES.

[1] Compare Buckley, History of the Council of Trent, pp. 507–509; Baur, iv, 185; Möller, iii, 224.

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CHAPTER V.

THE ORDER OF JESUITS.

ALTHOUGH the period of the Reformation witnessed the rise of a number of orders, as the Capuchins, the Theatines, and the Barnabites, all of which, especially the Theatines, wrought with tremendous zeal against Protestantism, the only order that needs fuller mention is that of the Jesuits. It was founded by Ignatius Loyola, a scion of the Spanish nobility. He was born in the year 1491, and reared as a page at the court of Ferdinand the Catholic. There he imbibed the knightly ideas which characterized his whole subsequent life. Entering the army, he was wounded in the siege of Pampelona (1521), and during the long period of his convalescence he read lives of saints where the heroism and self-denial of men in the interests of the Church were made known to him. The thought occurred to him that he, too, might perform such deeds as Saint Francis or Saint Dominic. He determined to break away from his past life, and he consecrated himself to knighthood in the interest of the immaculate Virgin. In 1522 he made a pilgrimage to Montserrat, near Barcelona, where, at the shrine of the miraculous image of Mary, he laid off the garments of knighthood and assumed those of the hermit. Immediately thereafter he entered the Dominican convent at Manresa, where he lived the life of an ascetic in prayer and penance. He has been compared to Luther, yet in the motives which actuated the two men they were far apart. Luther was seeking to be free from sin. Loyola's inward look never revealed to him any profound depths of depravity, and his repentance for his past life was always superficial.

IGNATIUS LOYOLA.

Nevertheless his efforts were bent toward self-discipline, as is shown by the *exercitia spiritualia* which he here invented and began to practice, and subsequently required of every member of the order.[1] In 1523 he started to carry out his original purpose to spend his life in the service of God at Jerusalem. The Franciscan authorities of the Church there, finding him unfit for their needs, rejected his offers of assistance. Re-

LOYOLA'S EDUCATION.

[1] These spiritual exercises may be found described in Huber, Der Jesuitenorden, p. 14 ff., and in Janssen, iv, 375 ff.

turning to his native land, he determined to secure a thorough education as a necessity of the times. He studied successively at Barcelona, Alcala, Salamanca, and Paris. At all of these places he found the greatest difficulty in mastering the studies which he pursued, which may be accounted for by the fact that he was thirty years of age when he began to seek a higher training. He was also hindered by the religious ecstasy which he then took for an inspiration of the devil.[1] By diligence and effort, however, he overcame these obstacles in the end.

His course at Salamanca got him into trouble with the Inquisition, and he forsook that university and went to Paris. He here found as students and won to himself Peter Faber, Francis Xavier, Jacob Lainez, Alphonso Salmeron, Nicolas Bobadilla, and Simon Rodrigues. These young men he filled with his conception of a spiritual knighthood, and together they took an oath in the Church of Mary on Montmartre (1534) to spend their lives in the service of the Church at Jerusalem; or, if that should become impossible, to place themselves at the disposal of the pope for any other work. Having been ordained, they met in 1536 at Venice, to start on their mission to the Holy Land. But the naval war between Turkey and Venice hindered their plans. They were inspired by contact with the Theatines in Venice with the idea of a mission at home. They gave themselves up to the care of the sick, to street preaching, and to the instruction of children. With a definite purpose the military designation, "Company of Jesus," was chosen. The discipline was to be severely military; the spiritual exercises were the "drill" of the order, devoted to a spiritual warfare in the interest of the Church against heresy. The objection to the rise of new orders delayed the papal sanction until, having proved itself eminently useful to the Church, the pope, in 1540, finally issued the bull, *Regimini militantis ecclesiæ*, by which, although with some limitations, the order was authoritatively established.

LOYOLA'S COMPANIONS.

As early as 1538 Loyola had begun to advise with his friends as to the constitution of the order,[2] which provides for six grades or classes. First are the novices, who must be at least fourteen years of age before applying for admission. During a month prior to their reception into the novitiate they go

GRADES OF THE ORDER.

[1] Comp. Baur, iv, 187.

[2] The constitution, though begun by Loyola, was brought into its complete form by Lainez, the second general of the order. Its provisions were for a long time kept secret, even from Jesuits of the lower grades. See Baur, iv, 189.

the round of the spiritual exercises and make a general confession of their past lives. They then enter upon a novitiate of two years, spent in study, teaching, and in hospital attendance. Being approved, they enter the grade of scholastics. The scholastic first studies about five years in the arts, and then, while he continues to study, combines therewith the duties of teaching in the junior classes for a period of five or six years. Then follows another year of novitiate, and upon this from four to six years' farther study. He may next be admitted to the grade of coadjutors, of whom there are two classes, the temporal and spiritual. The former receive no ordination, and are confined to the functions of lay brothers. If the candidate is admitted to the class of spiritual coadjutors he now receives priestly ordination, which, however, confers no governmental power in the society nor eligibility to its official positions. The coadjutor[1] may now enter the grade of the professed, which is divided into two classes, the professed of three vows, and the professed of four vows.

THE PROFESSED OF THREE VOWS.

The first class of professed take the vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience. The poverty sworn is individual; the society, as such, may possess any amount of property. The obedience required is, however, the distinguishing feature of this class. It is not merely the ordinary obedience to superiors demanded by other orders, but it is an obedience based on the theory that the member is to see in the general the Lord himself, so that his commands are the Lord's commands, and carried to such an extent as that the member is to have no will of his own, but that in inward sympathy, as in outward act, the will of the general is his will. The spiritual exercises which are to be frequently passed through are so framed as to accomplish this annihilation of the individuality of the candidate. In his submission to the general he "ought to be like a corpse, which has neither will nor understanding, or like a small crucifix, which is turned about at the will of him that holds it; or like a staff in the hands of an old man, who uses it as it may best assist or please him."

THE PROFESSED OF FOUR VOWS.

The professed of the second class take a fourth vow, that of obedience to the pope. But it is understood herein that the will of the general is to be obeyed if it in any way conflicts with that of the pope. For example, no Jesuit can become a cardinal, a bishop, an abbot, or accept any papal office or duty without the consent of the general. The only exception is that of a missionary bishopric, and even in this the

[1] The temporal coadjutor must wait ten years.

general may recall at will. Having taken this fourth vow, which cannot be taken, unless in exceptional cases, until the age of forty-five, the member has entered the inner circle of those who are eligible to office. One beginning his novitiate at the age of fourteen would spend thirty-one years in connection with the order before reaching the highest class of the highest grade.[1]

OFFICERS OF THE ORDER.

The general is elected for life by the general congregation, which body can remove him for cause.[2] He is to reside in Rome and have about him assistants, monitors, and a father confessor, who has the right to bring him to account before the general congregation. He is therefore not free from supervision, though clothed with an absoluteness of monarchical power unthought of by any other earthly ruler. In turn, however, he watches over the deeds of every member. The provinces into which the territories included in the labors of the order are divided are presided over by provincials, the educational institutions by rectors, and the houses in which the professed who are not on missions live by superiors. These are appointed by the general, usually for a term of three years each. The provincials receive reports from the officials under them once a week with reference to everything pertaining to the persons or duties under their care. Missionaries may, however, report at longer intervals. The provincial sends a summary of these reports once a month to the general. But in addition to this the provincial's inferiors must report to the general directly once every three or six months. Such a reportorial system enables the general to know and stamp out at once any rising danger, and to discover the needs of each field and to judge of the man best suited to it.

PURPOSES OF THE JESUITS.

Besides this monarchical and military ideal the order aims to withdraw its forces from the retirement which the members of other orders regard as essential to holiness, and to place them in the midst of the activities of men; to so train its members that all nations and localities shall be alike to them; and, instead of making the spiritual improvement of the individual the end, as with other orders, to make each individual the active agent in the furtherance of the interests of the order, thus reversing all previous theories. The benefits of the older orders accrued to the advantage of the members; with the Jesuits the abilities of the members accrue to the benefit of

[1] There are really but four grades with six classes, the grades of coadjutors and professed each having two classes.

[2] Loyola was chosen as the first general, April 4, 1541.

the order, which in turn is for the benefit of the Church. They are the most active propagators of education wherever the general cause can be advanced thereby; and they have been among the foremost foreign missionaries of the Roman Catholic Church.[1] Their labors have been unselfish, but characterized by the unscrupulousness which distinguishes the order in all its departments.

One of the chief sources of complaint against the Jesuits is the morality which they have developed.[2] This is conditioned by its view of the Church, which is the highest end and the goal of all effort—the Roman Catholic Church as historically perfect. It is the embodiment of the good. Whatever advances its interests must be good. In this is contained the doctrine that the end justifies the means, a doctrine not stated by the Jesuits in so many words, but which is actually made the rule of practice. Similar to this is the *methodus dirigendi intentionem*, according to which one may do any evil act whatsoever, if it is not evil which he intends to do, but something permissible or useful accompanying it. Jesuitism does not directly teach that sin is something indifferent, but rather that what we generally regard as sin is, properly understood, not sin. Before one calls anything sinful he must have a correct conception of the sinful. It provides for such a refinement of distinction as to the amount of knowledge necessary to make an act sinful, as to how clearly conceived the exact ethical nature of the act must be, and as to the intention involved, that it would be almost impossible to convict any of sin. If one is driven by passion, or acts thoughtlessly, or even if conscious that an act is wrong, yet does not do it merely in order to do wrong, it is not sinful.[3]

MORALITY OF THE SYSTEM.

Among the means by which the order proposes to make it possible to do whatever one will without the consciousness of sin, is the doctrine of probabilism. Although not original with them,[4] it was quickly and eagerly adopted by the Jesuits. According to this method of judging the moral character of an act one is about to do or has done, it is unnecessary to follow one's own moral judgment. If any single respected authority has

PROBABILISM.

[1] Francis Xavier resisted the wish of the king of Portugal to retain him in honorable home service and went as a missionary to India.

[2] Antonio Ballerini, S. J., published in 1893 the seventh and last volume of the greatest Jesuitical work of this country on moral theology, in the work entitled Opus Theologicum Morale.

[3] Baur, iv, 199–202; Möller, iii, 242, 243.

[4] It was first stated in 1577 by the Dominican, Bartholomew de Medina.

ever defended an act; we may assume that it may possibly be allowable and give our passions, not our conscience, the benefit of the doubt. The question has been much debated whether the obedience required of the members of the order would demand the performance of a sinful act if ordered by the general.[1] Obedience is not, indeed, demanded to this extent. But on the ground of the doctrine of probabilism the scruple could be easily set aside, since the general is authority against the doubter. It is distinctly provided that if a member regards an act as sinful he must yield his judgment to that of his superior, or at least to that of two or three before whom he may lay his scruples.

MENTAL RESERVATION.

Another method of doing a wrong act without any qualm of conscience is found in the doctrine of the mental reservation. If a good end is to be achieved one may speak, promise, or swear in language which to the hearer means what it says, but which is secretly warped by the speaker into some other or narrower significance. If at the time of the promise or oath this secret mental reservation, or perversion of the natural meaning of the words used, is before the mind of the speaker, the deception is not sinful. In the same way the intentional use of words in an ambiguous sense is regarded as permissible.

THE CONFESSIONAL.

Easy sinning had its further encouragement in the Jesuitical confessional. Here all that was required was to confess such sins as occurred to the penitent at the time. One need not give himself too great pains in trying to think of all the sins he had committed.[2] The intention to confess was sufficient. It was not necessary to confess what was supposed to be a sin if he was not and could not be certain that it was sin, or if one feared that the father confessor would be angered by it. If one professed to make a general confession and yet confessed only a part, he did not lie, since the father confessor knew perfectly that in a general confession not every sin is confessed; and even if he did lie it was of no consequence unless the sin omitted touched some point absolutely necessary to absolution. Penance also was made as easy as possible. If one only felt that a guilty conscience was a punishment of God, the repentance was sufficient, and even the fear of punishment is sufficient repentance for the worst sins.

The motives which prompted all these marvelous concessions to the sinful nature of man were the desires to excuse their own deeds,

[1] Ranke, Fürsten u. Völker Südeuropas, ii, 22, affirms; Möller, Gieseler, and Baur deny.

[2] It is declared that in this respect "moderate diligence" only is required.

which were often in open violation of the moral sense of mankind, and to win favor among a rude and passionful generation. They themselves were charmed with the frequency and readiness with which the masses flocked to them for confession, not perceiving, or rather not caring, that it was through them "God had made the way to salvation so perfectly easy." These concessions and perversions were the logical consequence of the Roman Catholic idea that salvation is absolutely dependent upon the Church.

CONCESSIONS TO SINFUL NATURE.

This society grew rapidly in numbers and influence. It was a natural vent for all the intense devotion which had grown up in the minds of the faithful toward the Church during the aggressions of the Reformation. Its influence was due to the fact that, while it fairly represented to the Roman Catholic masses the highest ideal of piety known to Romanists, it relaxed by its casuistry, without seeming to do so, the moral code. Men could sin as they pleased and yet have no consciousness of guilt, but by following the rules of the order or accepting its fathers as confessors have the consciousness of the greatest consecration. An English Order of Female Jesuits was founded by Mary Ward in the beginning of the seventeenth century. Abuses followed of such character that Urban VIII dissolved it in 1631; but its members, as "English governesses," found plenty to do in the instruction of females, and in 1703 received papal sanction.[1]

FEMALE JESUITS.

One of the principal means which the Jesuits employed against the Reformation was the school. They were soon recognized as among the best of instructors. Even Protestants frequently sent their sons to the Jesuit schools for education. Their tact in handling youth gave them a religious influence over the developing minds under their care which was almost sure to result in loyalty to the Roman Catholic Church. If any escaped this consequence the least result was that opposition to Romanism and its abuses was enfeebled. Especially did they strive to win the sons of the noble families, because among them were the seats of political influence. In every possible way it was undertaken to outdo the Protestant schools and universities in the educational field. The real results of their instruction were doubtless often overrated. The same method in another form led them to seek everywhere positions as fathers confessor, especially among the nobility and the wealthy classes, thereby not only molding religious opinion, but gaining great political influence.

JESUIT SCHOOLS.

[1] Möller, iii, 214.

Their doctrine concerning veracity enabled them to enter into political and other intrigues while apparently entirely innocent.

POLITICAL INTRIGUE.

Just how far the Jesuits have been connected with the many plots and murders laid at their door we shall probably never know. But where the principles of an order are so well known, and the events which transpired so uniformly followed where Jesuits are known to have been, the suspicion is of necessity strong. The Jesuit Mariana expressly justified the murder of Henry III as a *monimentum nobile,* and to him the murderer was *æternum Galliæ decus.*[1]

The entire doctrine of the Jesuits concerning Church and State will shed light on the suspicions which have been cherished against the order. They maintain the highest claims of power, even in secular affairs, which the Middle Ages ever raised, while they deny the Middle Age doctrine of the divine right of kings. The

DOCTRINE OF CHURCH AND STATE.

State is a purely human arrangement, which is of necessity, therefore, to be subjected to the spiritual power. Had this conclusion not been drawn, the doctrine of the State might not be so objectionable now as then; for they asserted that the people have the right to determine or even to remodel the form of government. But while granting this authority to the people the doctrine plainly taught the right of the pope to dispose of the property of all Christians, to change rulers, and to sanction or abrogate civil laws, if the welfare of the souls of men required it.[2] The pope is the divinely appointed shepherd of the whole Church. Emperors and kings are shepherds' dogs, who, if they are incapable or untrustworthy, may be set aside by the shepherd.[3] Mariana, in 1599, taught the permissibility of the murder of tyrants.[4] Aquaviva, the fifth general of the order, was much perplexed in regard to this utterance. His instructions appeared

[1] Reusch, Beiträge zur Geschichte des Jesuitenordens, 3, quoted from Huber, who quotes it from the original.

[2] So Cardinal Bellarmine, one of the ablest defenders of Jesuitism, in his De potestate summi pontificis in temporalibus (1610). Döllinger gives a letter of Bellarmine on the infallibility of the pope.—Beiträge zur polit. Geschichte, iii, 84 ff. Comp. Möller, iii, 239, n. 1.

[3] Quoted in Möller, iii, 239, n. 3, from Reusch, Der Index, ii, 346. Reusch takes it from Controversia anglicana de potestate regis et pontificis pro defensione Card. Bellarmini (Mayence, 1612). The work is by Martinus Becanus. See Reusch, Beiträge zur Geschichte des Jesuitenordens, 32.

[4] In De rege et regis institutione. In 1610 his book was burned in Paris by order of parliament. The work is finely characterized by Huber, Der Jesuitenorden, 246.

EUROPE
AT THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA
1648 A.D.
AUSTRIAN HABSBURGS.
SPANISH HABSBURGS
HOHENZOLLERN
VENETIAN
STATES OF THE CHURCH
THE RED LINE SHOWS THE BOUNDARY OF THE EMPIRE
KINGDOM OF SCOTLAND
KINGDOM OF IRELAND
KINGDOM OF ENGLAND
KINGDOM OF NORWAY
KINGDOM OF DENMARK
HOLSTEIN
REP. OF THE UNITED NETHERLANDS
SPANISH NETHERLANDS
PICARDY
NORMANDY
BRITTANY
CHAMPENE
KINGDOM OF FRANCE
BOURGOGNE
BURGUNDY
REP. SWITZERLAND
SAVOY
PRIN. OF MILAN
DUTCHY OF VENICE
GUIENNE
GASCONY
LANGUEDOC
DAUPHINE
PIEDMONT
PROVENCE
GENOA
TUSCAN
KINGDOM OF PORTUGAL
KINGDOM OF SPAIN
LEON
CASTILE
ARAGON
CATALONIA
VALENCIA
GRANADA
BALEARIC ISLES
CORSICA
SARDINIA
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Metz
Verdun
Nuremberg
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KINGDOM OF POLAND
VOLHYNIA
UKRAINE
DON KOSSACKS
ZAPOROGIAN KOSSACKS
LITTLE POLAND
RED RUSSIA
PODOLIA
MOLDAVIA
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BESSARABIA
TRANSYLVANIA
HUNGARY
TURKISH HUNGARY
TURKEY
WALLACHIA
BULGARIA
SERVIA
BOSNIA
HERZEGOVINA
ROUMELIA
ANATOLIA
KARAMAN
ARMENIA
CRIMEA
KHANATE
SILESIA
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Adrianople
Constantinople
Sinope
Amasia
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Smyrna
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CYPRUS
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Debreczin
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to the public to deny the Jesuitical character of the doctrine. But Mariana's book was never indexed, and the doctrine continued to be taught.[1]

OTHER ORDERS INSTITUTED.

As a result of the determination which seized upon the Church to save itself from the impending ruin, and also as a result of the new hopes created by the council of Trent and the activities of the Jesuits, a number of orders sprang into being.[2] The Order of the Fathers of the Oratorium was founded by Philip Neri, in Florence (1548). Its members took no vow, but gave themselves to works of charity and devotional reading. Similar thereto was the French Oratorium, or Order of Jesus, founded by Pierre de Berulle (1611).[3] In 1612 the Ursulines adopted a conventual order and gave themselves to the education of females.[4] Francis de Sales, through the agency of Francisca of Chantal, established the Ordo de Visitatione Mariæ Virginis (1610–1618), sometimes called the Salesians. The Spaniard Colasanza (†1648) founded in Rome the Piarists, who imitated the Jesuits in their zeal for pious instruction. The Order of Brothers of Mercy was started by the Portuguesan John di Dio (John of God), although it did not take this form until after his death. They gave themselves to the care of the sick, regardless of confession. A Gascon, Vincent de Paul, founded the Priests of the Mission, or Lazarists, to care for the interests of the neglected among the common people, and through Madame Le Gras, whose confessor he was, the Sisters of Mercy, or Charity. They were especially active in caring for the poor and the sick in addition to their zeal in winning back heretics to the Church. All these orders, differing from the more ancient, and having the same principle of active work among the people which characterized the Jesuits, were powerful agents in the Roman Catholic reaction.

[1] See Reusch, Beiträge zur Gesch. des Jesuitenord., 1–58. He gives a clear presentation of the whole history of the doctrine and the relation of Jesuits thereto.

[2] See them mentioned and described in Hase, Kirchengesch., 11 Aufl., 468 f.

[3] They had an immense number of celebrated names, as Richard Simon, Malebranche, and Massillon.

[4] The order was originally established by Angela of Brescia (†1540) in honor of St. Ursula.

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CHAPTER VI.

THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

ALTHOUGH generally spoken of as one, the Thirty Years' War was in reality four wars so connected as to constitute a unity. It was so related to the religious conditions of the times as to spring directly out of them and to have seriously affected their future, and yet there was such a multitude of other interests involved as to render impossible the understanding of the war if they are left entirely out of account. The best comprehension of the whole matter may be had by continually keeping in mind the changing causes, personalities, interests, localities, and issues until in utter exhaustion all parties were glad to arrange a peace.

IN FACT FOUR WARS.

Toward the close of the sixteenth century the results of Jesuitical zeal began to be felt among the Protestants. The attempts at the conversion of Protestant princes to Rome finally succeeded in the case of Jacob, Margrave of Baden, a victory which Pope Sixtus V celebrated in Rome by a procession which he accompanied barefooted. Archduke Ferdinand, trained by the Jesuits, and full of zeal for the restoration of Roman Catholicism, had pledged himself in the most solemn manner to reintroduce the reign of the pope at all hazards in his own domains. In Steiermark, Kärnthen, and Krain he drove out numerous Protestants, burned their Bibles, destroyed their churches and schools, and banished all who refused to attend mass. In Bavaria Duke Maximilian I, also trained by the Jesuits, undertook the conversion of the Palgrave Philip Ludwig of Neuberg, by a religious colloquy at Regensburg (1601). It was conducted by the Jesuits Gretser and Tanner on the Roman Catholic, and by Heilbrunner and Hunnius on the Protestant side. The Jesuits were being beaten, and Maximilian, in order to save the day, pretended that he would not allow the colloquy to proceed because the Protestants had maligned the pope. The only result, therefore, was an increase of bitterness between the two parties.

POLITICAL SUCCESSES OF JESUITS.

The imperial city of Donauwörth, in Bavaria, was Lutheran, and the existence of the Roman Catholic convents was only tolerated. It was a part of the arrangement that monkish processions within

the city should carry their banners low. A strife between the city authorities and the abbot of the Holy Cross led the people to insult a procession of monks. The emperor immediately placed the city under the ban and charged Maximilian with the duty of its execution. In so doing Maximilian unnecessarily violated the Religious Peace, and proceeded, also, to rob the city of its evangelical services (1607). At the diet of Regensburg (1608) the emperor deputized Ferdinand to assure the Protestants of Donauwörth that the Religious Peace would be observed, but by the machinations of the Jesuits he was prevented from carrying out his orders. The Jesuits were determined to force the issue. It was openly taught that the provisions of the Religious Peace were not binding, since, being inimical to Christendom, the pope could dispense with them.

THE ISSUE AT DONAUWORTH.

These Jesuitical theories and the practice of the Jesuitically trained rulers were in such accord as naturally to awaken the utmost alarm among Protestants.[1] As a result an assembly of Protestant princes which met at Anhausen, May 4, 1608, formed the Protestant Union. It was unfortunately opposed by Saxony, and this electorate, together with other principalities, refused cooperation. But while the union princes were comparatively few, they were of both the Lutheran and Reformed confessions, among them being Elector Frederick IV of the Palatinate, who was at the head of the union; Duke John Frederick of Würtemberg, the Frankish Margraves, and Palgrave Philip Ludwig of Neuberg. The object of the union was mutual protection against the assaults of the Roman Catholic aggressors. The Protestants were once more both united and divided. The division was to be emphasized by the strife between the Saxon electorate, on the one side, favored by the emperor, and Brandenburg and the Palatinate-Neuberg, on the other, as to the succession to the possession of Juliers-Cleves. Maximilian of Bavaria, on the other hand, united the spiritual electorates of Mayence, Trèves, and Cologne, together with the bishoprics of Würzburg, Regensburg, and Augsburg in the Catholic League, with himself at its head.

THE PROTESTANT UNION.

The incapacity of the Emperor Rudolph II caused the estates of Austria and Hungary to commit the conduct of their affairs into the hands of his older brother, Matthias. In order to strengthen himself he granted the citizens the unhindered exercise of their

[1] The immediate occasion of the formation of the union and the league was the dispute concerning the points just mentioned at the diet of Regensburg, 1608.

religious preference and made other concessions to the Protestants. Rudolph was able to maintain himself in Bohemia by the issuing of the letters patent, in which he granted the Utraquists and Lutherans religious freedom and equality with the Roman Catholics, as also authorized defenders for their protection. The emperor was soon obliged, however, to yield even Bohemia, preserving only the imperial title. Ferdinand was made ruler of Austria, Hungary, and Bohemia. The Protestant Bohemians were naturally anxious as to their religious future. Events soon proved their fears well grounded. In the domains of the abbot of Braunau the Protestants were erecting two churches. One was torn down, the other closed on the plea that no evangelical church could be built within Roman Catholic spiritual territory. The defenders saw in this act a breach of the letters patent of 1609. Their appeal to the emperor resulted in their severe rebuke and the confirmation of the act of those who had forbidden the erection of the churches. The Protestants were angered, and resorted to violence; but they were as unsuccessful with Ferdinand as they had been with the emperor.

FRICTION IN AUSTRIA, HUNGARY AND BOHEMIA.

These events were the preliminaries which led up to the Bohemian war, the first act in the great tragedy. In 1619 the Archduke Ferdinand took the imperial throne as Ferdinand II. But even before he was crowned Bohemia and Moravia, actuated by their religious fears, chose Elector Frederick V of the Palatinate as their king. Urged by his ambition and supported by his wife and court preacher, the Calvinist Scultetus, he accepted. As head of the Protestant Union he naturally enlisted the enmity of Maximilian of Bavaria, the head of the Catholic League, who joined with Ferdinand, giving Tilly, his skillful Dutch commander, charge of the army. Tilly invaded Bohemia, and in the battle of Weissenberg completely overthrew the weak Frederick V. The territories of the Upper Palatinate fell to Bavaria as a reward, together with the electoral dignity. Thus the Palatinate was once more in the hands of Romanists. The violence of the victors drove many into the Roman Catholic Church. Jesuits followed the army to complete the work of conversion. In a few decades Roman Catholicism completely rewon Bohemia to itself.

THE BOHEMIAN WAR.

Ferdinand II had meantime lost none of his purpose to restore Roman Catholicism and to suppress Protestantism. His attitude caused such apprehension that England, Holland, and Denmark afforded the Protestants aid against the emperor. Ernst of

Mansfeld, Christian of Braunschweig, George Frederick, Margrave of Baden, and Christian IV, king of Denmark, appeared in the field against the imperial aggressor. He now released himself from the Catholic League and accepted the offer of Wallenstein (1625) to furnish and maintain an army of fifty thousand men in the emperor's service if he could have command and be recompensed from the spoils of the war. The emperor elevated Wallenstein to the position of an imperial prince, and the army invaded northern Germany. Maximilian sent his Catholic League army under Tilly, and soon overcame the Protestants. The Evangelicals were now to feel the power of the triumphant Romanists. In 1629 Ferdinand issued the Edict of Restitution, according to which the foundations and spiritual lands of which the Protestants had taken possession were to be restored, the Roman Catholic spiritual lords were no longer to be hindered from converting their Protestant subjects, and the Calvinists were excluded from the benefits of the Religious Peace.

VICTORY OF FERDINAND II IN NORTHERN GERMANY.

This meant nothing less than the complete destruction of Protestantism, and prepared the way for the next and most interesting phase of the conflict. At the behest of Maximilian Ferdinand had dismissed Wallenstein, and the command once more fell upon Tilly (1630). The Protestants of Germany were doing nothing worthy of the situation. In fact, they were overawed by the power of the emperor. At this juncture Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, moved probably by the combined motives of political interest and religious sympathy with the German Protestants, entered upon the scene of action and saved Protestantism in the empire from destruction. Cardinal Richelieu, the farsighted French minister, jealous of the growing might of the Hapsburgs, and even the pope, furnished assistance.[1] The fear that the emperor would take revenge held back the electors of Brandenburg and Saxony from adding their forces also, although later Saxony was glad to avail itself of the help of Gustavus. While they were hesitating Tilly completely destroyed Magdeburg. In the battles of Leipzig and Breitenfeld (1631) the allied imperial and league troops were defeated, and in the campaigns which followed Gustavus was everywhere victorious, while Tilly lost his life. On November 6, 1632, was fought the decisive battle of Lützen. Wal-

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS TO THE RESCUE.

[1] The pope's part in the matter was occasioned by the dispute concerning the succession in Mantua. Gustavus pledged himself not to interfere with the Roman Catholic religion where he found it in vogue, and to govern himself in religious concerns according to the regulations acknowledged in the empire.

lenstein, who had meanwhile been again called to the command, was obliged to retreat to Bohemia. But Gustavus had fallen in the midst of the battle. He was the exact opposite of Wallenstein in personal character and as a warrior. The former was a true nobleman, who held his troops under strict discipline, and would not take unnecessary revenge on his subdued enemies. The latter was instigated by personal ambition and the love of power, and his troops wrought devastation everywhere. The most tragic event in the Thirty Years' War was the death of the noble hero Gustavus Adolphus in defense of the liberties of his brothers in the faith.[1]

Upon the death of Gustavus his chancellor, Axel Oxenstiern, became commander-in-chief. He succeeded in securing the co-operation of a number of evangelical princes and cities, but he was unable to restrain his soldiers, and the war became one of plunder. Wallenstein, disgraced in the eyes of his own countrymen and allies, and distrusted by Jesuits, monks, and emperor, was deposed once more, and in 1634 assassinated. This phase of the war was brought to an end by the battle of Nördlingen, in which the imperial troops were victorious, and as a result of which Saxony and other German principalities made the treaty of Prague with the emperor. BATTLE OF NÖRDLINGEN.

The remainder of the estates now continued the struggle in the fourth and last phase of the war. The country was so exhausted that all parties were ready for peace, which was settled by the treaty of Westphalia, October 24, 1648. The result was favorable to Protestantism. After thirty years of bloodshed and devastation the Roman Catholics were compelled to grant what they should have granted at the outset. The treaty provided for the absolute equality of the Romanists and Protestants, the latter to include, also, the Reformed.[2] PEACE OF WESTPHALIA.

Henceforth majorities were not to rule the consciences of others, but religious questions were to be settled by treaty between the Romanist and Protestant estates. So far from the fulfillment of the

[1] The late Professor Heinrich von Treitschke (of Berlin) held that the death of Gustavus occurred just at the time when he must have become inimical to the welfare of Germany, and that his purpose to preserve the Religious Peace would have threatened the political future of the Fatherland.—Gustav Adolf und Deutschlands Freiheit, Leipzig, 1895.

[2] This was due chiefly to the efforts of Elector Frederick Wilhelm of Brandenburg, whom the Prussians fondly call the Great Elector. He did not, however, as some have supposed, aim at union between Reformed and Lutheran, but merely at equality of rights. See Landwehr, Die Kirchenpolitik Friedrich Wilhelms.

Roman Catholic demand that all spiritual lands and other properties taken from Rome since the treaty of Passau should be returned to the Church, provision was made for the secularization of spiritual territories in order to compensate the princes who had carried on the war. But it was agreed that in no case should ecclesiastical property be possessed otherwise than it was in the year 1624. The authorities of the provinces were granted the so-called right of Reformation, by which they might forbid those of other confessions than their own to remain in the country. But here, also, the secular authorities were held in check by the proviso that no one should be oppressed on account of his religious faith if he had been in the enjoyment of it at any time during the year 1624. The relations existing between the Reformed and Lutheran parties were also determined. They were to remain as at the time of the conclusion of the peace.

The protest of Pope Innocent X, who declared the treaty invalid because concluded without his approval, and who condemned its articles and declared them to be without binding force even upon those who had sworn to them, was without avail. The treaty had provided against just such a protest by making it a part of its provisions that no objection to the treaty from whatever side should be heeded. The emperor, indeed, failed to carry out the provisions of the peace in his Austrian hereditary lands. But the last violent effort for the suppression of Protestantism had been made and lost. The effect upon the social and religious condition of Germany of such a war was terrible. Freedom to worship God according to conscience had, however, been won. The Protestants were not to blame for the war. But had they been, the gain would have been worth the cost.

A FINAL GAIN TO PROTESTANTS.

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IV. MENNONITES.

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CHAPTER VII.

SMALLER NON-ROMAN CATHOLIC BODIES.

THE WALDENSES.

The Waldenses were influenced in turn by the Husite, the Zwinglian, the Lutheran, and the Calvinistic movements. Especially were the Waldenses of Piedmont influenced by Germany. In 1530 the Waldensians George Morel and Peter Masson visited Œcolampadius and Bucer. Masson did not live to reach home, but Morel carried instructions to the brethren of Provence and Dauphiny who had sent him out. The French Waldenses secured the convening of a synod at Chanforans in 1532, in which it was determined to break off all connection with the Roman Catholic Church, thereby preparing the way for the complete introduction of evangelical ideas, which were finally adopted in the second synod in 1533, and, after unavoidable delays, carried out. In the persecution which was waged against them in Provence by Francis I (1545) about four thousand were killed or deported into the galleys and twenty-two of their villages reduced to ashes. In Dauphiny and Piedmont the progress was slower and the persecutions later. The Union of the Valleys (1571) gave them the complete victory.

THE BOHEMIAN AND MORAVIAN BROTHERS.

The Bohemian Utraquists,[1] at first influenced by the Lutherans, found themselves unable to withstand the opposition and to overcome the obstacles placed in the way of their progress, and were finally displaced by the Lutherans, and, after the battle of Weissenberg, came to an end. The United Bohemian and Moravian Brothers had a varied history, looking first to the Waldenses, then to Erasmus, and then to Luther for recognition and assistance. Lucas of Prague, however, persistently opposed the modifications of doctrine and practice suggested by Luther, and the hope of encouragement from that source was therefore broken off. After his death came a period in which the Brothers approached nearer to Lutheranism. The students who had gone to Wittenberg had at first brought back unfavorable reports of the results of Luther's doctrine of religious

[1] Compare on the above and also on the Utraquists and the Bohemian-Moravian Brethren, Kawerau, in Möller, iii, 394–401. His account is full and accurate.

freedom, and this had influenced Lucas against him. But later the students came to prize his work more highly, and under the leadership of Johann Horn and Benedict Baworinsky the celibacy of the clergy was given up and doctrinal changes were agreed to which were more in the spirit of Luther. Johann Augusta carried the relationship still farther, and the Brothers declared themselves adherents of the Augsburg Confession. Gradually, however, they came nearer to the Calvinists, especially after Luther's death. Canisius, the Jesuit, and others of the society made such inroads upon them after 1555 that in 1575 they combined with the Lutherans. But after 1580 they were once more compelled to recognize in the Reformed as distinguished from the adherents of the Formula of Concord their nearest companions in faith. Persecution and exile divided and scattered them until they lost their power in the nation, though they never died out. Bishop Amos Comenius was one of their most celebrated representatives. Their Bible translation is a most creditable work and their hymnology very rich.

THE ANABAPTISTS.

The Anabaptists labored under the prejudice which arose from the disturbance at Münster, which involved nothing less than the complete overthrow of all ordinary social, political, and religious ideas common to Christendom.[1] It is certain, however, that the masses of them were in nowise infected with the revolutionary ideas which had prevailed in certain quarters. Philip of Hesse saw the distinction and treated them accordingly. In Jena, on the other hand, three of them were beheaded after failing to be convinced in a disputation which Melanchthon conducted with them (1536). They suffered, also, from lack of a connectional organization, scattered as they were in many lands.[2]

THE MENNONITES.

The efforts at organization put forth by Menno Simons were measurably successful (after 1536). He had been a Roman Catholic pastor in Witmarsum, in the Netherlands. His journeys were extensive, and his labors unremitting until his death, at Holstein in 1561. His followers were known as Mennonites, and held, with him, to essentially Lutheran doctrines of redemption and justification, but with a very peculiar doctrine concerning the relation of the body of Jesus to the Virgin Mary.[3]

[1] See details in Gieseler, iv, 164, n. 13; Baur, iv, 441–446, and Möller, iii, 114–117.

[2] Comp. Kawerau, in Möller, iii, 402, 403.

[3] He taught that the body of Jesus was formed within the womb of the Virgin by a miracle as great as the conception, namely, by God directly without any ordinary functional connection of Mary's body with his growth.

They rejected infant baptism, oaths, military and even civil service,[1] every kind and degree of revenge, and tolerated divorce only on account of adultery. Their doctrine and practice of the Lord's Supper were Zwinglian. The strictness of discipline was carried to such extremes that in 1554 and later the Mennonites were divided into numerous parties, the two principal of which were the Waterlanders and the Flemings (the refugees from Flanders), otherwise distinguished as the coarse and the fine Mennonites. They differed, also, somewhat as to doctrinal affairs; although one of their chief principles was to avoid such disputes, they were divided with reference to the Remonstrants. The practical question of the use of buttons on the clothing, and whether the pockets should be on the inside or the outside of the garment, together with the permissibility of the use of tobacco, were the points about which they were divided. Gradually these matters were less emphasized, while at the same time they lost their first zeal. Their early history is one of suffering with but little cessation or amelioration.

THE ANTITRINITARIANS.

The Antitrinitarians were not all of Italian origin. Ludwig Hetzer, who wrote a work against the Godhead of Christ, whose publication was hindered by Zwingli, was a Swiss. Johann Denk, a traveling companion and sympathizer with Hetzer, was a native of the Upper Palatinate. Johann Campanus, who, though he had been a resident of Wittenberg and under Luther's influence, denied the personality of the Holy Spirit and held the Arian doctrine of Christ, was a native of the duchy of Juliers, while Michael Servetus was a Spaniard. In Antwerp, East Friesland, Nuremberg, and elsewhere the Antitrinitarian doctrines were held by limited numbers. Many of the Anabaptists seem to have been Antitrinitarians, and their relative indifference to doctrinal disputes opened the way for those who could not agree with the Roman or Protestant Churches to go over to them.[2]

But from Italy came the most and the most important of the Antitrinitarians. They were incited to their doubts concerning the Trinity by the critical spirit of the Renaissance, their rationalism, and their desire to negative whatever the papacy maintained.

[1] Möller, iii, 406.

[2] It is an interesting fact that in Italy, the home of Antitrinitarianism, an Anabaptist council was secretly held at Venice in 1550, participated in by sixty deputies, who agreed to these doctrines: Christ is not God, but man, begotten by Joseph and Mary, but full of divine power; he died in order to attain to the righteousness of God—that is, the pinnacle of his goodness and mercy. Comp. Möller, iii, 416.

Among the chief of those not already mentioned were Alciati, of Milan; Gentile, of Naples; Gribaldo, of Padua, and Blandrata of Saluzzo. In the Grisons they early aroused controversies, some of them, as Calaber, denying the distinction between good and evil and the merit of Christ's sufferings. The Italian refugees were so commonly tainted with heresy that caution in recommending them had to be exercised, especially with reference to the doctrines of God, original sin, the atonement, predestination, and the life of the spirit after death. Lælius Socinus, of Siena, spent much of his life in traveling from place to place. He carefully concealed his true opinions, putting them in the form of inquiries rather than assertions. Although he is generally regarded as the founder of the Socinian party, his nephew, Faustus Socinus, was in reality the one who gave form to that faith.

ITALIAN ANTITRINITARIANS.

Poland and Transylvania became the refuge of the Antitrinitarians after their retirement from Geneva in 1558 was made necessary in order to escape subscription to the confession prepared for them by Calvin. Hither, then, Faustus came, settling finally in Poland. At first he was not favorably received even by his brethren of like faith, because he refused to be rebaptized. But time proved how valuable he was to become to the Unitarians, who under his leadership became an organized body called Socinians. He had fallen heir to the writings of his uncle Lælius, by whom he had been directed in his studies of theology. The Racovian Catechism was begun by him and his friend Peter Statorius. After their death it was completed and published in 1605 by Jerome Moscorovius and Valentine Schmalz.[1] Socinus accepted the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament as the source of authority in religion. The principal doctrine of the Bible is the existence and righteousness of God. It is demanded that we shall know God and Christ and live a pious life. Christ was begotten of man by a miracle, clothed with divine wisdom and power, raised from the dead, and elevated to equal might with God, and therefore worthy to be approached in prayer. Christ's death was not to be regarded as a satisfaction for sin. The judgment of Kawerau concerning the doctrine of Socinus is that "in spite of the biblical coloring of the ideas, the doctrine of Socinus resolves religion into mere rational knowledge of God, and morality."

FAUSTUS SOCINUS.

[1] See its points fully developed in the original Latin in Gieseler, iv, 367–370. Kawerau gives a clear outline and judgment of the Socinian doctrines.—Möller, iii, 420–422.

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CHAPTER VIII.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH TO 1648.

From the Middle Ages date the efforts in France to secure a degree of liberty for the National Church, inconsistent with papal absolutism. This movement, which is technically known as Gallicanism, was strengthened by the pragmatic sanction of Bourges (1438), and still further recognized by the concordat of 1516. The crown of France had secured its power over the French hierarchy in spite of the demands of the pope. The Reformation in France made the Roman Catholic clergy more than ever dependent upon the king, since they must have his sanction in order to suppress heresy. All efforts to secure the acceptance of the decrees of Trent by the parliament proved fruitless. The pope was obliged to submit to the crowning of Henry IV. Pierre Pithou wrote in 1594 his Libertes de l'église gallicane, in which it was openly proclaimed that the pope had no power in secular and political affairs, while his authority even in spiritual things was limited by the canons of the old synods recognized in France; and, although councils may not be called without the authority of the pope, yet his holiness is bound by the decisions of the councils. The Jesuits, by their doctrine of the justifiability of the murder of tyrants, brought about a still more intense hatred of papal rule. Even the Sorbonne took sides against the doctrines that in faith and morals the pope cannot err, that a council is in no case superior to the pope, and that the pope has the right to lay doubtful questions before the council, but to reserve the final decision of them to himself.[1] But under Richelieu, owing to political necessities, Gallicanism lost much of its hold, although there were always those who maintained the rights of the National Church as against the pope.[2]

GALLICANISM.

In France and Spain, subsequent to the council of Trent, a form of mysticism manifested itself which was in fact a protest partly against the ordinary forms of piety and partly against the Reformation. Duns Scotus had taught that the ideal of blessedness

[1] These were propositions which the Dominicans had offered for disputation in 1611. Richer, syndic of the Sorbonne, opposed them, but was compelled to yield, while those who accepted his views were subsequently persecuted.

[2] Comp. Möller, iii, 236–239.

was that in the love of God the will should find its perfect rest. With this Quietism was often combined a refined asceticism which destroyed the idea of mystical rest in the interest of ecstasy. Peter of Alcantara and Francis of Osuna worked out the idea of mental prayer according to these mystical conceptions. Teresa de Jesus, of Avila, and John of the Cross prayed in spirit without the use of words, and in connection with due subjection of themselves to pain attained to the enjoyment of ecstatic visions.

FRENCH AND SPANISH MYSTICISM.

In 1520 the Illuminati appeared in Spain. Their wordless prayers made the prayers of the Church worthless, while their essential union with God, made possible by the lifting of their souls above mere belief into perfection, made the sacraments unnecessary, as did also the sinless condition to which they had attained. This mystical form of piety was recognized by the Church as an offset to the piety of the Protestant Church, and its most active propagators were canonized or beatified. It found favor with all classes of people, Romanists and Evangelicals, and the manuals of devotion which it produced had thousands of readers. While it was generally connected with those who were loyal to ecclesiastical forms, yet in fact it was inconsistent with their use.[1]

THE ILLUMINATI.

The Reformation had drawn off from the Church about all the elements which could in any way disturb the unity of its faith.[2] Nevertheless there were unsettled questions within Romanism which caused difficulty notwithstanding all the definitions and decisions which had been authoritatively given out. To the teachings of the Jesuits it was owing that the doctrines of Augustine, which had been made fundamental in Protestantism, were completely eradicated from Roman Catholic thinking.[3] Michael Bajus, professor in the Louvain University, had held the Augustinian doctrines. The Scotist Franciscans took up the dispute against Bajanism and induced Pope Pius V to condemn seventy-six of the propositions which it taught. But this did not end the strife, and in 1587 the faculty of Louvain, still holding fast to their Augustinian views, condemned thirty-four propositions of the Jesuit teachers of the city. This aroused the Jesuits, and in 1589 Ludwig Molina,[4] professor of theology at Evora, in Portugal, taught that the doctrine of irresistible grace was to be understood only in such a sense as would admit that the responsibility of human salvation rested upon each individual

MICHAEL BAJUS.

[1] Möller, iii, 244, 245. [2] Baur, iv, 256. [3] Möller, iii, 234.

[4] Not to be confused with Michael Molinos, who lived nearly a century later.

man supported by the grace of God. Some of the Jesuits themselves thought Molina had gone too far, while the Dominicans unitedly rose up against his doctrines. The settlement of the dispute was left to the pope. But he was unwilling to take the responsibility of deciding,[1] and established the so-called Congregationes de auxiliis gratiæ. The question was not settled, however, and in 1611 the disputants were required to desist from further strife, which, however, continued for more than a century, although in a somewhat different form.

LUDWIG MOLINA.

The controversy was renewed in this way: Cornelius Jansen, professor at Louvain University from 1630 to 1636 and from 1636 to his death in 1638 bishop of Ypres, had gathered together the results of his studies in a work which was published after his death under the title of Augustinus s. doctrina S. Augustini de humanæ naturæ sanitate. His doctrines, like those of Bajus, were strongly Augustinian, and while not directed immediately at the Molinists, were so framed as diametrically to oppose them. He taught the incapacity of fallen man to do good, and asserted that the scholastic theology had taught the superiority of the reason at the expense of the doctrine of the ruin wrought by sin. The Jesuits felt called upon to defend their position, and Molinists and Jansenists entered into a long struggle. In 1641 the book of Jansen was placed in the Index. The university at Louvain and many of the bishops of the Netherlands refused to publish the bull of condemnation because it condemned doctrines taught verbally by Augustine. The strife spread to France, where the Jesuits secured the cooperation of the court, the parliament, the higher clergy, and the universities, with the exception of the faculty of the Sorbonne, which under the leadership of Anton Arnauld upheld the Jansenist doctrines. In 1653 Innocent X condemned five propositions of Jansen, and because the Jansenists claimed that Jansen had not taught these doctrines in a heretical manner Alexander VII cut off all further controversy by asserting that the pope had condemned the propositions in the sense in which Jansen had meant them to be taken (1656).

JANSENISM.

The recluses of Port Royal were the strongest defenders of Jansen's book, Augustinus, and in consequence they drew the fiercest opposition from the Jesuits of which that order was capable. Louis XIV, spurred on by Jesuitical misrepresentations of the purposes

[1] So Baur, iii, 257. Möller says that he was about to decide against the Jesuits, when he suddenly died, according to the prophecy of the Jesuit Bellarmine.—iii, 235.

and convictions of the scholarly and conscientious Port Royalists, brought the civil authorities into array by the side of these ecclesiastical persecutors. Not satisfied with the imprisonment of hundreds who for conscience sake refused to sign the formula condemning the five propositions, the enemies of Arnauld secured in 1656 the expulsion of that noble spirit and of sixty others who agreed with him from the theological faculty of the Sorbonne, and a little later an order from the civil magistrates that every scholar and novice should be sent away from the monastery at Port Royal.

PASCAL'S PROVINCIAL LETTERS.

This brought to the rescue Blaise Pascal, who had recently, though without assuming any vows, taken up his abode in the convent. The sharpest and most effectual defense of the Jansenists and the wittiest and most stunning attack upon the moral system of the Jesuits soon appeared in his celebrated Provincial Letters.[1]

Many years elapsed after the Reformation began before there arose in Roman Catholicism any writers who were able successfully to combat the Protestant doctrines. When they did appear they sprang chiefly from the ranks of the Jesuits. Peter Canisius published in 1555 his larger catechism, which was followed in 1556 by a smallest, and in 1558 or 1559 by his smaller catechism.[2] These, together with his other works, were all aimed at the catechetical works of the Reformation.

LITERARY CHAMPIONS OF ROMAN CATHOLICISM.

The Jesuit cardinal Bellarmine produced, through his lectures in the Jesuit college in Rome, a work entitled Disputationes de Controversiis Christianæ Fidei adversus huius temporis hæreticos, in which he defended the Roman Catholic doctrine against the Protestant. Cæsar Baronius wrote his Annales Ecclesiastici in twelve volumes in order to meet the Magdeburg Centuries, written in the interest of Protestantism, by Flacius at Magdeburg. The Acta Sanctorum of the Bollandists were also called forth by the Centuries, as also the Roma Sotteranea (1632) of A. Bosio, in which he strove to prove the very early existence of the doctrines and rites of the Church. Dionysius Petavius took up the history of dogma in his De Theologicis Dogmatibus. Maldonatus and Estius wrote commentaries respectively on the gospels and epistles of the New Testament. Cornelius à Lapide also wrote commentaries rich in patristic materials and widely read, but lacking in the sobriety displayed by Maldonatus and Estius.[3]

[1] See above, p. 544.

[2] So Braunsberger, Entstehung u. erste Entwickelung der Katechismen des seligen Petrus Canisius.

[3] Comp. Möller, iii, 232, 233.

As the principal literary activity of the Church against Protestantism was the product of Jesuitism, and the chief influences leading to the overthrow of the Reformation in several countries were exerted by Jesuits, so also they were the leaders in missionary endeavor abroad. But the Dominicans and Franciscans, following the tracks of the explorers in America, found fields of activity suited to their zeal. Las Casas spent fifty years in the labors of proving by actual results the capability of the American Indians for conversion and in the attempt to soften the treatment which they received from the conquerors. The Franciscans claimed in 1535 to have converted one million two hundred thousand Indians.[1]

ROMAN CATHOLIC MISSIONARIES IN NORTH AMERICA.

Among the Jesuits perhaps the most celebrated missionary is Francis Xavier. He landed in Goa, the Portuguese capital of East India, in 1542, accompanied by two brothers of his order, and with the authority and title of Apostolic Delegate. The Franciscans had been there before him, but Xavier got control of the seminary which had there been erected for the education of young natives as missionaries among their own people; and by the generosity of the king of Portugal soon developed it into a flourishing Jesuit college. From Goa he traveled to the Pearl Coast, Travancor, Malacca, and Ceylon. Although he labored under the difficulty of ignorance of the native languages, he claimed to have baptized hundreds of thousands,[2] not, however, without the use of force in the abolition of idols from Goa. In 1549 he went to Japan, where the external forms of religion were not unlike those of Romanism, but whose priests, the Bonzes, gave him much trouble. In the different portions of Japan his success varied; but on the whole he claimed large results, and, partly in order to convince the Bonzes of the truth of Christianity by the conversion of the Chinese, started for China.[3] He died in 1552, before reaching his destination. The work was carried forward with good success by other Jesuits. But at length the Bonzes convinced the authorities that it was a political rather than a religious interest which lent the Jesuits so much zeal, and the order was banished from the realm. Persecutions at the hands of the authorities followed. After much suffering

FRANCIS XAVIER.

[1] Möller, iii, 248.

[2] He gave his limited instructions by means of a small catechism in the native tongue, which he had committed to memory.

[3] The Bonzes had often declared that the acceptance of Christianity by the Chinese would be a proof of its truthfulness.

Christianity disappeared entirely in 1649, one hundred years after its introduction by Xavier.[1]

RICCI IN CHINA.

While Xavier had failed to reach China, Matthäus Ricci was successful in building up a mission there. As a means of becoming acquainted with the language, learning, and customs of the Chinese he spent seven years among the Bonzes. His method of procedure was that of "accommodation" to the beliefs and customs of the country. He fused Christianity and Confucianism in his teachings in order to make the former as acceptable as possible. The "Chinese rites" which he made a part of Christianity became a source of serious controversy in later times. But by these concessions, and by the skill which he and his coadjutors and successors manifested in mathematics, the favorite science of the Chinese, he was able to gain the favor of the emperor and to win many of the nobility. The provinces and even the capital witnessed the erection of the temples of the new religion. Upon the death of Ricci, in 1610, Adam Schall took up the work and carried it on with great ability. He had the good will of the emperor, who permitted the erection in Peking of two churches. The enemies of Christianity succeeded in bringing about temporary persecution, but by the end of the seventeenth century there were hundreds of thousands of professed Christians and hundreds of churches, while Christianity was legally recognized and granted perfect freedom.

MISSIONS IN SIAM AND SOUTH AMERICA.

In Siam, also, during the seventeenth century, a beginning was made by Constantius. Robert Nobili, a Jesuit, founded a mission in Malabar in 1636. In the West Indies and in Brazil Jesuits made some converts, as also in Paraguay, where, in 1586, they took up the work begun by the Franciscans in 1580. In 1610 they established a Christian State by special permission of the Spanish king, Philip III, from which all Spaniards and other foreigners were excluded except such as the Jesuits saw fit to receive. The plan was to keep the natives in ignorance under the paternal rule of the Jesuits, who gave their converts such supplies as they needed.

In order to give proper direction and outlet for the intense missionary activity of the period Pope Gregory XV established, in 1622, the Congregation de Fide Catholica Propaganda. It was com-

[1] It is impossible to discover the exact truth concerning the alleged machinations of the Dutch, who are accused of having forged a letter in the Portuguese language containing a record of a supposed uprising of the Christians against the Japanese. See Baur, iv, 466, 467.

posed of thirteen cardinals, three prelates, and a private secretary, and assembled once a month in Rome to consider the interests of the missionary work in foreign lands. All missionaries were to be nominated by this congregation and to be subject to its control. They formed apostolic prefectures, including the missions in various countries; the prefects developed into apostolic vicars, and these and their domains into bishops and bishoprics. In 1627 Urban VIII established the Collegium de Propaganda Fide, otherwise called the Collegium Urbanum, which he made subject to the congregation in 1641. The college was devoted especially to the training of young men from all parts of the world for missionary work.

CONGREGATION DE FIDE CATHOLICA PROPAGANDA.

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CHAPTER IX.

PIETISM.

A PROPER understanding of the Pietistic movement can be had only in connection with a statement of the factors of ecclesiastical life against which Pietism was a protest.

The relation between the secular authorities and the clergy was such that the former not only could but, as a rule, did stand in the way of all right-minded preachers, not helping, as was their duty according to the constitution of the Church, but hindering the exercise of discipline. When we turn to the clergy themselves we find that the examinations at the beginning of a ministerial career were inadequate, the superintendence provided for was neglected, and university life was in general demoralizing to youth. The clergy fell far below the true standard, even for their time, in point of morals, while their insistence upon the exact form of faith held by Lutheranism was so strenuous as to overshadow all other considerations. At the gymnasia and universities the methods of instruction were mechanical and ill adapted to a fruitful study of theology.

A DEFICIENT CLERGY.

Unfortunately, to this must be added the lack of discipline, which made possible the commission of all manner of offenses by the students and the total want of moral sentiment in the universities. In regard to doctrinal theology it must be confessed that, while the zeal of the Church for uniformity and purity of doctrine was commendable, this zeal was carried to such an extent as to deprive the masses of a proper estimate of other important elements of ecclesiastical life. Polemics became the order of the day. A new scholasticism arose which lost itself in subtleties, the lay element in the Church was repressed, and the Church became the institution of the theologians.

DISCIPLINE CROWDED OUT BY DOCTRINE.

The ecclesiastical life corresponded to the emphasis of doctrine. Preaching was almost wholly didactic and polemic, and was emphasized to the exclusion of interest in other parts of the service. The morning public services were well, the evening poorly, attended. So far as the preaching was not doctrinal it was undignified and unscholarly.

THE LACK OF SPIRITUALITY.

Outside the pulpit religious instruction was neglected, while what catechization was practiced was adapted to fill the memory, but not to enrich the understanding or move the heart. The Lord's Supper was not neglected, but it was supposed to be mechanically effective, and preparation for its reception was not earnest. Baptism was regarded as a mysteriously operative rite, whose chief office in the popular mind was to prevent the infant from becoming the victim of demons and witches. Penitence was imposed for offenses very much in the spirit of Romanism. The one great means of discipline became exclusion from the holy communion.

FOUR PHASES OF THE REACTION.

Such a state of affairs was sure to produce a reaction. Grünberg, in his life of Spener, names four phases which this reaction assumed. The first was the mystical. The second was a practical phase, which clearly discerned the public evils in Church, school, civil, social, and moral life, and strove by practical measures to correct them and to introduce the Christian ideal. Among the chief representatives of this tendency are Meisner, Andreä, Schupp, and Grossgebauer. The third was a theological phase, which strove to secure progress in the formulation of doctrine, but chiefly with a view to practical results. Among its representatives are Konrad Hornejus, Johann Musäus, and Johann Durey. The fourth was a phase led by those who accepted the doctrines of the Church, but who were moved by the desire to promote personal piety in the Church. This was represented by Herberger, Lütkemann, Müller, Scriver, Gerhardt, and others. These phases of the reaction, together with the fact that in England and Holland a somewhat similar movement was in progress, show that the time was ripe for change. The old order had reached its extreme ; a new order must follow. The leader, the systematizer, the champion, rather than the originator of the same, was Philip Jacob Spener.[1]

PHILIP JACOB SPENER.

He was the fourth child and eldest son[2] of Johann Philip and Agatha (*née* Saltzmann) Spener, and was born January 13, 1635, in Rappoltsweiler, Alsace. His parents did their utmost to train him up in a religious life, and their intimate relations with the families of the lords of Rappoltsweiler gave him many advantages not afforded the majority of the youth of his time. To the constant early association with nobility may be traced

[1] Spener did not regard himself, but Arndt, as the originator of the movement. See his Wahrhaftigen Erzählungen, and Ritschl, Pietismus, ii, 98, 163.

[2] Besides his three sisters, all older, there were four brothers, all younger than himself.

his knowledge of heraldry and fondness for genealogical studies, in both of which he became a recognized authority. He was skillful in his ntercourse with the ruling classes.[1]

SPENER'S EARLY TRAINING.

Among those who profoundly influenced his earlier religious life were his godmother, Agatha, countess of Rappoltstein, and his preceptor, the court preacher, Joachim Stoll. The religion of the countess was ascetic and quietistic. Stoll, however, was distinguished by strength, sobriety, and decision of character, and skill, wisdom, and success in all the intricate and multifarious duties of the pulpit and pastorate. Spener declares that to him he was indebted for the first small flame of true Christianity.[2]

SPENER'S EARLY READING.

During his early life Spener was also greatly influenced by certain mystical works which were widely read by Germans of his day. Among them were German works such as Arndt's True Christianity, and Hunnius's Epitome Credendorum, and English works in German translations by Bayly, Dyke, and Baxter. Some of these, especially those of Dyke and Baxter, he seems not to have met until his student life was well-nigh completed. Particularly was he edified by Bayly's Praxis Pietatis.

SPENER'S EARLY MINISTRY.

Following his university life in Strasburg, during which he held aloof from the vices common among students, he observed the custom of the times and began his academic journeys. He went to Basel, Solothurn, Berne, Lausanne, and Geneva, in the last of which cities he spent some months, and studied, along with other things, the church life of the Reformed congregations. He also went to Lyons, Freiburg, and Tübingen. From 1663 to 1666 he was Freiprediger in Strasburg. During this time he lectured at the university on the possibility of the loss of the grace of regeneration, and the necessity of its reception anew, and also set forward his theological studies. Even in this early period his ministry was distinguished by a clear perception of the sermon as a means of religious edification; the idea that all the articles of faith should be used for practical purposes; the attempt to base the unity of the faith upon essentials; a sense of the high responsibility of the ministerial office; complaints against the theologians who were mighty in polemics, but who lacked the Spirit and the Life; a high estimate of the domestic exercise of the spiritual priesthood; complaints on account of the defects of the practice of confession, and study of the causes and relief of poverty. All these were his peculiar marks, also, in later life.

[1] Grünberg, Spener, i, 128, 129. [2] *Ibid.*, i, 129, 130.

From 1666 to 1674 he was pastor in Frankfort-on-the-Main. One of his first experiences there was to be charged with too great leaning to the side of the Reformed, on account of which he preached against that confession—an action which he regretted even before he left Frankfort. It was a conviction with him that if a select company of friends could gather together on Saturday afternoon, and, instead of drinking and playing cards, would read together for edification, converse about divine things, and build each other up, it would introduce a new and improved condition into the Church. He felt that if the preachers are to do their best, they need the assistance of those in the congregation who are capable of helping in the work. In 1669 he uttered these thoughts in the pulpit, but not until he had preached against the security felt by those who had but an intellectual faith. These sermons bore fruit. During 1670 a number of his hearers came to him to complain that they seldom heard in society any but idle and wicked conversation, and expressed the wish to have provided essentially such meetings as he had spoken of. Thus arose the celebrated collegia pietatis.[1] From 1670 to 1675 they met twice a week in Spener's home, and discussed such works as Lütkemann's Foretaste of Divine Goodness and Bayly's Praxis Pietatis. From 1675 onward they used only the Bible in these assemblies.

SPENER IN FRANKFORT.

By preaching and by personal effort Spener strove to recommend and secure a living Christianity and to introduce stricter morality and discipline, and himself took charge of the religious instruction of the children of the parishioners, on account of which those who thought such labor beneath the dignity of a clergyman said that a minister had been called, but instead they had gotten a schoolmaster. In 1675 he published a work which was destined to exert a profound influence. It was his Pia Desideria, or earnest desires for such an improvement of the True Evangelical Church as will be pleasing in God's sight, together with some simple Christian propositions tending to that end. He had laid the work before his colleagues and had obtained their sanction to its publication. Nevertheless, it became a rock of offense to many. In the first part of the work he describes the demoralized condition of the evangelical Church in respect to the secular authorities, the clergy, and domestic life. In the second

PIA DESIDERIA.

[1] Gobel asserts that Spener followed Labadie in the organization of these conventicles.—Geschichte des christlichen Lebens, ii, 560. Ritschl regards this assertion as unfounded.—Geschichte des Pietismus, ii, 138. In this opinion he seems to be supported by Grünberg, Spener, i, 177 n.

part he shows that a better condition of things is possible and to be expected. In the third part he proposes as remedies a better knowledge of the Bible to be secured by its study in private assemblies, a more diligent employment of the lay element as mutual aid in private association, an enforcement of the truth that Christianity does not consist in knowing, but in deed—especially in love—the conduct of the strife among the confessions in the spirit of truth and love, a more suitable education for the future preachers, leading to true piety as well as scholarship, and such preaching as will place rhetoric and pedantry in the background and bring into prominence those elements which tend to edification.

Although many approved and were benefited by these suggestions, the work soon gave occasion to criticisms of the collegia, which had now appeared elsewhere than in Frankfort, and to accusations of heresy against Spener. The literary strife which followed, however, turned out to the benefit of Spener and Pietism. Unfortunately some of those who belonged to the collegia, dissatisfied with the Church, separated from it, much to the distress of Spener and the injury of his cause.[1]

We may pass over the residence and labors of Spener in Dresden, and in Berlin, where he died on February 5, 1705, since these belong rather to his biography than to a history of Pietism. An estimate of his theology must, however, be given. SPENER'S THEOLOGY. It was his firm belief that the doctrine of the Lutheran Church was absolutely true to the Scripture. But he also held to a distinction between the weighty and the less weighty portions of Christian doctrine, and he so emphasized and combined certain doctrines as to give them a practically different meaning from that generally held. There was, besides, both a mystical and a rationalistic element in his theology. In fact, he was chiefly distinguished from his brethren by the importance he attached to the results which might follow from the enforcement of any given dogma. With him the great question was how to make the doctrines and institutions of the Church, including the Bible, useful to believers.

About the time that Spener entered upon his duties, in 1686, in Dresden, three masters of art of the University of Leipzig founded

[1] Ritschl says that the separation of certain of Spener's followers from the Church was evidently a spontaneous movement, which Spener regretted and which he attributed to lack of patience.—Pietismus, ii, 155. Loescher distinguished these separatists from the Halle Pietists as coarse (grob) and fine (subtil).

a so-called collegium philobiblicum—that is, an association of masters for the cultivation of biblical exegesis. Although Spener had not directly suggested the society, his Pia Desideria had probably prepared the way for it, and he soon succeeded in giving it a practical rather than that purely scholastic trend which was its original purpose.[1] The soul of the movement was August Hermann Francke.[2] After many difficulties, prepared for him chiefly by the faculty of the university, Francke finally forsook Leipzig, not, however, until he had become a confirmed adherent, as he was destined soon to be a leader, of the Pietistic movement. In 1691, at the suggestion of Spener, Francke was called from Erfurt to a professorship in the newly founded university in Halle. Spener was not the founder of the university, although he succeeded in securing as its first professors men who were in sympathy with his idea of making the universities tributary to the piety as well as to the scholarship of the students. Up to this time, Grünberg[3] says, the prominent features of the Pietistic movement were "emphasis upon a more intense personal Christianity, with relatively low estimate of the objective ecclesiastical institutions, while Christianity was to be outwardly manifested in a more or less evident retreat from the world and in ascetic practices; mild contempt for existing forms of Church doctrine and symbolic statements; the study of the Bible in the universities, even at the cost of those branches which had theretofore held chief place; higher demands upon the Christian character of the ministry; insistence upon the rights of the laity; and the effort to satisfy the new religious demands by means of the free societies otherwise known as *collegia pietatis.*"

AUGUST HERMANN FRANCKE.

HALLE UNIVERSITY.

But after 1691 certain chiliastic and fanatical phenomena began to manifest themselves, which greatly detracted from the dignity and the effectiveness for good of the movement.[4] Spener was diligent with voice and pen in the effort to hold the movement in proper bounds, and to defend it against unjust assaults, of which there were many. At

LATER PIETISTIC HISTORY.

[1] Spener did not wish the *collegia* to discuss what they read, but to put it at once into practice.—Ritschl, Pietismus, ii, 142.

[2] For a full estimate of Francke, see Ritschl, Pietismus, ii, 244–294; and for the origin of the Pietistic movement in Leipzig and Hamburg, *ibid.*, 168 f., and Grünberg, Spener, i, 230–248.

[3] Spener, i, 267, 268.

[4] In his great work on Pietism, Ritschl describes at length these ecstatic and pseudo-prophetical phenomena.—ii, 183–190.

Halle, also, Francke had a struggle with the ministers of the city as well as with many of the laity, who regarded him as unnecessarily strict and severe. In 1695 the founding of the orphanage at Halle by Francke was an event of chief importance as an evidence of the Christlike spirit which dwelt in the leaders of Pietism. Francke, while he respected Spener, was unwilling to be held in check by what he regarded as Spener's fears of innovation, and he, together with Schade, introduced many novelties. Girls of eleven to thirteen years of age were trained to utter from the heart prayers of the most touching kind, continuing as much as seven or eight minutes. Especially was Schade opposed to the private confession, and he thus brought himself and the whole movement into disrepute with the more conservative. For lying he punished two fourteen-year-old girls by whipping their naked bodies with rods, thus arousing both enmity and scandal. The polemics of the movement, aside from Spener, were conducted chiefly for the Pietists by Joachim Lange, professor at Halle, and for their opponents by Valentine Ernst Loescher, superintendent in Dresden. The courts of Brandenburg and Saxony at length interfered to end the bitter dispute which had been carried on.[1] Against Wolff, the celebrated professor of philosophy in Halle, also, the Pietists agitated until they secured his removal from that university.

The principal services of the Pietistic movement to the Lutheran Church were the awakening of the spirit of Bible study, the founding of theology once more upon a scriptural basis, and the making of religion a matter of the heart and will instead of a concern of the understanding. That some evil results followed, such as pretended piety where it did not exist, self-conceit, indifference to public religious services, and the like, cannot be denied. Had the Lutheran Church been more receptive to the beneficial elements of Pietism, however, its history might have been far more fruitful of good and much less rent with theological strife.[2]

RESULTS OF PIETISM.

[1] Nippold has some excellent remarks on the strife which was thus waged. —Neueste Kirchengeschichte, i, 121–124.

[2] Nippold gives a valuable estimate of the effects of the Pietistic movement on the development of German culture.—i, 147–161.

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CHAPTER X.

THE MORAVIANS.

THE community of Herrnhut, still the denominational center of the Moravians, was incidentally founded and purposefully molded by Nicolas Lewis (or Louis), Count Zinzendorf, who was born in Dresden, Saxony, on May 28, 1700. Zinzendorf was descended from an ancient Austrian family whose head in 1662 had been raised to the rank of imperial count. His ancestors had adopted the principles of the Reformation, as a result of which his grandfather had been obliged to forsake his native land. Zinzendorf's father was a court minister of electoral Saxony.[1] His family were adherents of Spener's ideas, and at the age of ten the boy was sent to Halle, where he was under the direct influence of Francke for six years. Prior to this he had been trained in accordance with Spener's conception of education by his aunt and a tutor of like mind. His nature and training combined to develop in him a precocious piety. But he was equally precocious intellectually, and resolves formed in his childish mind remained to the end the principles of his life. In the dilapidated castle of Gross-Hennersdorf, where he lived with his grandmother, the Baroness von Gersdorf, is still shown the window from which the four-year-old count was accustomed to throw letters he had written to the Saviour, expecting thereby to communicate to his Lord his feelings of love. At Halle all these feelings of intense devotion were nurtured to such a degree that his guardian, who wished him to follow a secular career, removed him at the age of sixteen to Wittenberg, where the university was opposed to the Pietism of Halle, and where his religious feelings and sympathies would receive less encouragement. But though so profoundly devotional he had not neglected the pursuit of learning, and upon his departure from Halle he was able to compose Greek orations and converse in Latin.

EARLY LIFE OF ZINZENDORF.

At Wittenberg his chief study was law. Still he did not wholly forsake theology, and he abated none of his religious fervor, though he modified, without abandoning, some of his opinions as to

[1] Piper, Lives of the Leaders of our Church Universal, translated by H. M. Maccracken, New York and Cincinnati, 1879, p. 472 f.

doctrine and practice. As Wittenberg appeared not sufficiently removed from Halle, either geographically or religiously, he was sent to the university of Utrecht. But the thought of Jesus was so powerfully present to his mind that changes of locality or surroundings could not seriously affect his spiritual ardor. Indeed, certain events of his journey to Utrecht rather stimulated than slackened his zeal.[1] In pursuit of the custom of the time he continued his travels to Paris, where he escaped the worldliness and vice to which many fell victims, and, true to his deepest feelings, sought out the pious even among the Roman Catholics, avoiding the brilliant company of those with whom his rank entitled him to mingle. Even at this period of young manhood he could have said as truly as he did later in a sermon at Herrnhut, "I have but one passion; it is He, only He."[2]

ZINZENDORF AT WITTENBERG, UTRECHT, AND PARIS.

Upon his return from Paris to Halle, soon after his twenty-first birthday, the management of the first Bible Society ever established was offered to him. This was altogether to his mind, as he saw how effectively he could carry on the proclamation of the Gospel in such a position. However, being opposed by his family, who wished him to enter upon a political career, he became aulic councilor and justiciary at the court of Augustus in Dresden. Here, while neglecting none of his official duties, he did not forget the greater aims of saving his own soul and of proclaiming Christ to others. Every Sunday he held religious services in his own house, and he edited a weekly paper devoted to the cause of religion and morality.[3] His unquenchable zeal displayed itself undiminished, notwithstanding all that had been done to divert him from his cherished purpose. In the spring of 1722 he purchased Berthelsdorf, in Upper Lusatia, from his grandmother, and prepared to take up his residence there and to devote himself, first, to the religious welfare of those who inhabited his domain, and, second, to the propagation of true religion everywhere.[4]

ZINZENDORF AT HALLE AND DRESDEN.

[1] For example, he saw at Düsseldorf an Ecce Homo with the inscription in Latin, "This I have done for thee; what hast thou done for me?" which made a profound impression upon him.

[2] The saintly Professor Tholuck made this his motto. Comp. A. C. Thompson, Moravian Missions, New York, 1882, p. 66.

[3] Baur, Geschichte der christlichen Kirche, iv, p. 622.

[4] He did not, however, resign his office in Dresden until 1727. Comp. A History of the Reformed Church, Dutch, the Reformed Church, German, and the Moravian Church in the United States, by E. T. Corwin, J. H. Dubbs, and J. T. Hamilton, New York, 1895, p. 437.

A strange and unexpected series of events led to the establishment of Herrnhut. After the long and bitter persecutions which had apparently annihilated those followers of John Hus who had had so promising a history in Moravia and elsewhere under the name of the Unitas Fratrum, or United Brethren, there still lingered the "hidden seed," unmolested because unknown. Secretly, if at all, the Brethren had been compelled to enjoy their apostolic worship and the communion of saints. Says Thompson:[1] "Here and there was a Bible, in a cellar, in a hole in the wall, in a hollow log, or in a space beneath the dog kennel—a secret which the head of the family would dare to make known, even to his children, only on his deathbed."

HERRNHUT AND THE UNITED BRETHREN.

In 1715 a religious revival gave these oppressed remnants of the Unitas Fratrum new courage and a new purpose. The result of the former was a somewhat more open propagation and profession of their faith, resulting in the conversion to their views and experience of Christian David, a Roman Catholic who up to his twentieth year had never seen a Bible. The new purpose, which was confined to a few who were destined to originate a magnificent history, was to find an asylum where they might worship God in freedom. For this they willingly forsook their native land, their friends, and their property. Through the efforts of Christian David they received permission from Zinzendorf to settle on his newly purchased estate of Berthelsdorf. At first there were but ten persons, three of whom were little children,[2] that sought refuge at what was later called Herrnhut, the Lord's Protection. Leaving their homes secretly on the night of May 27, 1722, they journeyed on foot, reaching their destination in time to begin building on June 17, in a wild forest which they and those who afterward joined them turned into a garden.

CHRISTIAN DAVID.

Originally Zinzendorf had entertained no thought of espousing their cause further than to give them at best a temporary home. But by 1724 he had become so interested in them that he and some friends began to build at Herrnhut a college to be conducted on the pietistic principles in vogue at Halle. The corner stone was laid on May 12, and on the same day five young men arrived at Herrnhut, who, though their

GROWTH OF THE COMMUNITY AT HERRNHUT.

[1] Moravian Missions, p. 31.

[2] The company consisted of the families of Augustin and Jacob Neisser and two other persons. See E. de Schweinitz, The History of the Church known as the Unitas Fratrum, Bethlehem (Pa.), 1885, p. 645 f. This work is very valuable to the student of the original Unitas Fratrum.

original purpose was a mere passing visit, became a permanent part of the community. They were zealous and intelligent Moravian Brethren, and they gave Zinzendorf his first real knowledge of the Unitas Fratrum. Other refugees joined and swelled the numbers at Herrnhut from time to time, some of them being of other faiths than that of the first settlers.[1] For a time this commingling of colonists, whose views had been tempered in the fires of persecution, endangered the primitive harmony. Had there been at the head of the community a man of different spirit from that of Zinzendorf, the prospects of a rejuvenated Moravian Church might have been blighted in the bud. But while Zinzendorf held well-defined views on questions of theology, he had persistently refused to make those views a condition of fellowship with other Christians. At the age of eighteen, while at Wittenberg, he had proposed a union between the university there and that at Halle. When in Paris he had associated with Roman Catholic priests, particularly the cardinal archbishop, Noailles, on the basis of a common love of Christ. This spirit continued to animate him. In 1738 he wrote:[2] "Moreover, I cherish and highly esteem, according to my way, all who love Jesus. I would consider myself very unhappy to be counted an alien by any Catholic who loves Christ, although in many points I differ wholly from their opinions." In this spirit he strove to quell the doctrinal discussions of the young community. On August 13, 1727, during the celebration of the Lord's Supper, the spirit of brotherly love was so profoundly experienced by all present that from that day forward they agreed to disregard doctrinal differences and to work together as brethren in the Lord. So complete was their mutual tolerance of divergent opinions that arrangements were made for the celebration of the Lord's Supper according to the forms of the Moravian, the Lutheran, and the Reformed faiths.[3]

This emphasis upon the more practical aspects of the Christian faith, while it served to unite the Herrnhuters, aroused the enmity of those without who felt the importance of Lutheran doctrine. As early as 1732 a commission was sent to Herrnhut to investigate

[1] The Schwenkfelders who arrived at Herrnhut were but temporarily members of the community. They were afterward sent to the United States.

[2] See Piper, Lives of the Leaders of our Church Universal, article Zinzendorf, p. 476.

[3] Comp. Baur, iv, p. 625. On the difficulties which Zinzendorf overcame in securing peace among the adherents of the divergent beliefs, comp. Ritschl, Pietismus, iii, 357.

the doctrine and constitution of the community. They found, however, nothing to censure. A second commission in 1736 made a similar report. False accusations led, nevertheless, in 1738, to the banishment of Zinzendorf from Saxony for ten years. In 1749 a third commission completely exonerated and vindicated Zinzendorf and the Moravians from the unjust accusations brought against them. The university at Tübingen had affirmed in 1733 that the Moravian Brethren might adhere to their ancient Church order without detriment to their standing in the Evangelical Church, though later this was withdrawn. These facts afford some idea of the opposition which the community encountered. But besides all this the Austrian government protested to the Saxon against the reception at Herrnhut of Austrians who left their native land on account of persecution. Then the theologians of the German Evangelical Church could not endure the "theology of blood" and of the cross, which found such fantastic expression especially in the hymns of Zinzendorf and the Moravians. They were still more offended by Zinzendorf's assumption that his doctrine of Christ and redemption was superior to that current among the theologians. Such a claim led, as might have been expected, to the counter-assertion that the Moravians were not evangelical at all, since they confessedly belonged to the old Church of the Bohemians and Moravians. No signature of the Augsburg Confession, and no assertions of his orthodoxy, however vigorous, could serve to quiet the assaults of Zinzendorf's opposers. It was in order to satisfy the clamors of these enemies that the arrangement was made providing for worship according to the forms of the three confessions before mentioned.

CRITICISM AND PERSECUTION.

Notwithstanding all these sources of opposition the affairs of Herrnhut steadily developed. By the advice of Zinzendorf the episcopal form of government was adopted in 1735, in accordance with the ancient form of the Unitas Fratrum,[1] two of whose bishops were still living—David Ernst Jablonski, court preacher in Berlin, and Christian Sitkovius, superintendent of the Reformed congregations in Poland. With the consent of the latter Jablonski ordained David Nitschmann to the episcopacy, and two years later Zinzendorf himself was ordained bishop by Jablonski and Nitschmann. This was done by the

EPISCOPAL FORM OF POLITY ADOPTED.

[1] De Schweinitz says it was while reading the Ratio Disciplinæ, which Bishop Comenius had dedicated to the Anglican Church, that Zinzendorf determined to revive the Unitas Fratrum—p. 605.

advice of Frederick William I of Prussia and John Potter, archbishop of Canterbury. The English Church fully recognizes the validity of episcopal orders among the Moravians. But while the government was episcopal in form it was not so in fact. The government was lodged in twelve elders, at whose head stood Zinzendorf during his lifetime, and afterward the more soberminded Spangenberg. Besides the elders there were various superintendents and other officers, whose business it was, not to rule, but to serve the community.[1] In general the laity, which received such scanty recognition and opportunity for religious work among the Lutherans, found among the Herrnhuters abundant encouragement to engage in the task of saving and edifying their fellow-men. The whole religious life of the community was pietistic, sometimes closely bordering on fanaticism. Zinzendorf looked upon his people as a church within the church, whose distinction was a more earnest and practical piety than prevailed among the masses of Christians. In return for this superior devotion God granted a richer manifestation of himself, both in fellowship and guidance.[2] Some of the regulations of the community strongly remind the student of the somewhat mechanical methods of monasticism. Especially is this true of the division of the brothers and sisters into companies, each with its own particular period for prayer, the periods following each other without intermission, so that prayer constantly ascended to the throne of grace. Another peculiar measure provided for the formation of bands, afterward called choirs, whose members were selected according to their supposed mutual sympathies, those of the same sex and age being thus associated for religious purposes.

As early as 1739 a theological seminary was established in Marienburg. The demand for teachers and preachers from the Moravian institutions of learning became so great that in a short time the influences going out from the original sect began to be felt abroad. But this is not the secret of the profound and far-reaching activity of the Moravians in missionary work. Far back in the boyhood of Zinzendorf the springs of that peculiarity of the Unitas Fratrum will be found. While in the Pædagogium at Halle, Zinzendorf had occasional opportunity to come into contact with missionaries. This may have awakened, or it may

THE MISSIONARY IMPULSE.

[1] Ritschl says that Zinzendorf provided many offices, in order to afford participation of large numbers of the community in the work of the Church.—Pietismus, iii, 381.

[2] On the use of the lot in Herrnhut, see Ritschl, Pietismus, iii, 392.

merely have strengthened within him, the missionary purpose and impulse. However that may be, soon after his arrival in Halle he organized the Order of the Grain of Mustard Seed (Senfkorn-Orden) among the boys of the Pædagogium, the avowed object of the order being the spread of the Gospel in its purity. That this early impulse never forsook him is evinced by the compact he made with his bride on their wedding day, to the effect that they would stand ready at a moment's notice from the Lord to take up their pilgrimage to heathen lands, there to preach Jesus as the Saviour.[1]

MORAVIAN MISSIONS.

Evangelistic tours into Turkey and Africa were made in 1728; but the first real foreign mission of the Moravians was that to the island of St. Thomas, in the Danish West Indies. It was undertaken by two young Moravians, Leonhard Dober and David Nitschmann (afterward bishop), who had heard Zinzendorf tell of the needs of the negro slaves on the island. They were plain laboring men,[2] but their hearts were aflame with true Moravian zeal, and by heroic efforts they reached the island in 1732, and began the work. They were soon imprisoned, but through the influence of Zinzendorf they were released, with permission to continue their self-sacrificing labors, which were carried on by them and their successors with remarkable results. Afterward missions were established also in the islands of St. Croix, St. John, Jamaica, St. Christophers, Antigua, Barbadoes, and Tobago. Flourishing missions were early established also in South and Central America, Greenland, Labrador, and South Africa, as well as among the North American Indians. The secret of the missionary success of the Moravians has been the zeal and self-sacrifice of the missionaries, which prompted them to labor for the temporal and moral elevation of all classes, however unpleasant the task or environment. Moravian history, particularly its missionary history, affords one of the brightest and most picturesque pages in the records of the Christian Church.[3]

[1] Comp. Thompson, Moravian Missions, p. 70.

[2] Dober was a potter, Nitschmann a carpenter.

[3] For a full and sympathetic account of Moravian Missions, see the work of that name by A. C. Thompson.

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CHAPTER XI.

INTENSITY OF SPANISH CATHOLICISM—THE INQUISITION.

Rothe has said that sometimes a nation nearly perishes in rendering some great service to mankind. The Reformation was so emphatically the deed of Germany that she nearly lost her life blood over it in the Thirty Years' War. Spain during the long vigil of guarding European Christendom from being crushed by Islam, when Europe was barbarous and Islam was at its height of power, developed both a fervor and a fanaticism of Christian devotion in its Roman Catholic form, which, when the Moors were at last driven out, left her the great apostle of reaction. When the last Moorish kingdom in Spain, Granada, was about falling, and under the same sovereigns, the Spanish Inquisition arose.

SPAIN LONG AN OUTPOST OF CHRISTENDOM.

In an important sense the Inquisition is coeval with Christianity. This, almost alone among religions, lays a profound emphasis upon the apprehension of truth as the only sure foundation of right feeling and right action. The promise given by a bishop at his consecration, "to banish and drive away from the Church erroneous and strange doctrine contrary to God's word," expresses the essential temper of Christianity, to which that noblest of Gentile religions, Zoroastrianism, comes nearest.

Thus every bishop and presbyter was from the beginning, in a legitimate sense, an "inquisitor of heretical pravity." The forms in which he might manifest his opposition to error had, of themselves, nothing to do with this fundamental function. Fénelon, though not untouched with the stain of general French persecution, yet would not suffer heretics in his own diocese to be molested, and hardly even alluded to heresy in the pulpit. He relied almost wholly on the diligent exposition of truth, and was not accused, even by his enemies, of neglecting his episcopal oath that he would "follow up" false teachers. In antiquity, when such men as Origen, Dionysius of Alexandria, the earlier Augustine, and Athanasius himself distinguished themselves by holding many disputations against error, by their calmness and cogency they brought back great multitudes of wanderers, and all allowed that they were discharging their inquisitorial function in the

noblest manner. Dominic himself seems to have contemplated no other way of uprooting heresy. No trace appears through his whole life of any other remedies against heresy used by himself except preaching and catechizing. In this work his less learned helpers often used the aid of the Waldenses on account of their scriptural knowledge.

INQUISITION AND PERSECUTION INTRINSICALLY SEPARABLE.

To expect, however, that Christianity could go through all the turbulent and barbarous ages that lay before it, without profoundly diverging from this ideal, would be to look for the impossible. In barbarous times religion itself, however sincere and vigorous, becomes largely barbarous. Harnack says the breaking up of the classic world threw out of credit the classical temperateness of treatment. Barbarous elements, even from the beginning of the Gospel, intruded into the empire and into the Church, and could not fail to exhibit their barbarian characteristics of intemperate vehemence and even ferocity.

BARBARISM FELT EVEN IN RELIGION.

It was much worse, of course, when the emperors began to visit religious divergence with civil penalties. This was not originally at the instance of the Church, and she hesitated long before approving it. The emperors were chiefly guided by a wish to secure civil through spiritual unity. At no time has this motive ceased to be prominent in religious persecution. Without the social disturbances caused by religious dissensions, governments could hardly be moved to take note of the latter. Many of the doctrinal vagaries of the Spanish Alumbrados were absolutely monstrous, but were passed over on account of their social inoffensiveness. The bitterest early persecutions by Christians were those of the heretics against the orthodox. The Arian emperors were much more cruel against the Catholics than the Catholic emperors against the Arians. So, too, the African Catholics, though by no means guiltless of intolerance toward the Donatists, were much more forbearing and magnanimous than the latter toward them. Augustine's misinterpretation of the Coge Intrare, which brings Voltaire himself into the lists for the vindication of Christ's true meaning, was, as is abundantly shown by Poujoulat, by no means so unreasonable in its immediate occasion as in its subsequent application. The fiery Punic sectaries, especially the Circumcellions, left no assurance of life or limb or property even to peaceable people of their own party. The course of the Middle Ages would hardly have been very widely different, even if St. Augustine had never misinterpreted

ACTION OF THE EMPERORS.

AUGUSTINE AND THE DONATISTS.

"compel them to come in." Indeed, the Roman see, with some crusading mediæval lapses, has always protested against the compulsory baptism of non-Christians. Illogically, but firmly, she has confined this Scripture to the reclaiming of the baptized from heresy. Even schism has been only intermittingly punished by the law, if not complicated with doctrinal error. Rome really abhors schism more than heresy, but from its very nature is afraid of being too severe against it.

When barbarism had not only infected the empire, but had broken it up, we might have expected a general outbreak of religious fierceness. Yet, saving the fearful cruelties of the Arian vandals in Spain and Africa, this was not the case. The Teutonic conquerors, in their congenital individualism, were, as they always have been as a whole, jealous for their own spiritual freedom and respectful toward the belief of others. Besides, for five or six centuries there was such universal confusion, that religious confusion appeared simply as one of its inevitable forms. The earliest Visigothic legislation in Spain, it is true, was religiously harsh, and there was a large measure of religious harshness almost everywhere, at least in the Latin world. Yet this took rather the negative form of nonintercourse with the excommunicated than of positive infliction. And this nonintercourse, resting on the old Druidic religion, wrought such disorganization that Gregory VII himself was obliged greatly to restrain it.

PERSECUTION AT FIRST RATHER NEGATIVE.

It was not until this same Hildebrand had begun to transform western Europe into a great theocratic commonwealth, in which heresy was the most aggravated form of treason, that a current of tendency set in which ultimately issued in a policy of settled religious restraint by means of civil penalties. Even this required two centuries for its full devolopment. About a hundred years after the time of Gregory VII various councils began to call for repressive measures against the Albigenses and other errorists, on the ground that, not content with holding their own evil opinions, they were continually browbeating and outraging peaceable Catholics and interfering with their worship. The Waldenses are not included in these complaints. The first inquisitorial measures appear, therefore, as defensive. After the great crusade, about 1200, which exterminated Albigensianism from southern France, the papal legates and the bishops were clothed with extensive inquisitorial powers, to provide against the revival of the Manichæan heresy, which undoubtedly aimed at overthrowing historical Christianity. This was the

THE INQUISITION FIRST EPISCOPAL AND THEN DOMINICAN.

Inquisition proper, in its earliest form, the episcopal Inquisition. In 1229, however, under Gregory IX, the stern pope who led the way in the destruction of the magnificent Hohenstaufen dynasty, and who ruined the original spirituality of Franciscanism, the Inquisition received its definite institution. He preferred the zealous Dominicans to the bishops, and the Dominicans were definitively confirmed by Innocent IV, in 1254, in this privilege. Thus the Dominican Inquisition largely superseded or controlled the episcopal.

RANGE OF THE INQUISITION.

This odious tribunal never gained any fixed footing except in the Latin countries. Even in France it died out with the fear of the Albigenses. In Italy itself it was much circumscribed in operation by a certain irreligious indifference of the Italian temper, and still more by the unwillingness of the popes to frighten strangers away from Rome. In Germany and Hungary it had but little hold, and none, we judge, in Scandinavia. Into England it never obtained admittance. All the English executions for heresy taken together, down to the burning of the Unitarian legate in 1612 under James I, were doubtless trifling in number compared with the South. Few also seem to have been found to burn in Scotland. The Irish were always much averse to visiting religious offenses with death. It is said that no witch has ever suffered in Ireland. Two heretics are known to have been burned, but the bishop who burned them was immediately deposed by his archbishop on the ground of criminal precipitancy.

JEWISH INFLUENCE IN SPAIN.

Even in Spain the Dominican Inquisition gradually declined in vigor. The unbaptized Jews and Moors were, of course, not subject to it, and they seem to have had a tacit understanding with their nominally Christian brethren to discourage its proceedings. Secret adherents of Islam or Judaism, especially the latter, found their way into the royal households, the ministries of state, the tribunals, the priesthood, and even the episcopate. No doubt various inquisitors were Jews at heart. The Holy Office therefore died down into innocuousness in Aragon, and in Castile became extinct. By 1450, if not even earlier, there was no longer a Dominican Inquisition in the chief Spanish kingdom.

The subsequent rise in Spain, in terrible effectiveness, of the Royal Inquisition seems to have been mainly due to the dangers resulting from the rapidity of the Christian victories. It became evident to the Jews and Moors that they were likely soon to have to

face the alternatives of baptism or exile. The Church forbade their compulsory conversion, but the question of their banishment was not within her jurisdiction. Throughout Christendom the unbaptized were aliens, and no one disputed the right of a prince to expel aliens from his territory. Great numbers of Jews and Mohammedans had already professed Christianity, and now still greater numbers hastened into the Church. Everybody knew that this was not from conviction, but to keep a place in Spain. The old Christians, therefore, the true Spaniards, became much alarmed. They feared to see Spanish nationality and religion overwhelmed under a mongrel and unbelieving flood, or corrupted into worthlessness. There was therefore an irresistible popular impulse to secure the protective offices of the Inquisition in a vigor and compactness never before known.

RISE OF THE SPANISH INQUISITION.

Isabella was a woman, but she was also a Spaniard, a Catholic, and the reigning queen of the great central Spanish kingdom. On her rested the chief responsibility of saving the Spanish Church and nation. Her husband and her confessor importuned her to yield, and she would probably have yielded without them. Besides, she was fully bent on crushing the turbulence of the Castilian nobility and on reducing the semi-independence of the bishops. The crown had already secured the right of appointing to the episcopal sees. It also annexed to itself the grand masterships of the military orders, with their great possessions and wide jurisdiction. And now that the rising tide of old Christian feeling in Castile tended to a renewal of the Inquisition, the sovereigns, while yielding to the feeling and themselves controlled by it, astutely gave the new tribunal such a constitution as made the crown more thoroughly absolute than ever. Before the jurisdiction of the Inquisition all exemptions of dignity ceased. The bishops and nobles were of almost inviolable rank, but in the face of the Holy Office they were helpless. The archbishop of Toledo was accounted second only to the pope, yet when he was taken out of his bed at midnight by the familiars of the Inquisition and carried off to prison, everyone was dumb. When Charles V wished to crush refractory prelates or magistrates, guilty only of political offenses, he brought them before the Inquisition. Indeed, there was one continual series of skirmishes going on between the Holy Office and the Spanish episcopate.

THE INQUISITION SERVICEABLE TO THE CROWN.

The Inquisition, besides its religious functions, served these political ends of the crown by its complete dependence on it. The grand inquisitor was appointed by the pope out of three candidates

submitted by the sovereign. The crown could not depose him, but it could suspend him indefinitely. In all matters he was bound to consult his council, and in everything not strictly religious to follow its decisions, and the council was named and changed at the royal pleasure. So also were all local inquisitors and their functionaries. The rules of procedure were drawn up and modified by the crown. The acts of the Inquisition were liable to revision by the minister of justice. Ultimately not even an arrest could take place without a royal order.[1] The jurisdiction of the tribunal was enlarged or restricted very much as the sovereign pleased. Thus Ferdinand and Isabella did not for some years suffer the Moriscoes, or baptized Moors of Granada, to come under its control, and when they did they did not suffer it to give sentence of death, even against open apostates, or to divert their estates from their heirs. Elsewhere in Spain the land and goods of the condemned went to the crown, which was bound to see if widows and children were not reduced entirely out of their proper rank. Whenever, in the next centuries, Spain was courting the favor of a Protestant power, the king would check inquisitorial proceedings against foreign Protestant merchants; otherwise he would let them go on. A king who should so have cut short the Inquisition as to incur suspicion of heresy could not have kept his place on the throne. Within this limit the crown had the Holy Office very much at its disposal. The disgusted tribunal was even compelled by the king to try an offense so wholly incongruous with its functions as smuggling contraband of war.[2]

THE CROWN CONTROLS THE APPOINTMENTS.

Why now were the popes, notwithstanding the formal sanction which they were coerced by actual violence on the part of the sovereigns into giving to the Spanish Inquisition, so hostile to it that for many years, and even for generations, they kept up an incessant volley of remonstrances and threats against its proceedings, until at last they were fairly wearied into silence before the slow persistency of the Spanish tribunal? Sixtus IV, when it was first proposed, threw the Spanish ambassador into prison, and did not yield until the sovereigns did the same by his, and until Ferdinand recalled all the Aragonese out of Rome. The fear of a schism has always been the great weapon of monarchs to bring Rome to terms, and the fear of a schism

LONG OPPOSITION OF THE POPES.

[1] This was not until late in the eighteenth century.

[2] It is not certain that this was not originally an encroachment of the Inquisition. However, complaint was made by grand inquisitors that secular matters were put upon them.

with the Catholic kings was more than Sixtus, who had no moral fiber, could withstand. Yet the year after issuing the confirmatory bull he addressed a letter to the inquisitors of Seville (then the only tribunal), bitterly complaining of the way in which the bull was extorted, and threatening to depose them. He addressed a half-complimentary, half-sarcastic letter to Isabella, expressing his delight in her pious zeal, and hoping she would show it was piety, not avarice, that moved her, by remitting all confiscations to the heirs of the condemned. To this she and her husband refused to bind themselves, although they often did make such remissions in fact. Sixtus was also much discontented that for his judge of appeal the sovereigns substituted a civil functionary. In the next generation Leo X went so far as to excommunicate at once three or four leading inquisitors as contumaciously disobedient. Cardinal Ximenes, himself grand inquisitor, though a temperate one, in a letter to Prince Charles describes as the two great enemies of the Holy Office the Aragonese nation and the pope. At last, after his wife's death and his daughter's lunacy, Ferdinand, now regent of Castile, lost patience, and in 1509 issued a decree denouncing death against anyone who should procure from the pope a protection against the Inquisition. Many protections had been already given out by Rome, of which some were observed, but more, apparently, disregarded.

Had the sovereigns merely asked for a revival, with some modifications, of the old Dominican Inquisition, undoubtedly the pope would have gladly complied. Doubtless the popes, as compared with the Church at large, were not much inclined to persecute, except where their own immediate authority was at stake. Rome fears a little schism more than a great deal of heresy. Hers is quite the reverse of the Covenanter disposition. Yet no one then doubted that the good old Dominican Inquisition, with its comfortable cruelties and long somnolences, was a very meritorious institute. This, however, was a very different thing from the Royal Inquisition, which put everything under control of the crown. So long as the king of Spain remained Catholic in doctrine the concordat and the Inquisition made him almost as complete master of the bishops, and of the clergy throughout, as the king of France, or, after the Reformation, the king of England. This could not be other than exceedingly displeasing to the pope.

REASONS OF PAPAL DISCONTENT.

Why, however, should the popes have brought such charges of cruelty and harshness against the Spanish tribunal? Its modes of

procedure were harsher, doubtless, than those of the Roman Inquisition. But this was a later and, though harsh enough in all conscience, a mitigated copy of the Spanish. On the other hand, the Iberian tribunal was decidedly milder than most of the secular courts of Europe. Torture was used everywhere except in England to extort evidence, but in Spain was subject to certain restrictions unknown elsewhere. When torture was disused in other courts it was also discontinued in the Inquisition. Llorente describes the prisons of the Holy Office as light and roomy chambers, at a time when elsewhere they were dens of darkness, filth, and fever. The prisoners were well fed and carefully tended in sickness. There were many shameful abuses, but the prisoners were encouraged to denounce them. For the capitally condemned, burning alive, commonly commuted into previous strangling, was the mode of death, a penalty then universal throughout Europe for various offenses; but the other common punishments of burying alive, drawing and quartering, tearing with hot pincers, and breaking on the wheel were unknown in Spain. The current account of the "Virgin of Madrid," with her hidden knives and deadly embrace, is shown by comparison with Llorente to be an unscrupulous fiction, drawn up by a Polish adventurer trading on American credulity. Had the accused a witness to produce, though from the depths of the American forests, he was safe, says Llorente, until the royal messenger had brought the witness to Spain. Why should the popes then have been so aghast at the cruelty of the Holy Office in Spain?

ITALIANS AND SPANIARDS.

It was not, apparently, the methods of the Inquisition which they censured so much as the universal Spanish suspiciousness toward the baptized Moors and Jews, especially the Jews, leading to such inordinately numerous arrests and frequent punishments. The Italians had never, like the Spaniards, known the stress of an unintermitted conflict of seven centuries for their nationality and their religion, against two numerous and powerful races. Therefore they could not comprehend the Castilian feeling which surmised in every baptized Moor and Jew a hidden plotter against religion and country. They denounced as intolerable cruelty what the Spaniards held to be simple self-preservation. The popes did, indeed, succeed in saving innumerable lives, and the estates and honor of innumerable families. Yet in great part the Holy Office went on in silent contempt of their intervention in its policy of persecution. Spain is so intensely orthodox that she has often allowed herself strange liberties toward the holy see.

As Hefele and Prescott show, Llorente's statistics[1] are utterly untrustworthy. Yet, as we possess no better, we use them. From 1481 to 1820, or thereabouts, he makes out the Spanish Inquisition to have put to death thirty thousand persons for heresy, witchcraft, sacrilege, unnatural vice, smuggling contraband of war, and some other offenses. Protestantism was easily rooted out, so that most of the deaths for heresy must have been for crypto-Judaism. Llorente's numbers give an annual death rate, for all Spain, of about eighty-one. The small rate, as compared with the innumerable burnings of witches alone, in Scotland and Germany, must have been governed by the excessive circumspection of the Holy Office,[2] which disliked to kill, but kept Spain under perpetual dread. It was this overhanging dread, much more than the actual destruction of life which, even as limited, was mostly for offenses independent of heresy, that made the Inquisition so deadening a force to the intellectual and moral life of Spain. The exaltation of the Moorish wars and of the American discoveries, it is true, secured to Spain a century of splendid literature. But she then began to feel the cold paralysis of the Holy Office, which at last brought everything to a stay.

STATISTICS OF LLORENTE.

Far more numerous than the executions were the lesser punishments, imprisonments, fines, and, chiefly, church penances light and heavy. These Llorente estimates at some three hundred and fifty thousand. For the last fifty or seventy years, says Llorente, the Holy Office hardly inflicted any other punishments than these penances. They did not, even the heavier, prevent a man from being subsequently advanced to a bishopric or intermarried with royalty. Yet the frequent interpositions of the popes for the mitigation of them show that they must have been felt as a lowering discomfort throughout Spain. An *auto-de-fé* (Portuguese, *auto-da-fé*) had that name indifferently, whether there were executions or not. Not unfrequently an *auto-de-fé* might have even nine hundred culprits, yet no one of them would suffer death. From 1538 on, by royal decree, all American Indians were exempt from the jurisdiction of the Inquisition. The remains of imagined walled-up victims appear to be those of friars, who, according to common use, had after death received intramural interment. This usage may have been Mexican, or it may have come from Europe, as there appear to be some traces of the same practice there.

PENANCES.

EXEMPTION OF INDIANS.

[1] These citations from Llorente are from Hefele's Life of Cardinal Ximenes.

[2] Lea gives some droll instances of its long hesitations in making arrests.

CHAPTER XII.

BOURBON REFORMS.

BOURBON and reform seem a contradiction in terms. Yet Spain was so thoroughly mediæval that influences which elsewhere were reactionary became in Spain actually progressive.

BOURBONS THEMSELVES REFORMERS IN SPAIN.

Of the history of Spain for the last four hundred years half belongs to the house of Austria, half to the house of Bourbon. By the marriage of Isabella, queen of Castile and Leon, with her cousin Ferdinand, king of Aragon and Valencia and by his own subsequent usurpation king of Navarre, and by the later conquest of Granada, six of the seven kingdoms of the peninsula were united under one crown. By the death of the male heir, Don John, this multiple diadem ultimately descended on the head of Donna Joanna, eldest daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella. She had been married to Philip the Handsome,[1] archduke of Austria, eldest son of the emperor Maximilian and of his first wife Mary, daughter and heiress of Duke Charles the Bold of Burgundy. By this marriage Joanna had two sons, Charles and Ferdinand, in succession emperors.

On the death of Isabella, in 1504, her husband, who had no authority in Castile except in the right of his wife, was forced to withdraw into his own kingdom of Aragon, in the northeast, while Philip and Joanna came on from the Netherlands, the rich inheritance of the former from his mother Mary, to govern their new kingdom. Philip at once arrogated the full regal authority to himself, with no protest from his wife, who had already begun to show signs of the gloomy madness under which she continued during the fifty remaining years of her life. But in a few months the Flemish prince was carried off by one of the sudden fevers of the Castilian plateau, and as Joanna obstinately refused to take up the reins, and Ferdinand refused to return, in resentment of his expulsion by the grandees, the great Cardinal Ximenes was forced to assume the regency. Finding the nobility too turbulent for him, Ximenes at last, in 1506, persuaded the king of Aragon to swallow his resentment and to reassume the government of Castile, which he then conducted with full authority

REGENCY OF FERDINAND.

[1] This may remind of Philip the Fair, king of France.

in his daughter's name during the ten remaining years of his life.[1]

At the death of Ferdinand, in 1516, his grandson Charles, who was then sixteen, soon came on from Brussels and assumed the government and also the regal title, consenting, however, to place Donna Joanna's name first in all public acts. It is the mother and son, thus jointly reigning, though not jointly governing, who form "The Sovereigns" who now and then meet us in the pages of Prescott. Joanna lived until within two years of her son's abdication, dying about 1553. Her lunacy showed itself especially intractable in two points—an utter unwillingness to sign any paper, and a great aversion to the offices of the Church. The latter does not appear to have been any token of heresy, but merely one of the freakish humors of insanity. It is known that on the night of her death she was tortured to compel her to receive the communion, until the screams of the wretched creature were heard in the town below the castle in which she was confined.

LONG INSANITY OF QUEEN JOANNA.

Her son became Charles I of Spain; but when, in 1519, on the death of his paternal grandfather, the emperor Maximilian, the young king was himself chosen emperor, as Charles V, the higher title mostly absorbed the lower. Charles was a true Fleming, short, somewhat stout in figure, a blonde, phlegmatic and considerate, and not unamiable in temper. Even in Spanish affairs he listened more to Flemings than to Castilians, to the great discontent of the latter. His influence placed in the papal chair Adrian VI, the solitary Dutch pope. Yet he was not in the least degree affected by the new doctrines prevailing in the Netherlands. Indeed, he was already in Spain when the Reformation broke out. He always remained thoroughly attached to the elder system in Church and State, to which, indeed, his double dignity of Roman emperor and king of Spain seemed to devote him. He is said at the very least in forty years to have caused the death of fifty thousand persons in the Low Countries for sacrilege and heresy alone, almost twice as many as the Spanish Inquisition put to death on every ground in three centuries. His government of the Netherlands awakens less horror than that of his son chiefly because he did not let loose war upon them and did not interfere with their traditional civil rights. He sometimes, it is true, remitted more or less of his opposition against the Protestants of Germany in order to coerce the popes in Italy (a

CHARLES V.

[1] Hefele, Leben von Cardinal Ximenes, *passim*.

policy in which the popes were fully his match); but he never lost out of aim and hope the full restoration of Catholicism. His humanity, which was by nature large, seems to have spent itself almost wholly in endeavors to second Las Casas in America.

Charles had naturally no small amount of magnanimity, which ever and anon crossed both his policy and his bigotry. Of this his son Philip showed not a trace. Even the comparative breadth of view involved in his father's familiarity with various lands was not found in him. Except about a year in England as the husband of the bigoted Mary Tudor, and a little time in the Netherlands spent in plotting their ruin, he passed the whole of his seventy years, the whole forty years of his reign, secluded in the heart of Castile, a Spaniard of the Spaniards. His whole soul was absorbed in the endeavor to render the absolute Spanish monarchy supreme over the nations politically and the papacy supreme spiritually. These two objects were so thoroughly fused in his mind that it is often hard to say which of the two he had immediately in view. Like a true Spaniard, he accounted himself more unequivocally Catholic than the pope, and expected Rome rather to receive than to communicate the impulses of genuine orthodoxy. He did not love the new Jesuit order, though Spanish, because its range of view was too broad for him, and because it more or less disturbed the workings of the Inquisition. When he found his son and heir disinclined to continue his policy he, whether directly or indirectly is not known, brought about his death. For forty years he hung as a lowering and threatening cloud over England, Scotland, Holland, Switzerland, Germany, France, and all Europe. For his impracticable aims of universal monarchy, spiritual and temporal, he exhausted the resources of his wealthy realms, and left Spain almost ruined.

PHILIP II.

His son and successor, Philip III, was amiable but weak. He desired peace, but was forced by the rising Catholic reaction throughout Europe to continue in his father's course. In the terrible Thirty Years' War the double house of Austria, the elder line from Madrid, the younger from Vienna, sustained the Catholic strength, as Sweden and France, under Gustavus Adolphus and Cardinal Richelieu, the Protestant, until at last, after losing more than half her population, Germany settled into the condition of religious parity under which she has since continued.

PHILIP III.

In one particular Philip III did worse than his father. Relentless persecutor as Philip II was, he had a strong hand, and held even the Inquisition within bounds prescribed by himself. But

under his weaker son the Holy Office, although the time of its greatest cruelties had gone by, began to display that intractability which for a hundred and fifty years rendered it hardly manageable by king, pope, or even the grand inquisitor himself. The Moriscoes of Granada, though baptized, were still as much Mohammedans as ever. Under the emperor and his son we judge the Inquisition to have been still held within certain bounds toward them, as it had been under Ferdinand and Isabella. Now, however, its interferences became so exasperating that they burst out into a flame of open revolt, and appealed to their brother Moslems of Africa and Turkey for help to overthrow the Spanish monarchy. The danger was really great, and the expulsion of the Moriscoes, after they were finally worsted, may have been inevitable; yet the withdrawal of several hundred thousands of the most industrious cultivators of Spain was another deep drain of her very lifeblood.

REVOLT AND EXPULSION OF MORISCOES.

Philip IV was a somewhat stronger man than his father. He finally abdicated all pretensions to European supremacy and all hopes of suppressing Protestantism. Spain, however, was too far exhausted by the long strain of the previous reigns to have been easily restored even by a much greater king. Moreover, their eight centuries of warfare, in Spain with the Moors, and out of it with the Protestants, had deeply disinclined the Castilians, and in some measure even the Aragonese, to that steady labor on which the prosperity of a nation rests, and which only the expelled Moors had not disdained. The wealth also gained by multitudes of freebooting adventurers in the Americas aggravated this impatience of honest work, which the inordinate numbers of the clergy and of the mendicant friars certainly did nothing to correct. A leading Roman Catholic journal of this country has very pertinently raised the question whether in Spain and Italy the appliances of religion have not been multiplied to a degree that is dangerously near the point of suffocating religion itself. The Preface which long stood prefixed to the Roman Breviary and is now prefixed to the English Prayer Book makes very much the same complaint. The counter-reformation unquestionably did much to deepen spiritual life in the two Latin peninsulas. Yet it has been unable to deliver them from the smothering weight of excessive ritual observance. The Jesuits freed themselves from it, but not the Church. Any serious efforts of this kind in Spain would have had to face the danger of an *auto-de-fé*. Ignatius Loyola and St. Theresa herself seemed for a while not

PHILIP IV.

unlikely to sink under the jealousy of the Holy Office. At last it became a perilous matter for anyone to be in any way noted for unusual devoutness or benevolence. Italy at its worst may be called free and evangelical compared with the later Spain, as middle and northern Italy are incomparably more industrious. The cruelties of the Spanish Inquisition may have been exaggerated, but its deadening force on the moral, intellectual, and spiritual life of the nation, and mediately on its general prosperity, has doubtless been underestimated.

INQUISITION AN INCUBUS.

With Philip IV's son, Charles II, the elder and Spanish line of the house of Austria becomes extinct. This unhappy prince, the offspring of too many ancestral marriages between near kindred, was bodily and mental weakness itself. Lord Macaulay, after his wont, exaggerates his portrait of Charles. Yet even the accurate representation of Ranke only mitigates without essentially changing the picture. The perfect mediæval Spaniard appears in the poor king's perplexity as to how he shall entertain his brilliant young French wife. He first invites her to go with him to see two or three horses disemboweled in the bull ring, but is dismayed to find that he has frightened instead of amusing her. Gallantly determined to do his very best, he then asks her to accompany him to an *auto-de-fé*, at which some relapsed Jews are to be burnt. But after she has sat a few hours with him enveloped in the smoke and stench from the burning piles, what is his disappointment on turning at last from his own absorbed enjoyment of this pious and edifying spectacle, to find that the young queen is more frightened than ever. His two chief efforts to make life in Spain pass pleasantly to her had failed.

CHARLES II, THE LAST SPANISH HAPSBURG.

The mind of poor Charles, now that he was the last male heir of the great emperor, was greatly perplexed as to his successor. Should he designate a Hapsburg from Germany, or a Bourbon from France, his eldest sister's grandchild? A Hapsburg himself, he would have preferred the former. Yet seniority of descent spoke for the latter. Besides, there were entangling questions as to validity or invalidity of renunciations of claim. Moreover, on either alternative Europe was ready to rise against the resulting combination of two great monarchies. At last, under papal advice, the king determined for a Bourbon. He bequeathed his crowns of Spain, Sicily, Naples, Milan, Belgium, and the Indies to the young duke of Anjou, grandson of the elder Infanta and of Louis XIV, and uncle of the yet unborn Louis XV of France. In 1700 Anjou, as Philip V,

BEQUEST OF THE CROWN TO A BOURBON.

entered his new kingdom, in which, with some later interruptions, his Bourbon descendants have reigned to this day. There ensued the ten or twelve years' war of the Spanish Succession in favor of the disappointed Austrian claimant, but the Castilians held unwaveringly to their young French king, whose nearer claim of birth was incontestable, and at last wearied out all opposition.

Anjou was only a few degrees less weak a king than his unhappy great-uncle, so that no Bourbon reforms proceeded directly from him. Yet the simple fact that a French family now came to the Spanish throne opened the mediæval seclusion of Spain to an irresistible flood of enlightening influences. As Louis XIV said, in taking leave of his grandson at the border, "The Pyrenees are no more." The Spain of Philip II was plainly doomed to a slow but certain death. This fact appeared in full evidence under Anjou's third son, Charles III, who, after the brief reigns of his brothers Louis and Ferdinand, came to the throne in 1716 and reigned until 1788. Charles had a great advantage in the intensely Catholic kingdom in being of so extremely ascetic and devotional a temper that men said he was almost as much a monk as a king. This high repute of religiousness and orthodoxy, united with a very noble personal character, cleared the way for his measures of reform, commercial, administrative, educational, and ecclesiastical. It was he that led in the abrogation of the Jesuit order. This may have been a doubtful benefit to Spain, in which country Blanco White judges the Jesuits to have wrought for enlightenment and spiritual religion, but it certainly has made Charles III a benefactor to the world at large. Even as revived, the order is much less to be dreaded than before the dissolution; and in Spain itself the king had no alternative. Whatever good the Jesuits may have been doing for the people, they were stubbornly intractable—we may say, openly rebellious—against the government.

CHARLES III, THE GREAT REFORMER.

Charles also, at one stroke, destroyed the vast papal patronage in Spain. Of twelve thousand Spanish benefices in the gift of the pope he left him a bare fifty-two. By admitting the enlightening influences of modern jurisprudence he brought all the Spanish courts, the Inquisition among them, to abandon the use of torture. The Holy Office, although its pernicious influence was still felt everywhere, checking thought and action and chilling social and domestic confidence, ceased almost entirely to condemn to death. Indeed, it could not now even make an arrest without a specific royal warrant. The Spanish

INQUISITION AND POPE RESTRAINED.

Church, no doubt encouraged by the king, was even on the point of publishing a vernacular translation of the Bible, when the excesses of the French Revolution frightened it into a long reaction.

This good had its deep shadow of evil. From France came enlightenment and humanity, and from France came also a flood of deism and atheism. The effect of this, though it did not in Spain reach the point of a revolutionary overturn, as in France, was the worse in that this new unbelief was poured into the forms of a stern and persecuting orthodoxy. For two or three generations most of the high ecclesiastics of Spain were absolute infidels, yet the Spanish Church presented as high and haughty a front of apparent orthodoxy as ever. Grand inquisitors themselves were known to be adepts of Illuminism. The very last execution for heresy in Spain, which was in 1812, illustrates this. The victim, not a Protestant, but a sort of Christian theist, was privately assured by the inquisitors that he might hold his opinions in peace if only he would make a formal Catholic profession. As his conscience would not permit this he was hanged and his body burnt. "How peaceful his face looks!" exclaimed the crowd before the gallows. "Can it be that, though a heretic, he has gone to paradise?"

EVIL SIDE OF FRENCH INFLUENCE.

The Bonapartist intrusion broke up most of the monasteries. Llorente showed himself as serviceable in this as he had been to Godoy or his predecessor in attacking the immemorial liberties of the Basque provinces. Yet the peculations and violences of such men must not cause us to forget what a blessing it is that one third of the lands of Spain has been withdrawn from the dead hand.

Thus the reforms and disintegrations of the Bourbon era have gradually conducted to the tomb that later mediæval Spain which, inaugurated magnificently under Ferdinand and Isabella, and illustrated, for good or evil, by Columbus, Ximenes, Las Casas, Torquemada, Cortez, Pizarro, Loyola, Mariana, Cervantes, Calderon, Lope de Vega, St. Theresa, and St. John of the Cross, long seemed likely to crush everything at variance with itself, and, failing of this, lapsed into a creeping paralysis, illustrated and sealed in the death, in 1700, of the last Spanish Hapsburg. It has taken two hundred years of his Bourbon successors to teach Spain that she is not contemporary with Don Quixote. Yet the undisturbed consecration of a Protestant bishop, not far from the old Quemadero, or burning place of Madrid, is a blessed omen that at least the old ideals are hereafter to be realized in saner and milder forms.

HAPPY OMENS FOR THE FUTURE.

LITERATURE: POST-REFORMATION ENGLAND.

A complete list of books on the history of religion in post-Reformation England would fill a volume, or several volumes. The late Dr. Henry Martyn Dexter gives a partial list in an appendix to his Congregationalism as seen in its Literature of books pub. 1546–1879, and includes 7,250 titles. The list is entitled, Collections toward a Bibliography of Congregationalism, though it mentions many that have only very indirect and remote reference to Congregationalism. A brief selection is all that can be given here. The student will find handy collections of contemporary documents in S. R. Gardiner, Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution, 1628–60, Lond. and N. Y., 1889; in G.W. Prothero, Select Statutes and Documents of the Reigns of Elizabeth and James I, Lond. and N. Y., 1894; and in Gee and Hardy, Documents illustrative of English Church History, Lond., 1896. The older collection of Wilkins, Cardwell, Haddan, and Stubbs, must be remembered. In the fifth vol. of Neal, Hist. of the Puritans, various lengthy texts are printed. The secular histories are indispensable, such as Macaulay, Froude, Green, Ranke, and Gardiner, as are the old Church historians like Heylyn, Strype, Fuller, and Collier. We give here a few modern books.

I. CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

See above pp. 364–368. Also G. G. Perry, Hist. of the Church of England from the death of Elizabeth to the Present Time. Lond., 1861–64 (to be distinguished from his Church History of England from 596–1884, 3 vols., 1881–86; 6th ed., 1895 [Student Series]). A. H. Hore, The Church in England from William III to Victoria. 2 vols. Lond., 1886. Both Perry and Hore are High Church, but the former is the more scholarly and reliable. H. M. Luckock, The Bishop in the Tower: a Record of Events from the Restoration to the Revolution. Lond. and N. Y., 1887. M. Fowler, Some Notable Archbishops of Canterbury. Lond. and N. Y., 1895 (includes Parker, Laud, and Sancroft). F. O. White, Lives of the Elizabethan Bishops. Lond., 1898. Excellent.

II. PURITANISM.

1. Neal, Daniel. Hist. of the Puritans or Protestant Nonconformists from 1516 to 1688. 4 vols. Lond., 1732–38; new ed., rev. and enl. by J. Toulmin, 5 vols., Taunton, 1796, often reprinted; exc. ed., Lond., 1822. The fifth vol. contains a History of the Baptists ab'd from Crosby and a Hist. of the Quakers ab'd from Gough, also numerous documents, including all the official directories of the Westminster Assembly. Neal was ans. by Zachary Grey, Examination of Neal's Hist. of the Puritans, 3 vols., Lond., 1736–39, and by Isaac Maddox, Reflections on Neal's Hist. of the Puritans, Lond., 1733. Neal, who was a London Congregational divine (d. 1743), writes from the standpoint of hearty appreciation, yet in an impartial spirit, and with carefulness as to facts. His book remains one of the greatest historical works of the 18th century. Mullinger, in Introd. to

the Study of Eng. Hist., p. 321, says that the numerous attacks upon it have not shown that it contains any grave misstatements of facts.

2. Wilson, Walter. Hist. and Antiquities of Dissenting Churches in London, Westminster, and Southwark, including Lives of their Ministers from Rise of Nonconformity to Present. 4 vols. Lond., 1808–14. Invaluable.
3. Bogue, David, and Bennett, Jas. Hist. of Dissenters from Revolution to 1808. 4 vols. Lond., 1808; 2d ed., arr. in two vols. by J. Bennett, 1833. Excellent for the later history.
4. Brook, Benjamin. Lives of the Puritans from Queen Elizabeth to 1662. 3 vols. Lond., 1813. A mine of information diligently explored.
5. Stowell, W. H. The Puritans in England. Lond., 1837. The author was Prof. in Rotherham Cong'l Coll., and later in Cheshunt Coll. This book is bound, N. Y., 1888, with D. Wilson, The Pilgrim Fathers, Lond., 1845.
6. Marsden, J. B. Hist. of the Early Puritans. Lond., 1850; 2d ed., 1852. Hist. of the Later Puritans (to 1662). Lond., 1852. Written in fair spirit by a moderate Church of England man.
7. Coleridge, S. T. Notes on English Divines. 2 vols. Lond., 1852–53. Penetrating observations, esp. on theology.
8. Hopkins, Samuel. The Puritans; or, the Church, Court, and Parliament of England during the Reigns of Edward VI and Elizabeth. 3 vols. Bost., 1859–61. A valuable work, based on extensive studies and written in a strong and interesting way, though occasionally spoiled by using the story or novel form of narrative. The notes are full of material and references.
9. Vaughan, Robert. English Nonconformity. Lond., 1862. An historical sketch treated in a large and learned way.
10. Davids, T. W. Annals of Evangelical Nonconformity in Essex from 1380 to 1660, with Memorials of Essex Ministers who were ejected in 1660–62. Lond., 1863. Embodies the results of exhaustive research in out-of-the-way fields,—an admirable example of what a faithful pastor can do by a wise investment of odd hours.
11. Halley, Robt. Lancashire: its Puritanism and Nonconformity. 2 vols. Manchester and Lond., 1869. Important.
12. Hunt, John. Religious Thought in England from the Reformation to end of Eighteenth century. 3 vols. Lond., 1870–73. An impartial survey well done.
13. Curteis, G. H. Dissent in its Relation to the Church of England. Lond. and N. Y., 1872. Bampton Lects. for 1871. Written in an exaggerated and bitter style, or, to use his own words, in "violent and repulsive language" (p. 108), with intense animosity against all Churches except his own, and with too reckless disregard for facts, yet necessary to be read as giving the Anglican version.
14. Gardiner, S. R. The Puritan Revolution, 1603–60. Lond. and N. Y., 1875 [Epochs of History Series].
15. Stoughton, John. History of Religion in England from 1640 to 1800. 6 vols., new and rev. ed. Lond., 1881. A new and combined ed. of a series of works issued between 1867 and 1878, written with ample scholarship and candid spirit; the most important work of modern English Church History in the language.

16. Campbell, Douglas. The Puritan in Holland, England, and America. 2 vols. N. Y., 1892. An able exploitation of some neglected historical facts, though the result needs to be coordinated in a philosophic spirit with other facts. See below, p. 637.
17. Sydney, W. C. Social Life in England from 1660 to 1690. Lond., 1892.
18. Gregory, J. Puritanism: a Historical Handbook. Lond. and N. Y., 1896. An interesting and, in the main, accurate history, with fresh and just judgments. For a few corrections in points of fact see The Nation, N. Y., Aug. 6, 1896, p. 109.

In the following special topics many of the books mentioned above are necessary. In this whole period, in fact, the threads of history are marvelously interwoven.

III. CONGREGATIONALISM.

1. Waddington, John. Congregational History, 1200–1880. 5 vols. Lond., 1869–80. An able and learned work, but, like many English books, exasperatingly deficient as to an index, its value being thus lessened one half.
2. Punchard, Geo. Hist. of Congregationalism from 250 to Present Time. 4 vols. Bost., 1865–80. Thorough.
3. Miall, J. G. Congregationalism in Yorkshire. Lond., 1868. There are other local histories, as Warwickshire, by J. Sibree and M. Caston, Lond., 1855; Norfolk and Suffolk, by John Browne, Lond., 1877.
4. Dexter, H. M. Congregationalism as Seen in its Literature. N. Y., 1880. This is perhaps the greatest single monograph in denominational history ever written by an American. See a notice, hardly fair in all respects, by Briggs, in Presb. Rev., i, 762–766.

Instructive chapters on English Congregationalism are found in L. Bacon, Genesis of the New England Churches, N. Y., 1874, and in John Browne, The Pilgrim Fathers of New England, Lond. and N. Y., 1895—both the work of experts. For original materials see Benj. Hanbury, Historical Memorials relating to Congregationalists from Rise to 1660, 3 vols., Lond., 1839–44; Williston Walker, Heads of Agreement, and the Union of Congregationalists and Presbyterians based on them in London, 1691, in Papers of Amer. Soc. of Church History, iv, 29–52 (1892).

IV. PRESBYTERIANS.

1. Murch, Jerom. Hist. of Presbyterian and General Baptist Churches in the West of England, with Memoirs of Pastors. Lond., 1835.
2. McCrie, Thos., Jr. Annals of English Presbytery from Earliest Period to Present. Lond., 1872.
3. Drysdale, A. H. Presbyterians in England: their Rise, Decline, and Revival. Lond., 1889. Historical Handbook of English Presbyterianism. Lond., 1891.
4. Shaw. Elizabethan Presbyterianism, in Eng. Hist. Review, Oct., 1888. C. A. Briggs, Provincial Assembly of London, 1647–60, in Presb. Rev., Jan., 1881, ii, 54–79.

V. ROMAN CATHOLICS.

1. Brown, J. B. Historical Account of the Laws enacted against Catholics in England and Ireland. Lond., 1813.
2. Butler, Chas. Historical Memoirs respecting the English, Irish, and Scottish Catholics from Reformation to Present Time. 4 vols. Lond., 1819–21.

3. Tierney, M. A. Dodd's Church History of England from 1500 to 1688, with Notes, Additions, and a Continuation. Lond., 1839. From the many documents and extracts printed by both Butler and Tierney their works have almost the value of an original source. The latter is a corrected reprint of Hugh Tootel's valuable history, which he had to issue abroad and pseudonymously.
4. Oliver, G. Collections Illustrating the Hist. of the Catholic Religion in the Counties of Cornwall and Devon. Lond., 1857. Collections illustrating the Biographies of the Members of the Society of Jesus. Lond., 1845.
5. Simpson, Richard. Edmund Campion: a Biography. Lond., 1867; new ed. rev., 1896. A standard biography, with copious references and notes.
6. Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus. Four series in 2 vols. Lond., 1875–77.
7. Brady, W. Maziere. Episcopal Succession in England, Scotland, and Ireland, 1400–1875. Rome, 1876. Annals of the Catholic Hierarchy in England and Scotland, 1585–1876, with Dissertation on Anglican Orders. Rome, 1877.
8. Challoner, Richard. Martyrs to the Cath. Faith: Memoirs of Missionary Priests and other Catholics of both Sexes, who suffered death in England on Religious Accounts from 1577–1648. New ed., with Pref. by Card. Manning. Lond., 1877. The pref. gives account of literary sources.
9. Knox, T. F. First and Second Douai Diaries, with an Historical Introduction. Lond., 1878. Valuable sources for English Cath. history.
10. Morris, John (S. J.), editor. Troubles of our Catholic Forefathers related by Themselves. 3 vols. Lond., 1877.
11. Records of English Catholics under Penal Laws. 2 vols. Lond., 1878–82. Includes Douai Coll. diaries and letters of Allen.
12. Gillow, Jos. Dict. of English Catholic Biography and Bibliography, 1534–1884, vols. i–iii. Lond., 1887–88.
13. Payne, J. O. Records of English Catholics of 1715. Lond., 1888.
14. Bridgett, T. E. History of Holy Eucharist in Great Britain. 2 vols. Lond., 1881. Life of the Blessed Thomas Fisher. Lond., 1888. Story of the Catholic Hierarchy deposed by Queen Elizabeth. Lond., 1888.
15. Pollen, J. H. Acts of English Martyrs Hitherto Unpublished. Lond., 1891.
16. Short Hist. of the Catholic Church in England. Lond., 1895.
17. Archpriest Controversy. Ed. from Petyt MSS. of the Inner Temple. Lond., 1899. The question involved in this controversy was whether the head of the Catholics in England should be a special papal representative in close touch with the Jesuits or a titular bishop and vicar apostolic, and lasted from 1598, when an archpriest was appointed, to 1623, when a titular bishop succeeded.

VI. BAPTISTS.

1. Crosby, Thos. History of the English Baptists. 4 vols. Lond., 1738–40.
2. Ivimey, Jos. History of the English Baptists. 4 vols. Lond., 1811, 1814, 1830.
3. Taylor, Adam. Hist. of the Engl. General Baptists. 2 vols. Lond., 1818.

4. Murch, Jerom. Hist. of Presbyterian and Gen'l Baptists in West of England. Lond., 1835.
5. Orchard, G. H. Hist. of Foreign Baptists. 2 vols. Nashville, 1838; new ed., 1858.
6. Publications of the Hanserd Knollys Society. 10 vols. Lond., 1846 ff. Include many of the most valuable of the original sources of English Baptist history and theology.
7. Gould, Geo. Open Communion and the Baptists of Norwich. Norwich, 1860.
8. Evans, Benjamin. The Early English Baptists. 4 vols. Lond., 1862.
9. Tallack, W. Geo. Fox, the Friends, and the Early Baptists. Lond., 1868.
10. Goadby, J. J. Bye-paths of Baptist History. Lond., 1871. Baptists and Quakers in Northamptonshire, 1650–1700. Lond., 1883.
11. Williams, W. R. Lects. on History of the Baptists. Phil., 1877.
12. Clifford, John, editor. The English Baptists. Lond., 1881.
13. Dexter, H. M. John Smyth the Se-Baptist. Bost., 1881.

See also Histories of the Baptists by David Benedict, 2 vols., Bost., 1813; J. M. Cramp, Lond., 1868; T. Armitage, N. Y., 1887; and H. C. Vedder, Phil., 1892—the latter the best short general history. For the Continental Baptists, from whom the English General Baptists sprung, see the following recent works: H. S. Burrage, The Anabaptists of Switzerland, Phil., 1882—an admirable monograph; the same, The Anabaptists of the Sixteenth Century, in Papers of the American Soc. of Ch. Hist., iii, 145–164 (1891); Ludwig Keller, Ein Apostel Wiedertäufer, Leipz., 1882—see C. A. Briggs in Presb. Rev., iv (1883), 450; the same, Die Reformation und die alteren Reformpartien, Leipz., 1885—see S. M. Jackson in Presb. Rev., vi (1885), 747–750 (Keller has helped to lift the cloud of misrepresentation and abuse which long hovered over the Anabaptists and other Christians of the pre-Reformation and Reformation age); J. Loserth, Der Anabaptismus in Tirol, Wien, 1892—excellent, contains valuable documents; the same, Der Communismus der Mährischen Wiedertäufer, Wien, 1894—see G. Bossert in Th. Littblatt., Aug. 30 and Sept. 13, 1895; Richard Heath, Anabaptism from Rise at Zwickau to Fall at Münster, 1521–36, Lond., 1895; the same, Early Anabaptism, in Contemp. Rev., April, 1895; Living in Community, a Sketch of Moravian Anabaptism, in the same, Aug., '96 (lxx, 247 ff.), and Archetype of Pilgrim's Progress, in the same, lxx, 541 ff.; E. Müller, Geschichte der Bernischen Täufer, Frauenfeld, 1895—see Bossert in Th. Litz., 1896, No. 4; D. H. Lüdemann, Reformation und Täufertum in ihrem Verhältniss zum christlichen Princip., Bern, 1896—an apology for the Baptists, shows that they were the true reformers; J. Lehmann, Gesch. der deutsche Baptisten, Hamb., 1896; A. H. Newman, Hist. of Antipedobaptism from Rise of Pedobaptism to 1609, Phil., 1897 (the best discussion of the whole Baptist development in concise form in English, founded on extensive studies by one of the most candid and competent of living scholars)—see A. C. Zenos in Presb. and Ref. Rev., viii, 809, and G. Anderson in Amer. Journal of Theol., Jan., 1898, p. 184; G. W. Schroeder, Hist. of Swedish Baptists in Sweden and America, Brooklyn, N. Y., 1898; P. Burckhardt, Die Basler Täufer, Basel, 1898.

VII. QUAKERS, OR SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

1. Fox, Geo. Journal, or Historical Account of his Life. Lond., 1694. Collection of Epistles, Testimonies, etc., 1698. Gospel Truth Demonstrated, 1706.
2. Croese, Gerard. Gen'l Hist. of the Quakers. Lond., 1696.
3. Crouch, Wm. Posthuma Christiana: a Collection of Papers relating to Quakers. Lond., 1712.
4. Ellwood, Thos. Hist. of his Life. (Autob.) Lond., 1714; new ed., with Introd. by Henry Morley, Lond., 1885.
5. Edmundson, Wm., Journal of Life and Travels of. Dublin, 1715.
6. Sewel, Wm. Hist. of the Quakers. Lond., 1725. Often reprinted.
7. Besse, Jos. Sufferings of the Quakers. 2 vols. Lond., 1753.
8. Woolman, John, Journal of. Dubl., 1776; new ed., with Introd. by J. G. Whittier, Bost., 1876. Often reprinted.
9. Gough, John. Hist. of the Quakers. 4 vols. Dubl., 1789–90. Valuable.
10. Brownlee, W. C. Religious Principles of the Society of Friends, with History. Phil., 1824. Written by a distinguished minister of the Collegiate Reformed Church, New York, who afterward became famous as an anti-Roman controversialist.
11. Barclay, A. R. Letters of the Early Friends. Lond., 1841.
12. Wagstaff, Wm. R. Hist. of Society of Friends. N. Y. and Lond., 1845.
13. Hodgson, Wm. Historical Memoirs of Soc. of Friends. Phil., 1856.
14. Rowntree, J. S. Quakerism, Past and Present. Lond., 1859.
15. Janney, S. M. History of Society of Friends from Rise to 1828. 4 vols. Phil., 1859–67; 2d ed., rev., 1852. Standard.
16. Cunningham, John. The Quakers: a History from Origin to Present. Edinb., 1868. Very appreciative survey by a historian of the Church of Scotland.
17. Evans, C. Friends in the Seventeenth Century. Phil., 1875.
18. Barclay, Robt. Inner Life of the Religious Societies of the Commonwealth. Lond., 1876; 3d ed., 1879. An elaborate and able study. Author is nephew of No. 11.
19. Budge, Frances A. Annals of the Early Friends. Lond., 1877.
20. Turner, F. S. The Quakers: a Study, Historical and Critical. Lond., 1889.
21. Horder, W. G. Quaker Worthies. Lond., 1896.

Besides the collections in Crouch, above, William and Thomas Evans pub. The Friends' Library, comprising Journals and Other Writings of Friends. 14 vols. Phil., 1837–50. A venerable antiquarian bookseller of London, Joseph Smith, who has or had the largest collection of books on the Quakers in the hands of any one man, pub. a Descriptive Catalogue of Friends' Books, 2 vols., Lond., 1867, suppl., 1893; Bibliotheca Anti-Quakeriana, Lond., 1873; and Bibliotheca Quakeristica, Lond., 1883. See note by C. A. Briggs in Presb. Rev., 1884, p. 739. There is an excellent select bibliography in the admirable History of the Soc. of Friends in America, by Prof. A. C. Thomas, N. Y., 1894.

VIII. UNITARIANS.

1. Turner, W. Lives of Eminent Unitarians. 2 vols. Lond., 1840–43.
2. Tayler, J. J. Retrospect of the Religious Life of England. Lond., 1845; new ed., 1876, esp. chs. v ff.

3. Wallace, R. Anti-Trinitarian Biography. 3 vols. Lond., 1850.
4. Lindsey, Theophilus. Memoirs and Progress of Unit. Doctrine. Ed. by T. Belsham. Lond., 1873.
5. Baker, Sir Thos. Memoir of a Dissenting Chapel. Manchester, 1884.
6. Bonet-Maury, G. Early Sources of Unitarian Christianity in England. Transl. Lond. and N. Y., 1884.
7. Allen, J. H. Hist. Sketch of Unitarian Movement since the Reformation. N. Y., 1894.

IX. MARTIN MARPRELATE CONTROVERSY.

There were seven Martinist pamphlets, all printed in 1589, except the first, which appeared in Nov. or Dec., 1588. (1) Oh Read over D. John Bridges; or the Epistle. This was reprinted in Prof. Edward Arber's English Scholars' Library, Lond., 1880. (2) The Epitome. (3) Certain Mineral and Metaphysical School Points. (4) Hay any Worke for Cooper—an answer tc Bishop Cooper's Admonition. (5) Protestatyon of Martin Marprelate. (6) Theses Martinianæ. (7) Just Censure and Reproof. Bishop Richard Cooper replied to the first in his Admonition to the People of England, 1589, which is included in Arber's Library, Lond., 1882. This excellent series also includes John Udall's State of the Church of England; or Diotrephes, 1588—the forerunner of the Martinist series, and written from the same standpoint. The most of the other Martinist tracts were reprinted by John Petherham, Lond., 1843–47, and by Arber, Lond., 1878. The History of the Controversy was written from the Anglican standpoint by W. Maskell, Lond., 1845; by Edward Arber in his Introductory Sketch of the Martin Marprelate Controversy, Lond., 1879; and by H. M. Dexter in his Congregationalism as seen in its Literature, N Y., 1880, pp. 131–202. See also his Bibliogr. App., pp. 11–13. Petherham also repr. other anti-Martinist pamphlets.

X. NONJURORS.

See the Lives of Ken, Law, Sancroft, and other members of the party. Thos. Lathbury, Hist. of the Nonjurors: their Controversies and Writings. Lond., 1845: standard. Nicholas Ferrar: his Household and his Friends. Ed. by T. T. Carter. Lond. and N. Y., 1892; 3d ed., 1893. The Life and Times of John Kettlewell, with Details of the Hist. of the Nonjurors. By author of Nicholas Ferrar. Ed., with introd., by T. T. Carter. Lond. and N. Y., 1895: two delightful biographies.

XI. LAUD.

Works, 7 vols., Oxf., 1853. Lives by Peter Heylin, Lond., 1671; Wm. Prynne, Lond., 1644, and Canterbury's Doom, or the First Part of a Complete Hist. of William Laud, by the same, Lond., 1646; C. W. Le Bas, Lond., 1836; Thorold Rogers, in Historical Gleanings, 2d series, Lond., 1870; W. F. Hook, in Lives of Archbishops of Canterbury, vol. xi, Lond., 1876; Peter Bayne, in Chief Actors in the Puritan Revolution, Lond., 1878; J. B. Mozley, in Essays, i, 106–229, Lond., 1884 (1st pub. in 1845); A. C. Benson, Lond., 1887, new ed., 1897; Adams, in Great English Churchmen, pp. 208 ff.; Laud, by a "Romish Remnant," Lond., 1894; C. H. Vimpkinson, Lond., 1894 (see The Nation, N. Y., May 2, 1895, p. 346; West. Rev., 143, 223); W. H. Hutton, Lond. and Bost., 1895. See also Bright, Waymarks of Church History, pp. 323 ff., 426 ff., and J. F. Stephen, Horæ Sabbaticæ, Lond. and N. Y., 1892.

XII. CROMWELL.

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XIII. MILTON.

Best ed. of his Poems is by D. Masson, 3 vols., Lond. and N. Y., 1874; new ed., 1890. Best handy ed. for students is Masson's, Lond. and N. Y., 1877, or W. V. Moody's Cambridge ed., Bost., 1899. Best ed. of Prose Works is Bohn's, 5 vols., 1848–53. Lives, by John Toland, Lond., 1699; new ed., with Defense, 1761; Francis Peck, 1740; Hayley, 1796; C. E. Mortimer, 1805—political life; Chas. Symmons, 1806; 3d ed., 1882; H. J. Todd, Lond., 1809; new ed., rewritten, 1826; Jos. Ivimey, 1833; Wm. Carpenter, 1836; C. R. Edmonds, 1851; E. P. Hood, 1852; Thos. Keightley, 1855—important; W. D. Hamilton, 1859 (Camden Soc.)—important; David Masson, 7 vols. incl. Index vol., 1859–81; new ed., 1881 ff.—an exhaustive and definitive Life in connection with the times, by the author of The Three Devils, Luther's, Milton's, and Goethe's, Lond., 1874, the art. on Milton in Enc. Brit., 9th ed., and the

editor of Milton's works, anonymous, pub. by S. P. C. K., 1861; W. C. Martyn, N. Y., 1866; Alfred Stern, Milton und seine Zeit, 2 vols., Leipz., 1877-79; Stopford A. Brooke, Lond., 1879; Mark Pattison, Lond. and N. Y., 1879; Richard Garnett, 1890—has an admirable bibliog. of 39 pp., by John P. Anderson, of British Museum. There are some notable articles, as by Macaulay in Essays, Taine in English Literature, Matthew Arnold in Essays in Criticism; Van Dyke in Presb. Rev., 1883, 681 ff.; Herbert New in Modern Rev., 1881, 103 ff.; Bayne in Puritan Revolution, 297 ff.; Lowell in Among my Books, 2d series, Bost. and Lond., 1876; J. R. Seeley on his Political Opinions and on his Poetry in Lects. and Essays, 89 ff., 120 ff.; W. H. Stifler, Theol. of Paradise Lost, in Baptist Quar. Rev., 1883, 135 ff.; Tulloch in Puritanism and its Leaders, 170 ff.; Channing in Works; T. Hunt, Doctrinal Error of his later life, in Bibliotheca Sacra, 1885, 251 ff. (compare same Review, xvi, 557 ff., xvii, i ff., and J. W. Morris, John Milton, a Vindication, esp. from charge of Arianism, Lond., 1862); F. H. Newhall on Milton as a Reformer, in Meth. Quar. Rev., 1857, 542 ff.

XIV. BUNYAN.

There are innumerable editions of Bunyan's works. Of the Pilgrim's Progress the Lenox Library, New York, has an extensive and unique collection of editions. His biography is best told in his own Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners. There are Lives by Burder, 1786; Hawker, 1822; Southey, 1839; Philip, 1839; Offor, 1856; Froude, 1880; John Browne, 1885; new ed., 1888—the best; and Venables (Great Writers), 1888. The most interesting Life is Froude's, the most thorough and reliable is Browne's, and perhaps the best short Life is Venables. Macaulay contributed his famous essay to the Encyclopædia Britannica, Tulloch includes Bunyan in his Puritanism, 393 ff., and S. M. Jackson has an admirable article in the Schaff-Herzog Encyclopædia.

XV. BAXTER.

Orme, Works, 23 vols., Lond., 1830. Lives by Baxter himself; 1696, ab'd and continued by Edm. Calamy, 1702; new ed., with refutation of charges, 1713; Wm. Orme, 2 vols., Lond. and Bost., 1831; Neander, Berl., 1833; V. Gerlach, Berl., 1836; G. D. Boyle, Lond. and N. Y., 1884; J. H. Davies, Lond., 1886. There are essays in Stoughton, Lights of the World, 129 ff.; Stephen, Ess. in Eccl. Biography, 337 ff.; Ryle, Bishops and Clergy of Other Days, 156 ff.; Macmillan's Mag., Sept., 1875; and Tulloch, Puritanism, 281 ff.

XVI. GEORGE FOX.

For his works see above, p. 610. His autobiography is edited, from his Journal, by S. H. Newman, Lond., 1886. Lives by Josiah Marsh, Lond., 1847; S. M. Janney, Phil., 1852; J. S. Watson, Lond., 1860; Maria Webb, the Fells of Swarthmoor Hall and their Friends, Lond., 1865; Ruth S. Murray, Valiant for the Truth, Cambridge, Mass., 1880; A. C. Bickley, Fox and the Early Quakers, Lond., 1884; Thos. Hodgkin, Lond. and Bost., 1896—the best short Life.

XVII. PENN.

For a list of his more important works see W. J. Mann, in Schaff-Herzog, *s. v.* There is no modern edition. Lives by Marsillac, 2 vols., Paris, 1791; W. Clarkson, 2 vols., Lond., 1813; W. H. Dixon, Lond., 1851; new ed., 1872; S. M. Janney, Phil., 1852; T. P. Cope, Phil., 1882; W. J. Mann, Reading, Pa.,

1882 (in German); John Stoughton, Lond., 1882. In regard to Macaulay's blunder in his History see W. E. Forster, Penn and Macaulay, Lond., 1849; in pref. to new ed. of Clarkson's Life, Lond., 1849; Phil., 1850; and J. Paget, Inquiry into Macaulay's Charges, Lond., 1858, reprinted in his New Examen, Edinb. and Lond., 1861.

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In regard to biographies the student should read the articles in the Dict. of National Biog. and note the literature to each. A few authorities are indicated here for those for whom space will not allow separate paragraphs. USSHER: C. R. Elrington, Dubl. and Lond., 1848. JEREMY TAYLOR: R. Heber, in Works, 15 vols., 1820-22; rev. ed. by C. P. Eden, 10 vols., 1847-54; Farrar, in Masters in Eng. Theol., 1877; and Quar. Rev., July, 1871. HOOKER: Keble's Introd. to his ed. of Works; Paget's Introd. to his ed. of the 5th book, Lond. and N. Y., 1899; Izaak Walton's Life, 1665; J. F. Stephen, in Horæ Sabbaticæ, Lond. and N. Y., 1892. HOWE: Life by Calamy, in Works, by Henry Rogers, Lond. and N. Y., 1836, and by R. F. Horton, Lond. and Bost., 1896. SIR JOHN ELIOT: John Forster, 2 vols., Lond., 1864; new ed., 1871 (Quar. Rev., cxvii, 29). SIR HARRY VANE: Geo. Sikes, 1662; Charles W. Upham, in Sparks, American Biography, Bost., 1835; John Forster, in British Statesmen of the Commonwealth, Lond., 1840; and, especially, James K. Hosmer, Young Sir Harry Vane, Bost. and Lond., 1888; see also Bayne, Puritan Revolution, 347 ff., and Westm. Rev., Jan., 1889 (cxxxi, 64 ff.). OWEN: Wm. Orme, Life, in vol. i of Thos. Russell's edition of Owen's Works, Lond., 1826 (in 27 vols., including Ep. to Hebrews); Andrew Thomson, Life, in Wm. H. Goold's ed. of Owen's works, 24 vols., Edinb., 1850–55, 17 vols.; Phil., 1865-69, with index. JOSEPH HALL: See Works, ed. by Josiah Pratt, 10 vols., Lond., 1808; by Peter Hall, 12 vols., Oxf., 1839; and by Philip Winter, 10 vols., Oxf., 1863; Lives by John Jones, Lond., 1826, and George Lewis, Lond., 1886; Bishop Hall and His Times, in Church Quar. Rev., July, 1886, art. iv. THOMAS FULLER: Lives by A. T. Russell, Lond., 1844; J. E. Bailey, Lond., 1874; Morris Fuller, Lond., 2d ed., 1886; Henry Rogers, in Essays. There is a 17th century anonymous eulogy reprinted in vol. i of J. S. Brewer's edition of his Church History, 6 vols., Oxf., 1845. Bailey's extensive collection of books relating to Fuller is now (and since 1889) in the Manchester Free Library. A selection from his sermons was ed. by J. E. Bailey and W. E. Axon, Lond., 1892.

II. GREAT BRITAIN.

CHAPTER I.

POST-REFORMATION ENGLAND.

THE Puritans were the Protestant party in the Church of England. What were the sources of Puritanism? (1) The Lollards. As we have seen,[1] the Lollard movement was based on Scripture, and so discarded the hierarchy and the whole mediæval church system. The Anglican Reformation was based on kingly absolutism, and so threw overboard the pope, but deliberately retained all that it could of the old doctrines and ways. But the Wyclif reformation had left an ineradicable impress on large sections of the people. THE LOLLARDS.

(2) The Bible. The history of English Bible translation is a fascinating chapter, but it must be passed over cursorily. Wyclif's version from the Vulgate (1380) did good work in its day.[2] William Tyndale, one of the first fruits of the Reformation, who could find no place in England for his good work, published the New Testament at Worms in 1525, and the Pentateuch in 1530. He worked immediately from the Greek and Hebrew. His version is racy and idiomatic, and forms the basis of all later translations. Tyndale himself suffered martyrdom at Vilvorde, near Brussels, October 6, 1536. It was for circulating his Bible that some of his brethren of the vanguard suffered under Henry. Miles Coverdale, whom we shall meet later, knew little Hebrew or Greek, but did know German and Latin, so that the title-page of his Bible, printed probably by Froschover at Zurich in 1535, reads: "Biblia: the Bible, that is, the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, faithfully and truly translated out of the Douche and Latin into English, MDXXXV." Coverdale's idiom is strong and forceful, and it is his version which is the basis of the Psalter in the Book of Common Prayer. The chaplain of the English merchants at Antwerp, John Rogers, was a friend of Tyndale, fell heir to his manuscripts, and in 1537 published an English Bible, which from Genesis to 2 Chronicles was THE ENGLISH BIBLE.

[1] Above, pp. 44 f. [2] See above, p. 24.

Tyndale's, and the rest Coverdale's, but edited and revised by him, with valuable prefatory matter, including a table of principal matters contained in the Bible, a kind of Bible index and concordance, with summaries before each chapter, and excellent notes—textual, doctrinal, and practical—at the end. The indefatigable Rogers, who was burned at Smithfield in 1555,[1] published his Bible under a pseudonym (Thomas Matthew) probably at Wittenberg, and his excellent book is the basis of the Authorized Version.

Richard Taverner, a fine Greek scholar, revised the so-called Matthew Bible at the suggestion of Cromwell, and in the New Testament made some excellent improvements which have been retained in the Common Version. It was published in London in 1539, and later appeared in parts, which helped its circulation. It had official sanction and was allowed to be read in churches. The same year, and a little before Taverner's, appeared the Great Bible, so-called on account of its size, which is a revision of Tyndale, Coverdale, and Rogers by Coverdale himself, undertaken at the request of Cromwell, and executed, on account of better type and presses, in Paris until the Inquisition pounced down upon the printers, when the work was removed to London. This famous Bible, which on account of the preface by Cranmer in the editions of 1540 and later has been misnamed Cranmer's Bible, and which ought really to be called Coverdale's second Bible, was very popular, and is the only English version which received formal royal sanction—the only true Authorized Version.[2] From it were taken the greater part of the Scriptures in the Prayer Books of 1549 and 1552. On the whole, however, this Bible is inferior to John Rogers's.

More valuable than any of the preceding was the Genevan Bible, 1560, prepared by Whittingham, Sampson, and Gilby, assisted by the Genevan exiles, who had the advantage of both larger apparatus and better scholarship, and which was published at the expense of the English congregation at Geneva, of which John Bodley, father of the founder of the Bodleian

THE GENEVAN BIBLE.

[1] See above, p. 421.

[2] The Great Bible remained the Authorized Version for twenty-eight years. See Eadie, The English Bible, i, 383. The reviser had before him Luther's version, the Zurich version, the Latin translation of Sanctes Pagninus, 1528, and Sebastian Munster, 1534–35, in the Old Testament, and the Latin version of Erasmus, 1535, in the New.—Mombert, Handbook of the English Versions of the Bible, p. 209. It contains numerous paraphrastic and supplementary clauses from the Vulgate, which render it a less faithful work than that of Rogers.

Library, was a generous member. It was fortified with notes, original or selected, treating of theology, history, and geography. On this Bible the Puritans were nurtured. It was the popular English Bible of the seventeenth century, more than one hundred and thirty editions having been published up to 1644. It was a long time before the so-called Authorized Version of 1611 displaced it, and among the factors which made England a Protestant nation we must remember the Genevan Bible and its notes. The first Bible printed in Scotland, 1579, was the Genevan.[1] The success of the Genevan Bible and dissatisfaction with the Great Bible induced Archbishop Parker to put forth another version under Church auspices. He farmed out the various books among eight bishops and other learned men, who were carefully to revise the Great Bible with reference to the original texts and best versions. The result—the Bishops' Bible—was published in superb form in 1568, and in a much improved and final edition in 1572, which last forms the immediate groundwork of the Authorized Version. Much of the revision was carefully done, but parts of it, especially in the Old Testament, were slighted. The influence of the Genevan Bible was apparent everywhere. The Bishops' Bible had much prefatory and explanatory matter, many of the notes being borrowed from the Genevan. This brief outline of the history of the English Bible will indicate one source at least of the Protestantism of Elizabeth's reign.

(3) Foxe's Book of Martyrs. Foxe was a learned and liberal-minded divine, who occupied the time of his exile on the Continent in writing a Church History, Acts and Monuments of these Latter Perilous Days Touching Matters of the Churches, which he published in Basel in Latin in 1554, and enlarged in English in 1563. It passed through many editions, and was ordered by Elizabeth to be placed in the common halls of archbishops, bishops, and deans, and in all the colleges and chapels in England. The Bible and Foxe's book were thus chained side by side, the one to set forth what the true faith is, and the other the efforts to exterminate that faith from the earth. The influence

FOXE'S BOOK OF MARTYRS.

[1] The edition of 1560 is sometimes called the Breeches Bible from its rendering of Gen. iii, 7. The Genevan was the first to restore the original form of the Hebrew names, the first to omit St. Paul from the title of the Epistle to the Hebrews, the first to use italic letters for supplemental words, and the first to deal with any critical discrimination with the Apocrypha. Eadie well says the preeminence of this "learned and cautious revision" in England was well deserved—ii, 15. So late as 1765 the Genevan notes appear in an edition of the Authorized Version of 1611.

of Foxe on the feelings and intellect of the English people was incalculable. Hatred of Rome soon became a national characteristic.[1]

ENGLISH EXILES ON THE CONTINENT.

(4) Geneva and Germany. During Mary's reign English exiles poured into the Continent. They formed churches at Frankfort, Geneva, and elsewhere. They came in contact with more earnest types of Protestantism, and were profoundly influenced thereby. Especially did Calvin and his Church-state system at Geneva powerfully affect them. His holiness and loftiness of character, his clear intelligence and wide learning, his compact, logical, and scriptural theology, made a tremendous impression on all who knew him either personally or by his writings, and during Reformation times Geneva became the home of Protestantism. There were colonies of Englishmen in several of the towns of the Continent. They had their own services, their own pastors, their own literature. Here they translated the Bible into English, made their English hymns and liturgies, and were free to carry their reform as far as they chose. When these men returned to England, after the death of Mary, they were stanch Protestants. They were the nucleus of the Puritan party, which at length saved English religion and English liberty.

[1] "When we recollect that, until the appearance of the Pilgrim's Progress in the next century, the common people had almost no reading matter except the Bible and Foxe's Book of Martyrs, we can understand the deep impression that this book produced, and how it served to mold the national character. Those who could read found there the full details of all atrocities committed on the Protestant reformers; the illiterate could see the rude illustrations of the various instruments of torture, the rack, the gridiron, the boiling oil, and then the holy martyrs breathing out their souls amid the flames. Take now a people just awakening to a new intellectual and religious life; let several generations of them from childhood to old age pore over such a book as this, and its stories become traditions as indelible and almost as potent as songs and customs on a nation's life. All the fiendish acts there narrated were the work of the Church of Rome, for no hint was given of any other side to the story. No wonder that among the masses, aside from any religious sentiment or conviction, there grew up a horror and detestation of the pope and the Romish Church which have not entirely lost their force after three centuries of Protestant domination. The influence of this feeling on the English people can hardly be exaggerated. The country squires who came to the parliament of Elizabeth, as a rule, probably cared little for religion, but they were united in their hatred of the papal power, and this hatred, always coupled with a dread, became more intense as time went on."—Douglas Campbell, The Puritan in Holland, England, and America (N. Y., Harpers, 1892), i, 442–443. Later editions, 1610 ff., were illustrated with copper cuts.

(5) Holland. We cannot omit the Low Countries when we consider the sources of Puritanism. The debt which England owes to the little country across the channel, which, although only one fourth her size, had in the seventeenth century as large a population and much more wealth, has only recently been investigated or acknowledged. Skeat was the first to call attention to it. "I am convinced that the influence of the Dutch upon the English has been much underrated, and closer attention to this question might throw some light even upon English history. History tells us that our relations with the Netherlands have often been rather close. We read of Flemish mercenary soldiers being employed by the Normans, and of Flemish settlements in Wales, 'where,' says old Fabyan, I know not with what truth, 'they remained a long while, but after they spread all England over.' We may recall the alliance of Edward III and the free towns of Flanders, and the importation by Edward of Flemish weavers."[1] Especially during the Spanish wars Dutch refugees swarmed over England. About all the finer industries of the English were in the hands of the Dutch. Their weavers made Norwich the second city in the kingdom. A stoppage of trade with Flanders would have broken half the merchants in London.[2] It is estimated that between fifty and a hundred thousand came over to England during the persecutions. There were ten thousand in London, and as early as 1587 there were nearly five thousand in Norwich. These refugees were the most intelligent people in Europe. Holland was the instructor of Europe in agriculture, navigation, commerce, physical research, medical knowledge—the mother of scholars and jurists. "It was the center of varied literary activity when England was enveloped in the gross darkness of ignorance, and more books teemed from its presses than from all other parts of the Continent."[3]

RELATIONS OF ENGLAND AND HOLLAND.

[1] Etymological Dict., Pref.

[2] Green, Short History of English People, p. 381.

[3] Gregory, Puritanism, Lond. and N. Y., 1896, p. 205. "There is no nation in Europe," says the late Thorold Rogers, "which owes more to Holland than England does."—Story of Holland, p. 380. The first man to set forth adequately England's and America's debt to Holland was the late Douglas Campbell (d. 1893), of the New York bar, son of Judge William Campbell, of Cherry Valley, N. Y., author of Annals of Tryon County, in his great work, The Puritan in Holland, England, and America, 2 vols., N. Y., 1892. It is the result of many years' study and of the researches of many hands in the Dutch archives.

What were the principles of the Puritans? The Puritans eventually divided themselves into three classes: Episcopal, Presbyterian, and Congregational; but at first they were simply the Protestants of the Church of England who desired the Reformation to be carried out to a Protestant issue. But it was upon matters of practice rather than of theology that the earliest emphasis was placed. The documents of the times do not show that the Puritans objected to the Thirty-nine Articles, the most of which they took as Protestant and interpreted the rest in a Protestant sense.

PRINCIPLES OF PURITANISM.

One of their grievances was the excessive power of the sovereign in things ecclesiastical. The supremacy of the king in the Church of England was a most real thing. He had the power to judge in theological controversies and to enforce his decision under penalties; he had the power of ecclesiastical discipline and was the supreme judge in spiritual courts; he had the power of ordaining such ceremonials as he thought best; he could nominate bishops; no association of clergy could be held without his permission, and no laws passed by such convocation were of any avail until indorsed by the king. This regal papacy, though it has been abated somewhat and its technical forms changed, is still the charter of the Established Church, as eminent authorities have had recently to remind High Churchmen,[1] and Elizabeth was not a ruler to minify her office. Hooker himself states the same when he says: "If the whole ecclesiastical State should stand in need of being visited and reformed; or when any part of the Church is infested with errors, schisms, heresies, etc., whatsoever spiritual power the legates had from the see of Rome and exercised in the right of the pope for remedying evils, without violating the laws of God or nature; as much in every degree have our laws fully granted to the king forever, whether he thinks fit to do it by ecclesiastical synods, or otherwise according to law."[2] It is evident that no one who had caught the New Testament conception of a church could be content with such a scheme as that. But the Puritans took the oath of supremacy, as some of the Catholics did not, with the interpretation or understanding that no more was intended than "that her majesty, under God, had the sovereignty or rule over all persons born in

OPPOSITION TO ROYAL SUPREMACY IN THE CHURCH.

[1] See Sir Wm. Harcourt, Lawlessness in the National Church, Lond. and N. Y., 1899; Edmund Robertson, Q.C., M.P., The Church of England as by Law Established, in Nineteenth Century, May, 1899, 733 ff.

[2] Eccl. Polity, viii, sec. 8.

her realms, either ecclesiastical or temporal, so as no foreign power had or ought to have authority over them."[1]

An idea of the Puritan contention may be gathered from the papers presented by their divines to the convocation, 1562, in which they urged the discontinuance of private baptism and baptism by women, of the cross in baptism, of organs, copes, and surplices, and of saints' days and festivals (except for voluntary historical commemoration). They urged that kneeling at communion be made voluntary, and that the minister "in Common Prayer turn his face toward the people, and then read distinctly the service appointed, that the people may hear and be edified."[2] These modest propositions were rejected by a majority of only one. From a plan of reform sketched by Cartwright we learn something additional. (1) The names and functions of archbishops and archdeacons ought to be abolished as having no foundation in Scripture. (2) The offices of the lawful ministers of the Church, namely, bishops and deacons, ought to be reduced to their apostolical institution: bishops to preach the word of God and pray, and deacons to be employed in taking care of the poor. (3) The government of the Church ought not to be intrusted to bishops' chancellors or the officials of archdeacons; but every church ought to be governed by its own ministers and presbyters. (4) Ministers ought not to be at large, but every one should have charge of a certain flock. (5) No man ought to solicit or to stand as a candidate for the ministry. (6) Bishops ought not to be created by civil authority, but ought to be fairly chosen by the Church.[3]

PURITANS AT CONVOCATION OF 1562.

Anglicans declared these propositions untrue and dangerous, and for these and others Cartwright was expelled from the university. Other propositions were drawn from his lectures by Anglicans, but exactly how far they represent his views we do not know.[4] Some of these were of minor importance; but the proposition which included all the rest was: In reforming the Church, reduce all things to the apostolic model.

CARTWRIGHT'S EXPULSION FROM CAMBRIDGE.

One could readily arrange the beliefs of the Anglicans and Puritans in parallel columns somewhat as follows:

[1] Neal, Hist. of the Puritans, Toulmin's ed., 1822, i, 114.

[2] Neal, i, 150 f.

[3] Neal, i, 212. Comp. C. A. Briggs, art. Thomas Cartwright, in Schaff-Herzog, i, 410.

[4] See these propositions in Neal, i, 212–214.

ANGLICANS.	PURITANS.
The prince has authority to reform the Church in doctrine and discipline in his own territory, and no foreign spiritual authority has power in England.	The Church has the sole power of reformation, and ought not to be subject to the will of the ruler in matters of religion. No foreign authority has power in England.
The Church of Rome, though corrupt, is a true Church, and her ministrations and orders valid.	The Church of Rome is no true Church; her pope is antichrist, her ministrations idolatrous, and her orders of no value.
The Holy Scriptures are a rule of faith and life, but are not a standard of ecclesiastical government, matters of that kind being left to the civil magistrate to be ordered according to the exigencies of the times.	The Holy Scriptures are not only a rule of faith, but also of Church polity, and nothing is to be imposed on the conscience but what can be derived from them. Where they are silent the arrangements of Church life are in the hands of her spiritual officers only.
The ancient Church until the establishment of the papacy furnishes a proper model to later times, and the gradations of deans, archdeacons, bishops, and archbishops ought to be retained.	Let us keep close to the New Testament, and discard all later hierarchical development. The ministers and lay officers of apostolic times are sufficient.
Those rites, ceremonies, and vestments which are neither commanded nor forbidden in the New Testament are left free to the Church, and when the civil ruler commands them they are obligatory on the conscience.	Things which Christ has left indifferent ought not to be incorporated in the civil law, because that abridges the freedom with which Christ has made us free. At the same time such ceremonies and vestments as are closely connected with the worship of Rome are not indifferent, but are to be rejected, because they lead men into superstition and idolatry, and tend to bring again the spell of popery.[1]

DOCTRINAL AGREEMENT OF ANGLICANS AND PURITANS.

On the main points of doctrine both were agreed. Both were Calvinistic, though many Anglican divines later became Arminian.[2] Both held to the necessity of uniformity in religion, the Puritans being as strenuous as the others in denying toleration, only holding that the State should learn what ought to be enforced from the

[1] See a statement of the principles of the two parties in Neal, i, 123–126. C. A. Briggs, Principles of the Puritans, in Presb. Rev., Oct., 1884, 656 ff., is a consideration of some points in later Puritanism with special reference to present times.

[2] For full proof of the Calvinism of the early Anglican divines see Fisher, Reformation, pp. 335–339, with the references.

ecclesiastical authorities. A singular evolution of history has brought the present High Church party in this respect to the exact position of the Puritans. Nor was there much difference as to the episcopal constitution of the Church, English reformers at the first not insisting on the divine right of episcopacy, but on its historic right as an ancient and fitting polity. They went back to the ancient thought expressed by Jerome,[1] and recognized by mediæval canonists,[2] of the essential and original identity of presbyters and bishops, and therefore received without question men who had only presbyterial ordination and gave them benefices and church preferments.[3] This state of things continued with more or less general recognition for a hundred years.

[1] Ad Titum, i, 7.

[2] See quotations and references in Gieseler, Ch. Hist., i, sec. 30 (ed. H. B. Smith, i, 90, 91). "Nor does it appear that this view [original identity of presbyters and bishops] was ever questioned until the era of the Reformation. In the Western Church, at all events, it carried the sanction of the highest ecclesiastical authorities, and was maintained even by popes and councils."—Lightfoot, The Christian Ministry, reproduced in Dissertations on the Apostolic Age, Lond. and N. Y., 1892, p. 194.

[3] For the proof of this *in extenso* see Fisher, The Reformation, pp. 332–335, and especially the same author's elaborate essay on The Relation of the Church of England to the other Protestant Bodies, in Discussions in History and Theology, pp. 176–226. Comp. Hallam, Constitutional History of England, ch. vii (i, 387, Am. Standard ed.); Makower, Constitutional Hist. of the Church of England, pp. 181, 182. Parliament of 1571 recognized the right of persons ordained in other ways than by the Prayer Book form to undisputed place in the Church. Bacon, Advertisement respecting the Controversies of the Church of England, written probably in 1589, and printed in the works of Francis Bacon, ed. Spedding, Ellis and Heath, viii, 87 ff., recognizes the denial of the validity of nonepiscopal ordination as a novelty: "Yea, and some indiscreet persons have been bold in open preaching to use dishonorable and derogatory speech and censure of the Churches abroad; and that so far as some of our men ordained in foreign parts have been pronounced to be no lawful ministers." So late as 1660 Bramhall, archbishop of Armagh, in reordaining presbyterially consecrated ministers, did so apologetically, saying that he did not mean to call in question their orders, much less the standing of the foreign Protestant Churches, but to conform to the canons of the Church of England; and in 1664 the University of Oxford rebuked Laud for maintaining in his thesis for Bachelor of Divinity that there could be no true Church without bishops.

CHAPTER II.

THE PURITANS UNDER ELIZABETH.

THE ACT OF UNIFORMITY, 1559.

THE rock on which the Church of England split was the act of Uniformity, 1559. Except for a brief period it was that which set the pace for the Church in her relation to dissenters and Protestants until the Revolution of 1688. That act declared that the second Prayer Book of Edward VI, with all the rites and ceremonies which it approved, was now in force, and that any minister who did not use it or who varied from it would, for the first offense, forfeit his income for the next year after his conviction and be imprisoned for six months, for his second offense be imprisoned for one year and forfeit all right to any spiritual office, and for his third offense be imprisoned for life. It also made attendance at church obligatory under the penalty of fine, and provided that "such ornaments of the church and of the ministers thereof shall be retained and be in use" as were in the second year of the reign of Edward VI. Those acquainted with church history need not be surprised that the first troubles with the Puritans were over the "ornaments"—such an apparently trifling thing as the vestments or garments of the clergy.

SECULAR ORIGIN OF VESTMENTS.

Ecclesiologists have shown that the so-called sacred vestments of the clergy all sprung from secular or ordinary origin or use, that not one of them had any religious significance. Thus the alb (*white* garment) was the white shirt (*camisia*) of the laboring man, and was first used in the church by the deacon, who as the workingman of the clergy officiated, as it were, in his shirt sleeves. The surplice (*super pellicium*, the *over-fur*) was the shirt or garment (practically the same as the alb) worn indoor and out by both clergy and laity, especially in the northern climates, over the fur or skin coat. Even this tribute to appearances was quite late, as St. Martin of Tours (d. 409), the apostle of the Gauls, when he officiated "consecrated the eucharistic elements with his bare arms, which came through the sheepskin like those of the sturdy deacons who had brandished their sinewy arms out of the holes of their colobium." The ordinary overcoat of the ancients (*lacerna, pœnula*, Gr. *phœlonê*) was the parent of more than one ecclesiastical garment: the cassock (from It. *casacca*,

great coat, the Italian's "little house"—casa—as he called it); the chasuble (from *casula*, little house), and the cope or cape. The stole was a handkerchief for the face, used also to give signal for prayers (hence called *orarium*), and finally used as a distinct clerical badge—a kind of sash to be worn over one shoulder by the deacon and over both by the priest. All clerical garments had a secular origin, and when used by the clergy had no religious significance whatever. As the Jesuit Sirmondus says, "The color and form of dress were in the beginning the same for ecclesiastics and laymen."[1]

VESTMENTS IN LIGHT ESTEEM BY EARLY PROTESTANT LEADERS.

It is evident that if the Puritans could have taken a broad historical view of vestments they would have looked upon them as Paul did upon the heathen feasts and meat sacrificed to idols, as things of no consequence, "nothing,"[2] and toward which a Christian had perfect liberty so long as he did not scandalize a weaker brother. And so earnest a reformer as Calvin took something of that view, calling the vestments *tolerabiles ineptiæ*, and in his letters rather urging conformity upon his English brethren, though he himself swept them away, retaining, however, the scholar's or pulpit gown. But all the really Protestant reformers of England disliked the sacerdotal vestments, because they were looked upon as the badge of popery and the symbol of false doctrine. Bishop Hooper refused to wear them, and Latimer derided them, and when they were put on Taylor, in order to his degradation before his martyrdom, he said, "How say you, my lord, am not I a goodly fool? If I were in Cheapside, would not the boys laugh at these foolish tags and apish trumpery?" When they were pulling the vestments off Cranmer he said, "All this I needed not; I myself had done with this gear long ago." Bucer and Peter Martyr, when professors at Cambridge and Oxford, refused to wear them, Bucer making the famous reply when asked why he did not wear the square cap, "Because my head is not square." "When I was in Oxford," says Peter Martyr, "I would

[1] See the whole evidence in Cardinal Bona (d. 1674), Rerum Liturgicarum Libri Duo; Thomasson (d. 1697), Ancienne et nouvelle discipline de l'église, 3 vols., 1678-79, later tr. into Lat.; Marriott, Vestiarium Anglicanum, Lond., 1868, a standard work; the appropriate articles in Smith and Cheetham, Dict. of Chr. Antiquities; Stanley, Eccl. Vestments, in Christian Institutions, ch. viii; and R. A. S. Macalister, Ecclesiastical Vestments, their Development and History, Lond., 1899. Sacerdotal costume, says Bunz, in Herzog, is simply the "popular costume, or, more properly, that of the higher ranks, retained by the sacerdotal classes in its archaic form, while among other classes it became subject to changes of form."

[2] 1 Cor. viii, 4.

never use those white garments in the choir, though I was a canon in the church; and I am satisfied in my own reasons for what I did." Even under Elizabeth some of her own bishops were with difficulty persuaded to wear the vestments. Parker said he did not like the cap, surplice, and wafer-bread, and would have been pleased with toleration, and he "gloried in having been consecrated without the Aaronical garments." [1] Jewel called the vestments the "habits of the stage, the relics of Amorites, and wished that they might be exterminated by the roots." Many of the bishops and clergy who finally conformed to the vestments had their sentiments voiced by Bishop Pilkington, when he said, "All reformed Churches had cast away popish apparel with the pope; many ministers would rather leave their livings than wear them; and I am well aware it is not an apparel becoming those that profess godliness. I confess we suffer many things against our hearts, groaning under them; but we cannot take them away, though we were ever so much set upon it. We are under authority, and can innovate nothing without the queen; nor can we alter the laws; the only thing left to our choice is whether we will bear these things, or break the peace of the Church." [2]

Very unfair, therefore, is the assertion of some Anglican writers that the objection of the Puritans to vestments proceeded from "morbid scruple, obstinate antipathy, and narrow bigotry." [3] It proceeded from an intelligent objection to what was popularly considered the badge of Catholicism, and from a fear that on the strength of old ceremonies and habits the old doctrines would at length also return. Nor was this fear unfounded when, as everyone knew, the queen had sympathy for both the old doctrine and the old ceremonies, and was surrounded by Catholic sympathizers, including some Spaniards, who constantly had her ear. Another consideration which affected the

VESTMENTS A BADGE OF ROMANISM.

[1] "Dost your lordship think," says Parker, "that I care for cap, tippet, surplice, wafer-bread, or any such? But for the law so established I esteem them." —Letter to Cecil, in Strype, Parker, ii, 424.

[2] See sentiments of many reformers in Neal, i, 157–162. One reason urged for the continuance of vestments was that the clergy were so poor that they could not buy decent clothes.—Burnet, Hist. of the Reformation of the Church of England, part i, 1548, book i (p. 344, Reeves and Turner ed., Lond., 1880). "Not one of the first set of bishops after the Reformation approved of the habits, or asked for their continuance from Scripture, antiquity, or decency, but submitted to them out of necessity, and to keep the Church in the queen's favor," or to keep themselves in the queen's favor.—Neal, i, 168.

[3] Curteis, Dissent in its Relation to the Church of England, p. 54.

Puritans was that of concord with the continental Protestants. Why should we not agree in rites, said they, as well as in doctrine, with the other reformed Churches ?[1]

It will be impossible to give in detail the long, bitter history of the sufferings of the Puritans for the next hundred years or more. All that can be done is to pause before some of the chief moments of that great and trying time.

The instrument by which the Puritans were driven out of the Church was that section in the act of Supremacy, 1559, which authorized the queen to appoint commissioners to visit, reform, correct all heresies, schisms, offenses, and contempts, and which gave the sovereign almost as absolute power over ecclesiastical affairs in England as the czar has in Russia. The queen's Injunctions, 1559, allow images to remain in the churches, but not to be extolled ; allow clergymen to marry only on the advice and allowance of the bishop and two justices of the peace ; command ministers to wear the "seemly habits, garments, square caps," to which they had been accustomed in the days of Edward VI ;[2] allow prayers to be sung if they are sung distinctly ; assert the royal supremacy over all persons ecclesiastical ; order a table to be placed where the altar stood, except when the sacrament is administered, when the table may be placed within the chancel ; and command the use of wafer-bread in the sacrament.

ELIZABETH'S INJUNCTIONS.

As the Puritan clergy monopolized most of the morality and intelligence in the English Church, and thus were most available for promotion, they had been placed in the chief offices. But now began that series of deprivations and imprisonments which is one of the dark blots on the fame of English official Christianity. Miles Coverdale, one of the noblest and bravest of the reformers, was, in his old age, after years of occupancy of his parish, deprived of his living at the little church near London bridge, 1566—a "barbarous and worse than useless severity which brought his gray hairs with sorrow to the grave."[3] Thirty-seven out of the ninety-eight ministers in London refused to com-

FIRST NON-CONFORMISTS.

[1] Letter of Humphreys and Sampson to Zurich, quoted (ab'd) by Neal, i, 162. See this noble letter in full in Burnet, Records, part iii, No. 68, printed in appendix to best editions of his history. The whole is worth reading, a brave and ringing statement. It appears in original and in translation in Zurich Letters, Parker Soc., i, 157 ff., app. pp. 93 ff.

[2] This legalized chasubles, copes, albs, and trinicles. But during Elizabeth's reign the cope and surplice were the only garments worn. See Perry, Students' Hist. of Church of England, ii, 287, 288.

[3] Marsden, Hist. of the Early Puritans, p. 49.

ply with the ceremonies, and were deprived. John Foxe was one who suffered for his scruples, though at length for very shame's sake the authorities gave him a petty office in connection with Salisbury cathedral. Being prevented thus from meeting in the churches, some of the Protestants in London met in a quiet and orderly way in private houses, halls, vessels on the river, and there sang and worshiped and preached, as their conscience directed. But this could not be allowed. In 1567 they were arrested, hauled before the bishop, and sent to prison, where they remained a year before they were released. The methods of the ecclesiastical courts placed every delinquent at the complete mercy of the crown. He was at long attendance and great charges at the court; the messenger or constable was paid by the mile; the fees were exorbitant, which the prisoner must satisfy; witnesses were seldom called; the accused was taken for guilty, and was tried by question and answer; and as the Puritans usually made it a point of honor to confess their full faith and practice, they were convicted upon their own confession;[1] and even if the prisoner was dismissed, he was almost ruined with costs.[2] Neal gives an instance, copied from the manuscripts in Cambridge university, of an examination of Axton, a Puritan minister, by a bishop, one of the fairest of his class.[3]

HIGH ECCLESIASTICAL COMMISSION.

These ecclesiastical courts were made more effective in 1583 by the high ecclesiastical commission, which combined the terrors of civil and religious absolutism, and used its awful menace with effectiveness in favor of Anglicanism. In two particulars it differed from the Catholic Inquisition: it had no power to sentence to death, and it could not examine by torture. But it combined the arbitrariness of royal courts with the inquisitorial character of ecclesiastical courts. Twenty-four questions were drawn up, which were put to all suspects, and if the accused fell back on the common law right, which exempted one from incriminating himself, he was at once deprived of his benefice and committed to prison for contempt of court.[4]

Another weapon besides deprivation and imprisonment was used

[1] "The honest Puritans made conscience of not denying anything they were charged with, if it was true, though they might certainly have put the accusers on proof of the charge; nay, most of them thought themselves bound to confess the truth, and bear a public testimony to it, before the civil magistrates, though it was made use of to their disadvantage."—Neal, i, 209.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 209.

[3] *Ibid.*, 209–211.

[4] The right of demanding proof of guilt by adequate testimony was hardly recognized in English courts at this time; especially in all crown and ecclesiastical cases it was unknown.

against the Protestant party. The latter had appealed in the forum of intelligence, defending their position in a series of protests, arguments, and pamphlets, which were eagerly sought after by the people. This was met as early as 1566 by Parker and other commissioners in the six injunctions to the effect: (1) that no person shall publish any book against the queen's injunctions; (2) that such offenders shall forfeit all copies of such book, be imprisoned three months, and be deprived of the right of printing ever after; (3) that no person shall sell, bind, or stitch such books, upon pain of twenty shillings (equal to about five times that now) for every book; (4) that all forfeited books shall be destroyed; (5) that all suspected packages and cargoes may be seized and inspected; (6) that all booksellers shall bind themselves under forfeits to observe these regulations.[1]

INJUNCTIONS AGAINST DISCUSSIONS IN PRINT.

One of the most interesting incidents in the history of the Puritans was the effort they made at self-improvement, and the attitude of the government toward it. Many of the Anglican clergy were both ignorant and immoral. In 1571 the commons presented an address to the queen, in which they said: "Great numbers are admitted ministers that are infamous in their lives, and among those that are of ability their gifts in many places are useless by reason of pluralities and non-residency, whereby infinite numbers of your majesty's subjects are like to perish for lack of knowledge. By means of this, together with the common blasphemy of the Lord's name, the most wicked licentiousness of life, the abuse of excommunication, the commutation of penance, the great number of atheists, schismatics daily springing up, and the increase of papists, the Protestant religion is in imminent peril." The great majority of the Catholic clergy held over under Elizabeth, and it was her policy to encourage them to keep their benefices.[2] It is not necessary to say that many of them had had little heart in their work, and were as poorly equipped morally as intellectually for it. Preaching was unknown in large parts of the kingdom. In a sermon before the queen, Sandys tells her that many, especially in northern parts, perish for lack of saving food.

EFFORTS FOR AN IMPROVED CLERGY.

In order to increase their efficiency as preachers some of the Puritans organized ministers' meetings for the preaching and discussion of sermons. These exercises were called prophesyings, from

[1] Neal, i, 186.

[2] See Leighton Coleman, in Church Review, New York, July, 1887, 16 ff.

1 Cor. xiv, 31: "Ye may all prophesy one by one, that all may learn, and all may be comforted." Three men were to take part at each meeting, one to preach a sermon and the others to add anything that the other had omitted, and correct him, provided he had spoken contrary to the Scriptures. After the audience was dismissed—this was not a scholastic exercise, but a real service of worship—the president called upon competent brethren to give him their judgment of the performances. Ministers who availed themselves of these prophesyings gathered around a kind of confession of faith which held that the Bible was the only perfect rule of faith and practice, that it ought to be known by all people, and that its authority exceeds the authority, not only of the pope, but of the Church.[1] All man-made creeds without the authority of the word are also condemned, "though recommended by written traditions or any other names whatsoever; of which sort are the pope's supremacy, purgatory, transubstantiation, man's merits, free will, justification by works, praying in an unknown tongue, and distinction of meats, apparel, and days; and, briefly, all the ceremonies and whole order of papistry, which they call the hierarchy; which are a devilish confession, established as it were in spite of God and to reproach of religion." The simplicity of the pure word of God is enough for them, and to it "we humbly submit ourselves and all our doings, willing and ready to be judged, reformed, or further instructed thereby in all points of religion."[2] Some of the statements of this great utterance almost anticipate the protest of some American Churches against creeds, and the only creed mentioned is the Apostles'; but the Puritans had no objection to formularies of faith, provided they were scriptural, and themselves assented to the doctrinal parts of the Thirty-nine Articles. It is not unlikely, however, that the safe ensconcing of so many Catholics under the protection of these Articles gave a tone of bitterness to the undiluted Protestantism of this declaration.

"PROPHESYINGS."

Now, it is clear that although, on the one hand, these prophesy-

[1] Perhaps with a squint at Article XX of the XXXIX, which makes the Church an authority in controversies of faith. Some doubt hangs over this clause in Art. XX, as it does not appear in the Convocation copy of the Thirty-nine Articles of 1563, nor in the English edition of 1563, nor in the Latin edition of 1571, although it does appear in the Latin edition of 1563—the one ratified by the queen—in several English editions of 1571, in the Latin Convocation copy of 1571, and in all subsequent editions.—Perry, ii, 301. A similar statement can be made of Article XXIX.

[2] Neal, i, 223–224.

ings were admirably adapted to their end, namely, to inform and train strong preachers of the word, and on that account had the approval of the best bishops and statesmen of the time, on the other they had justly elements of mischief in the Catholic eyes of the narrow and suspicious Elizabeth. If the Puritans were already in brain and heart the choicest clergy of the kingdom, what might not their power become under the quickening and bracing influence of these ministerial gatherings? Besides, would they always confine themselves to scriptural topics, and, even if they should, might not the meetings become starting points of dissenting movements—movements which would disturb that uniformitarian ecclesiasticism to establish which in England was to Tudor and Stuart both a conscience and a passion? At any rate the threshing out of Scripture would tend to show the people the length the State Church had parted from it, and thus cause dissatisfaction. Elizabeth was determined to stop the prophesyings, of which she had a false notion based probably on the slanderous reports of her Catholic advisers, and wrote a peremptory letter to the bishops, in which she refers to these "persons presuming to be teachers and preachers of the Church which do daily devise new rites and ceremonies, as well by their unordinate preaching, readings, and ministering the sacraments, as by procuring unlawfully of assemblies of great number of our people, out of their ordinary parishes, to be hearers of their disputations and new devised opinions, upon points of opinion far unmeet for vulgar people, which manner of innovation they in some places term 'Prophesyings,' in other places 'Exercises;' by which assemblies persons are taken away from their ordinary work, and divisions are encouraged and sober people offended." This exercise of royal supremacy was strenuously opposed by the better class of bishops, who were glad of anything to improve their clergy, and some of them hesitated to comply. It was some time before the queen could silence all objection. Archbishop Grindal, especially, wrote a faithful letter to her majesty which conveyed to her in respectful language some noble truths which it was not common in that age for sovereigns to hear.[1] For this he was suspended and imprisoned in his own house. Bishop Cox wrote to Burleigh that he hoped the queen would come to a better mind. "When the great ignorance," he says, "idleness, and lewdness of

SUPPRESSION OF "PROPHESYINGS."

[1] In this famous letter Grindal tells her majesty that her idea that two or three preachers are enough for a shire is not according to the Gospel, which prescribes that the Gospel be preached everywhere, and that preaching is the

the great number of poor and blind priests in the clergy shall be deeply weighed and considered of, it will be thought most necessary to call them and to drive them to some travail and exercise of God's holy word, whereby they may be better able to discharge their bounden duty towards their flock."[1] But no defense would answer. The prophesyings, with the Puritans, were suppressed.

It would be interesting to give the later history of the Elizabethan Puritans. The laws became more and more severe, and their sufferings waxed accordingly. Some of this Draconian legislation, with its results, will meet us fairly when we treat of the Congregationalists. Finally, in 1593, the parliament allowed exile as an alternative to the dungeon, and the hapless Protestants issued out of the prisons and went, the most of them, to Holland. "Some of us," says a memorial of this time, "they have kept in prison four or five years with miserable usage; others they have cast into Newgate, and laden with as many irons as they could bear; others into dungeons and loathsome gaols among the most facinorous and vile persons, where it is lamentable to relate how many of these innocents have perished within these five years, where so many as the infection hath spared lie in awful distress; others have been grievously beaten with cudgels and cast into a place called Little Ease for refusing to come to their chapel service; in which prison several have ended their lives."[2]

PRISON AND EXILE.

Can the treatment of the Puritans be defended on the principles then recognized? Anglican historians have little sympathy for them. They say they ought to have conformed, though to have done so would in their opinion have compromised them with popery; they say they ought to have left the Church if they would not conform, though they were not allowed to leave the Church, and if they attempted it they were imprisoned; they say they were contentious and obstinate, and some of them were, but that is not a crime against the State. On the other hand, (1) on all matters of practical importance to a State the Puritans were the most valuable citizens in the country—orderly, moral, industrious; (2) to the nation and to the queen's person they were ultra-loyal; and

ELIZABETHAN POLICY TOWARD PURITANISM.

ordinary means of salvation; it is also the means of making people loyal; and adds to this *ad hominem* argument the consideration that the rebellion in the north proceeded from men who never heard preaching, whereas "one poor parish in Yorkshire, which had by continual preaching been better instructed than the rest, was ready to bring three or four thousand able men into the field to serve you against the rebels."

[1] Strype, Annals of the Reformation, App. ii, viii. [2] Neal, i, 429.

(3) against the return of Rome they were the best bulwarks in the land. A wise course, therefore, would have conciliated them, and, even while making Anglicanism with its Catholic ceremonies and ideas the law of the land, would have tolerated the Protestants so long as they remained loyal and obedient. This was not too advanced a dictate of reason to be grasped by the Elizabethan age. Some of the statesmen of the queen were in favor of larger toleration, but she herself was fanatically attached to the old ceremonies, was more Catholic than Protestant, was by nature tyrannical, narrow, and cruel, for which indeed a daughter of Henry VIII is not to be blamed, and was determined to enforce uniformity, in which she had ready tools in Parker, Whitgift, and the other prelates of the high commission court. It is the habit of some recent historians to praise the course of Elizabeth as eminently statesmanlike and wise, and that she exceeded in breadth of vision her greatest advisers. Elizabeth has been, in fact, a kind of Protestant goddess, illuminated with all the glory of the men of intellect, and genius, and military and maritime daring who lived in her reign. But a calmer survey and more unbiased study have brought students to other views. Her intolerance left an era of disunion and hatred, which finally in an outburst of wrath swept away both Church and crown. Her successors followed in her footsteps and prepared for themselves retribution. A conciliatory policy toward the Puritans at the beginning might have meant in time a comprehensive catholic Church of England, instead of a Church blasted, sundered, hated, feared, with the mark of its mother on its brow.[1]

[1] "I am far from being convinced that it would not have been practicable, by receding a little from that uniformity which governors like to prescribe, to have palliated in a great measure, if not to put an end for a time to, the discontent that so soon endangered the new establishment. The usages of surplice, etc., might well have been left to private discussion."—Hallam, Const. Hist., i, 182, Eng. ed., 241. "We cannot give Elizabeth credit for any enlightened broad-minded policy either towards Roman recusants or Puritan separatists. It was a policy shaped by her own personal idiosyncrasies and virulent antipathies, and though she herself rode triumphantly over the difficulties and dangers which grew out of it, she left these as a bitter legacy to her successors and to the nation."—Gregory, Puritanism in the Old World and in the New, p. 27. Comp. Campbell, The Puritan in Holland, England and America, i, 459; Prothero, Select Statutes and other Constitutional Documents of Reigns of Elizabeth and James I, Lond., 1894, p. xxv.

CHAPTER III.

ANGLICANS AND PURITANS UNDER THE FIRST STUART.

"My throne has been the seat of kings. I will have no rascal succeed me. Who shall the next king be but my cousin of Scotland?" Such were Elizabeth's dying words. It was the bitterest drop to Mary Queen of Scots in her cup of sorrow that her only son left her in her imprisonment without sympathy or support, and was separated from her both in religion and feeling. James succeeded to the Scottish throne in 1567, at the age of one year, assumed full sovereignty in 1581, and in 1603 united the crowns of Scotland and England. The pupil of George Buchanan, he affected knowledge of many things, prided himself specially in his theological acumen, and delighted to hold debates with those whom he considered in error. But of real ability or even wisdom he had little. He sometimes acted like a buffoon. Sully called him the "wisest fool in Christendom," and Macaulay in one of his antithetical sentences describes him as "made up of two men—a witty, well-read scholar who wrote, disputed, and harangued, and a nervous, driveling idiot who acted."[1] The reli-

KING JAMES I.

[1] Macaulay, Lord Bacon, in Essays, iii, 385 (Armstrong's ed.). In his Essay on Lord Nugent's Memorials of Hampden he compared James to Claudius Cæsar. "The sovereign whom James most resembled was, we think, Claudius Cæsar. Both had the same feeble, vacillating temper, the same childishness, the same coarseness, the same poltroonery. Both were men of learning, both wrote and spoke, not indeed well, but still in a manner in which it seems almost incredible that men so foolish should have written or spoken. The follies and indecencies of James are well described in the words which Suetonius uses respecting Claudius: 'Multa talia, etiam privatis deformia, nedum principi, neque infacundo, neque indocto, immo etiam pertinaciter liberalibus studiis dedito.'" Macaulay quotes other passages concerning Claudius which suggest James. Essays, ii, 440. There is exaggeration, however, in Macaulay's brilliant descriptions of James, as in some other parts of his work. Scott pictures the king in his Fortunes of Nigel. James I wrote Essays of a Prentice on the Divine Art of Poesie, 1584; Meditation on the Revelation of St. John, 1588; Poetical Exercises at Vacant Hours, 1591; Demonologie and Witchcraft, 1597—a fearful book worthy of a man who watched the baiting of wild animals as an amusement; True Law of Free Monarchies, 1598; Basilicon Doron, Instruction to the Prince, written 1599, pub. 1602; and the Counterblast to Tobacco, 1616. Gardiner and Ranke give a more sober view of his character than Macaulay.

gious parties in England wondered what attitude he would take toward them. His training in Calvinism would make him lean toward the Puritans, but his Stuart absolutism would incline him toward the Anglicans. Both parties therefore hastened to welcome him and lay before him their protestations of loyalty. For the Puritans it was a serious matter whether the persecuting policy of Elizabeth and her hierarchy was to be continued. They therefore laid before him a petition called the Millenary Petition, because it was the aim to have a thousand names attached to it.

THE MILLENARY PETITION.

"We, the ministers of the Gospel in this land, neither as factious men affecting a popular party in the Church nor as schismatics aiming at the dissolution of the state ecclesiastical, but as the faithful servants of Christ and loyal subjects to your majesty, desiring and longing for the redress of divers abuses of the Church, . . . all groaning as under a common burden of human rites and ceremonies, do with one joint assent humble ourselves at your majesty's feet to be saved and relieved in this behalf." (1) Church service: Cross in baptism, questions to infants, and confirmation discontinued; baptism not to be ministered by women; cap and surplice not urged; examination before communion, which should be ministered with a sermon; service abridged; music made more edifying; Lord's Day not profaned; holidays not urged; no popish doctrine taught; people not to bow at the name of Christ; and canonical Scriptures only to be read in the church. (2) Ministers: Only able and competent men to be admitted, and these to preach diligently; others removed yet supported, or made to maintain preachers; non-residency not permitted; King Edward's statute concerning ministers' marriage revived; that ministers be made to subscribe to the Articles of Religion and the king's supremacy only. (3) Church living and maintenance: Various excellent recommendations. (4) Church discipline: Enormities redressed; excommunications restrained; length of ecclesiastical suits at law abridged; the oath ex officio, whereby men are forced to accuse themselves, be more sparingly used. "These and other requests they would be glad to defend before your majesty. . . . Thus your majesty shall do that which we are persuaded shall be acceptable to God; honorable to your majesty in all succeeding ages; profitable to his Church, which shall thereby be increased; comfortable to your ministers, who shall be no more suspended, displaced, silenced, imprisoned for men's traditions; and prejudicial to none but those who seek their own quiet, credit, and profit in the world. . . . Your majesty's

most humble subjects, the ministers of the Gospel that desire not a disorderly innovation but a due and godly reformation."[1]

THE CONFERENCE AT HAMPTON COURT.

But James was too much of an absolutist and not enough of a Protestant to favor the Puritans, though he had no objection to doing away abuses. Fortunately his love of theological controversy made him reverse Elizabeth's attitude in one particular. The queen would not reason with the Protestants at all—she treated them as criminals; James parleyed with them in debate, and thus recognized their right to be heard, though that was about their only right that he admitted. A conference of this kind was held at Hampton Court in January, 1604, when three or four Puritans were allowed to represent their side, while nineteen Anglicans spoke for the Catholic side. According to the minutes of this conference the Puritans were very weakly represented, perhaps being intimidated by the forces against them and especially by the royal moderator.[2] We often read, "This he spake kneeling." The king, according to the minutes, made himself chief speaker for the Anglicans, defending with readiness and skill the rites and ceremonies which had been retained from the old Church. As he said himself, he "peppered them [the Puritans] soundly."[3] No wonder that at the end of one of the royal answers the archbishop of Canterbury (Whitgift) exclaimed, "Undoubtedly your majesty speaks by the special assist-

[1] See this Petition quoted in full in Fuller, Church History of Britain, A. D. 1604, sec. 27; Gee and Hardy, Documents Illustrative of English Church History, 508; Perry, Church History of England, ii, 372.

[2] It is claimed that the official minutes drawn up by Barlow are one-sided and incomplete. "They fradulently cut off and concealed all the speeches (which were many) that his majesty uttered against the corruption of the Church and the practice of prelates." See Lathbury, Hist. of Convocation, p. 225; Fuller, Church Hist. of Britain, 1604, sec. 25.

[3] A few days afterward the king wrote to a friend in Scotland: "We have kept such a revel with the Puritans here this two days as was never heard the like, where I have peppered them as soundly as ye have done the papists there. It were no reason that those that will refuse an airy sign of the cross after baptism should have their purses stuffed with any more solid and substantial crosses. They fled me so from argument to argument, without even answering me directly, *ut est eorum moris*, as I was forced at last to say unto them that if any of them had been in a college disputing with their scholars, if any of their disciples had answered them in that sort, they would have fetched him up in place of a reply, and so should the rod have plyed upon the poor boys' buttocks! I have such a book of theirs as may well convert infidels, but it shall never convert me, except by turning me more earnestly against them." See Ernest Law, Hist. of Hampton Court Palace in Stuart Times, Lond., 1888, p. 45.

ance of God's Spirit," and the bishop of London (Bancroft) fell on his knee and said, "I protest, my heart swelleth with joy that Almighty God, of his singular mercy, hath given us such a king as since Christ's time the like hath not been."[1] The king at least saw this clearly, that that power in Church and State which was so dear to the heart of Tudor and Stuart could not long exist side by side with Puritanism. When Dr. Reynolds proposed at the conference that prophesyings or ministerial assemblies be allowed, and that ecclesiastical affairs be settled by synods, James fired up at once: "If you aim at a Scottish presbytery, it agreeth as well with monarchy as God and the devil. Then Jack and Tom and Will and Dick shall meet and censure me and my council. Therefore I reiterate my former speech, Le roy s'avisera." He then went on into an account of how the Presbyterians did in Scotland. The Puritans, he said, appeal to the royal supremacy to make good their point against you bishops. "But if once you were out and they in, I know what would become of my supremacy; for 'No bishop, no king.' I have learned of what cut they have been who, preaching before me since my coming into England, passed over with silence my being supreme governor in causes ecclesiastical. Well, doctor, have you anything else to say?"

Dr. Reynolds: "No more, if it please your majesty."

His Majesty: "If this be all your party hath to say I will make them conform themselves, or else I will harry them out of the land, or else do worse."[2]

Of course it was not true that the Puritans were against the supremacy or against monarchical government; but it was true that they were against his kind of supremacy.

On the other hand, it was unfortunate that the Anglican party became mixed up with the absolutist claims of the sovereign, and thus became the support of a persecuting tyranny. No poor dissenter could look to the clerical party for mercy; these were the men who judged him on the high commission court, who plied

[1] Barlow, who drew up the minutes, says also: "He sent us away, not with contentment only, but astonishment." Bilson, who was present, says: "He showed such dexterity, perspicuity, and sufficiency that I protest before God, without flattery, I have not observed the like in any man living." Montague gives a like testimony: "He speaks for three hours wisely, wittily, and learnedly, and with that pretty patience that I think no man living ever heard the like." We cannot accuse of insincerity all these witnesses.

[2] Minutes, quoted by Fuller, 1604, sec. 22 (iii, 188, 189, Nichols's ed.)

him with self-incriminating questions, and who turned him over to the jailer. No doubt they were sincere in this; but when Canon Perry speaks of Archbishop Whitgift's clemency toward his enemies[1] he is wide of the mark. Whitgift, Bancroft, and other prelates set themselves to work to uproot dissent, and relentlessly turned the engines of the courts against the earnest Protestants of the time. It was the king's defense of the unjust methods of the Anglican Inquisition—the high commission courts—at Hampton Conference which called out the warmest words of admiration from the bishops, and convinced Whitgift that he spake under the immediate inspiration of the Holy Ghost. In fact the prelates were soon to put the inquisitional screws on the hapless clergy in a new and harsher fashion. In 1604 the High Church administration required the clergy not only to subscribe to Whitgift's test of the Three Articles, but to declare that they took the test willingly and with full approval of it. Under this monstrous demand many who did not like all parts of the Prayer Book and Thirty-nine Articles, but who had been willing to assent to them in order to carry on their ministry and to keep Roman Catholics out, it being understood that they did not necessarily indorse everything in the book, were now turned adrift. Then all those who had previously subscribed were required to subscribe again in this new sense. "I have four times subscribed to the Book of Common Prayer," says one of the Protestant divines, "with limitation and reference of all things contained to the purpose and doctrine of the Church of England; but I cannot again subscribe, inasmuch as the purpose, if not the doctrine of our Church, seems to be varied by the late proceedings from what I had taken it to be."[2] The doctrines of Anglicanism, of course, had not changed: its Catholic elements were only coming to their full rights. But there were Protestant elements also in the standards, and these ought to have shielded peaceable and pious men who were in general agreement with the Church, and were willing loyally to serve it, especially when service was so greatly needed, in that time of spiritual destitution among the laity and of incompetence and immorality among the clergy.

INCREASED SEVERITY OF THE ANGLICANS.

For a time Bancroft (archbishop 1604–10) went on flourishingly. The Protestant clergy were driven out by the scores, and, if we may believe some authorities, by the hundreds. Some languished

[1] Students' Church History of England, ii, 364.

[2] Rogers, On the Articles, Pref. p. 29 (Parker Soc).

in England, where their sufferings helped to fan that popular discontent with Anglicanism and absolutism which we shall hear of later, and others passed over to Holland, where they received further training for America. The old High Church Tory, Lord Clarendon, records his satisfaction thus: "Dr. Bancroft, that metropolitan who understood the Church so excellently, had almost rescued it out of the hands of the Calvinian party, and very much subdued the unruly spirit of the Nonconformists. If he had lived he would have extinguished all that fire in England which had been kindled at Geneva."[1] The arbitrary method of the courts, however, at length so offended the spirit of justice that the civil judges interfered with writs of *habeas corpus*, and with demands that they themselves should first pass upon the legality of the writs and processes. This opened an interesting controversy between the lay and ecclesiastical authorities which gave the Protestants a respite. James, however, dissolved parliament in 1610, without allowing it to correct abuses, and thus evoked a spirit in the country dangerous to the Anglican Church.

A LEGAL RESPITE.

During the remainder of the reign of James, especially during the archbishopric of Abbot, 1609–33, who was a Calvinist and, unlike his Calvinistic predecessor, Whitgift, disinclined to pursue the Puritans, the latter were left in comparative peace. But it is not a matter of wonder that with the driving out of the most independent of the clergy, who were, as usually, the ablest and holiest, the ministers who were left should have fallen in public esteem. This was due in part to their poverty, their substance having been swallowed up by the crown, lords, and prelates. From contemporary writers we learn that they had often scarcely enough to feed and keep them warm. They had to seek positions as private chaplains to the wealthy, and thus they were schooled in submissiveness and sycophancy. George Herbert speaks of the general ignominy cast upon the clergy; and another of that age says that they are "brought into contempt and low esteem, and are accounted by many as the dross and refuse of the nation." Of domestic chaplains it is said that "it is well that they may have a little better wages than the cook and butler, as also there may be a groom in the house besides the chaplain (for sometimes to the ten pounds a year they crowd the looking after a couple of geldings)." But their secular duties in these great houses often went much farther than looking after

THE MORAL DEGENERACY OF THE CLERGY.

[1] Hist. of the Rebellion, ed. 1843, p. 36 (author died 1674, book first pub. 1704–7).

horses.[1] More serious was the contempt of the clergy on account of poverty in morals. Simony seems to have been rife. Dr. E. Carleton, writing to his brother, says he is ashamed to tell how bishoprics are got.[2] A bishop of Llandaff writes to Sir F. Lake openly offering him a price for a church preferment.[3] Dr. Cary is willing to pay well for a deanery. "My lad," writes Field, bishop of Llandaff, to some one who had control of appointments, "I am grown an old man, and am like household stuff, apt to be broke on removing. I desire it, therefore, but once for all, be it Ely, or Bath, or Wells; and I will spend the remainder of my days in writing a history of your good deeds."[4] "I lie in a corner," writes Donne, dean of St. Paul's, "as a clod of clay attending what kind of vessel it shall please you to make of your lordship's humblest, thankfullest, and devotedest servant."[5] One of the doors of St Paul's Cathedral was used by thrifty Londoners on which to paste advertisements, and among others applications for vacant church offices by impecunious clergy often appeared. As these applications usually began with the words, *Si quis*, the door came to be known as the Si quis door. It was supposed that patrons or their wily agents used to hang around this door to make corrupt bargains with clerical seekers, and thus the Si quis door soon won an evil reputation.

> Saw'st thou ever Si quis patched on Paul's Church-door,
> To seek some vacant vicarage before?
> Who wants a Churchman that can service say,
> Read fast and faire his monthly homiley?

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[1] See Hackett, Life of Williams, i, 19; Herbert, Country Parson; Chamberlayne, Angliæ Notitia, i, 269; Causes of the Contempt of the Clergy, p. 17. Macaulay's famous third chapter, where he describes the clergy of the 17th century in no flattering terms, though based on contemporary records, is said to be an exaggeration, on account of taking seriously satirical and overdrawn descriptions. It does not appear, however, that for many of the clergy it is materially out of the way. Perry, ii, 388, admits that as chaplains they "were often very vilely treated." "The poets, dramatists, and pamphleteers of the 17th century," says Jeaffreson, "support the charges of sycophancy and moral laxity preferred against the chaplains by the prelates, who, I doubt not, had substantially just grounds for their disapprobation of the menial clergy."—A Book about the Clergy, Lond., 1870, ii, 268. Herbert urges the chaplains not to be base and oversubmissive.

[2] State Papers of James I, lxxxviii, 136.

[3] *Ibid.*, xxvii, 6.

[4] Cabala, p. 65.

[5] Fortescue Papers, p. 157 (Camden Soc.); Perry, ii, 390.

And wed, and bury, and make Christen-soules?
Come to the left-side Alley of Seint Paules,
Thou servile foole: why could'st thou not repaire
To buy a benefice at Steeple faire?
There moughtest thou, but for a slender price,
Advowson thee with some fat benefice.
Or, if thou list not wayt for dead men's shoon,
Nor pray eche morn th' incumbent's daies were doon;
A thousand patrons thither ready bring
Their new faln churches to the chaffering.
Stake three years' stipend: no man asketh more.
Go, take possession of thy church-porch doore,
And ring thy bels; lucke stroken in thy fist,
The parsonage is thine; or ere thou wist.
Saint Fooles of Gotam mought thy parish bee
For this thy brave and servile symonie.[1]

Before leaving the reign of James mention must be made of the translation of the Bible made under his order.

KING JAMES'S VERSION OF THE BIBLE.

The Puritans had called attention in the Hampton conference to the inaccuracies of the Bishops' Bible, and had urged a revision. James fell in with this, especially as he did not like some of the comments in the version popularly used—the Genevan. He drew up several rules for the government of the translators, some of which restricted their liberty. They were to follow closely the Bishops' Bible, retain proper names as commonly written, keep the old ecclesiastical words (for example, not to change "church" into "congregation"), and when in doubt as to translation follow that which has the authority of the most eminent fathers. Forty-seven men were engaged in the work, begun in 1607, finished in 1611. "We did not run over the work," says Dr. Miles Smith, afterward bishop of Gloucester, in the Preface, "with that posting haste the Septuagint did. The work hath not been huddled up in seventy-two days, but hath cost the workmen, as light as it seemeth, the pains of twice seven times seventy-two days and more. We were far from condemning any of their labors that travailed before in this kind, either in this land or

[1] Bishop Hall, Satires, bk. ii, sat. 5. Patrons would often sell "next presentations" of livings not vacant, and would take the stipends of the first three years. Jeaffreson thinks that "satire magnified the misconduct of exceptional delinquents and created an impression amongst the populace that Si Quis Alley was a regular 'change for illicit traffickers in ecclesiastical benefices." —Book of the Clergy, ii, 285. He thinks that the clergy as a class were so poor that simony on a large scale was impossible.

beyond sea. We never thought from the beginning that we should need to make a new translation, nor yet to make of a bad a good one, but to make a good one better, or out of many good ones one principal good one, not justly to be excepted against—that hath been our endeavor and our mark."[1] And well did they succeed. Considering the fact that the translators labored without critical apparatus in the infancy of biblical learning, the correctness of their translation is remarkable, their innumerable errors excusable, and especially admirable is their marvelously appropriate, beautiful, and forceful English. This has covered a multitude of sins, and bids fair to give their Bible life for another century. Though commonly called the Authorized Version, the use of King James's Bible was never authorized by either convocation, king, Church, or parliament.[2]

[1] The Preface may be found in the Cambridge Paragraph Bible, Camb., 1873, and large quotations from it appear in Mombert, Handbook of the English Versions of the Bible, pp. 349–357.

[2] The Great Bible was authorized by royal proclamation at the time it was published, and so late as 1604 in Canon 80 passed in convocation and confirmed by the king. This canon, after speaking of the Prayer Book, says: "And if any parishes be yet unfurnished of the Bible of the largest volume, or of the Books of Homilies allowed by authority, the said churchwardens shall within convenient time provide the same at the like charge of the parish." The words, "Appointed to be read in churches," which appear on the title-pages of the Bible of 1611, have no authority whatever. Their truthfulness is on a par with the fulsome adulation of the king in the dedication. He is called the "sun in his strength," "that sanctified person encircled with many singular and extraordinary graces," and "the wonder of the world in this latter age." This dedication, with its unfair flings at the Puritans, is still published in all English editions. Selections from the Preface might better take its place. The deficiencies and inaccuracies of the James version have been pointed out by many scholars. See especially J. B. Lightfoot, On a Fresh Revision of the English New Testament, Lond., 1871; R. C. Trench, On the Authorized Version of the New Testament, Lond., 1858; and C. J. Ellicott, Considerations on a Revision of the English Version of the New Testament, Lond., 1870. These three were reprinted by Harpers, in one volume, A Revision of the English Version of the N. T., with Introd. by P. Schaff, N. Y., 1873. The late Professor James Strong furnishes some frank criticism in his article on the Authorized Version in McClintock and Strong, Cyc., vol. i (1867), p. 561.

CHAPTER IV.

THE ATTEMPT TO CATHOLICIZE THE ENGLISH CHURCH.

CHARLES I set himself to eliminate the Protestant elements from the service of the Church of England, and the liberal elements from the constitution of the State of England. With more or less definiteness and perseverance he pursued this double path to the end. The mainspring of the catholicizing work was Archbishop Laud; the efficient ministers of the other were Buckingham and Strafford, though in matters of State also Laud's influence was perhaps not less than that of these two men, his intimate friends and correspondents. CHARLES I.

Laud was the last ecclesiastical statesman of England. Both in the type of his mind and in the rôle he sought to fill he was a mediævalist—the Anglican Becket, with his superstition, his single-minded and conscientious though narrow and obstinate devotion to his ideal, his inability to take a broad view or to discern the signs of the times. The son of a Reading cloth weaver, Laud had nothing to thank for his elevation but his own abilities. Even at Oxford he showed his bent, and when he was ordained (1601) the bishop "found his study raised above the system and opinions of the age, upon the noble foundation of the fathers, councils, and ecclesiastical historians; and presaged that if he lived he would be an instrument of restoring the Church from the narrow and private principles of modern times." The list of his preferments is a rapid one: 1611, principal of St. John's College, Oxford; 1616, dean of Gloucester; 1621, bishop of St. Davids; 1626, bishop of Bath and Wells; 1626, dean of the Chapel Royal; 1628, chancellor of Oxford University; 1628, bishop of London; and 1633, archbishop of Canterbury and primate of England. In 1627 he became privy councilor, and after the assassination of Buckingham (1628) he was the ruling spirit in the nation, reminding us of Wolsey in his palmy days. "English nobles and foreign ambassadors paid their court to Laud at Lambeth. The interior courts of his palace were filled with men-at-arms and horsemen; and while holding a levee or granting an interview the archbishop himself held court second only in grandeur to the king."[1] WILLIAM LAUD.

[1] Hook, Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury, Laud, p. 228.

Laud's high and straightforward churchmanship, and the directness and ability with which he pursued and gained his ends, recommended him to Charles, who gave him a free hand and seconded all his purposes, knowing, as the king did, that the ecclesiastic was no less devoted to him than he was to the Church. In fact, this double devotion was like the two sides to the one shield—loyalty to a living, external, arbitrary authority. In the one case it is the king representing God in the State; in the other it is the hierarchy representing him in the Church. But the hierarchy is many, and may be divided, but the king is one; therefore, if Catholicism goes forward to its natural end, it will issue in the popedom as against the kingdom. And this it actually did in the Holy Roman empire of the earlier Middle Ages, where pope and emperor stood forth as the coequal agents of the suzerain of the universe. And as there cannot be an equilibrium of forces in the matter of authority, and as the pope stands in more vital relations to Christ than the king, Catholicism must logically assert its own supremacy in the pope over earthly sovereigns, as it did in the later Middle Ages.[1] But Laud had not gone so far. He was a sincere Anglican. To him the king was sufficient, if he carried out the recommendations of the Church.[2] What, then, was the work of Laud?

LAUD'S PURE ANGLICANISM.

1. Laud subverted the Protestant principle of representation in the State. The idea of the priesthood of all believers, which is the basal principle of Protestantism, will inevitably work itself out in modifying kingly absolutism in the direction of popular government. High Churchmen are generally conservatives in politics, and the High Church movement, led by Newman, in 1833, was largely a political reac-

LAUD AN OPPONENT OF PARLIAMENTARY POWER.

[1] It is this principle of absolutism that is latent in Catholicism which Pius IX tried to express in the famous Syllabus of 1864.

[2] "The archbishop of Canterbury [Laud], who had never wavered for a moment, so conducted the government of the Church as to uphold the king's prerogative of supremacy in ecclesiastical affairs. He appeared to aim at establishing, or rather, properly speaking, already to possess in substance a British patriarch such as that which long ago in Constantinople had stood beside the throne of the Greek emperors and had promoted their views. Although different in procedure and in the foundation on which they rested, these efforts had a general coincidence with the policy which was being carried out in other great monarchies in the name of the sovereign by ambitious ministers, obsequious tribunals, and devoted bishops. Where in England was the power that could have resisted it?"—Ranke, Hist. of England chiefly in the Seventeenth Century, ii, 67.

tion.[1] It was Laud aimed to exalt the king at the expense of parliament. One of James's chaplains, Richard Montague, had written a book, Appello Cæsarem, in which he asserted the divine right of kings in an uncompromising manner. When parliament would have taken notice of the book Laud defended Montague, and Charles dissolved parliament and soon made Montague a bishop. Sibthorp preached at the assize of Northampton a sermon in which he contended that the prince by divine right has power to make laws and impose taxes. Laud and the king wanted the sermon published, and it was sent to Abbot, then archbishop, for license. Abbot refused the license, and for this he was imprisoned by the king in his own house at Ford. The sermon, however, was licensed by the bishop of London and published in 1627. Bargrave, dean of Canterbury, preached a sermon to the same effect, and it was published by his majesty's special command. Bargrave accused of rebellion all who refused the forced loans or taxes of the king. Wren, master of a college at Cambridge and chaplain to the king, preached another of these absolutist sermons, and it was published at the king's command. Mainwaring, king's chaplain, preached that kings were above angels, and was promptly impeached for "infusing into the conscience of his majesty the persuasion of a power not bounding itself with law, and for persuading the conscience of the subjects that they are bound to obey commands illegal." Parliament voted that he should be imprisoned, fined £1,000, make submission to both houses, be suspended three years from the ministry, disabled from further preferment or from preaching at court, and that his offending book should be burnt. But nothing came of this. Beyond a short imprisonment Mainwaring got off, not only without dishonor, but with reward. His fine was remitted, preferment was heaped upon him, and he was finally made bishop of St. Davids.

2. Laud sought to subvert Calvinism as the theological bulwark of Protestantism. Historically Calvinism was essential to the Reformation. To offset the supremacy of the Church men needed the supremacy of God. When the hierarchy and sacraments and councils and popes came between the soul and God, how could the thraldom which held the soul be broken except by a greater than they—God himself, the Eternal Will, the Everlasting Decree of the Infinite, who had predestinated the Christian man to salvation before the worlds were,

LAUD'S ATTEMPT TO SUPPRESS CALVINISM.

[1] By a noble inconsistency the High Churchman Gladstone, though he started a Tory, became a Liberal.

a salvation which rested, not on Church commandments or priestly absolution, but on the immutable word of God? Calvinism, though it humbled man, exalted him and made him independent. Why should he with whom the Almighty had first-hand dealings become the slave of priests and ecclesiasticisms and tyrannies, secular or other? Laud saw this barrier to his plans, and one of his efforts was to eliminate or silence English Calvinism. He was content with the Articles of Religion, and interpreted them, so far as possible, in a Roman Catholic sense. But on the strength of Article XVII, a straightforward though moderate Calvinistic utterance, the English preachers, who were, as we have seen, mostly Calvinists, had had much liberty in proclaiming the omnipotence of God's grace. How could this be stopped? Simply by the authority of the king commanding silence on all matters in dispute between Calvinists and Arminians, and saying that the Articles must not be interpreted in the Calvinistic sense or in any other, but only in the grammatical sense. This famous declaration of the king (1628) is still a part of the English Prayer Book. "We will that all further curious search be laid aside." Even the High Churchman and admirer of Laud, Canon Mozley, cannot conceal his contempt for this sorry piece of meddling.[1] But the interdiction of Calvinism was successful, at least for a time. By the terrors of the ecclesiastical courts the ministers were silenced. In this way the doctrinal barriers to the catholicizing of the English Church were removed.[2]

CHARLES'S DECLARATION ON XXXIX ARTICLES.

3. The strength of Protestantism is and always has been a free pulpit. Protestantism gathers around the preacher, a prophet of God; Catholicism around the priest, a master of ceremonies. It was the intention of Laud to cripple the freedom and power of the

[1] "The royal declaration about the XXXIX Articles, still appended to our Prayer Book, was the decisive step taken with respect to the doctrinal question at issue. The meaning of the Articles was fought for: the declaration rescued them *vi et armis* from the Calvinistic sense, and said positively they are not Calvinistic, and they shall not be Calvinistic; we forbid you drawing any inference of your own from them. You shall take the words—the words as they stand, as much of the words as you please, but not one iota of meaning shall you give them."—Essays, Historical and Theological, i, 165, 166.

[2] "Laud's object was a doctrinal clearance; the subjugation of the Calvinistic spirit in the Reformed Church of England. The restoration of church ceremonials and external worship was not so much his object as this doctrinal one. . . . He was bent on expelling the Calvinistic heresy, on the view that nothing could be made of the Church till it was got rid of."—Mozley, *ibid.*, i, 163.

preacher. On account of the inability of many of the parish priests to preach, the Puritans had employed divines to lecture or preach in the afternoon or evening. These men were not necessarily parish priests, but attached more or less loosely to a parish or a number of parishes as lecturers, a kind of intellectual protagonists of the Gospel, as the Order of Preachers (Dominicans) were the champions of Catholicism under Rome. Their powerful expositions of the Scripture and defenses of the truth were aids to that process by which England—thanks to Puritanism—became a Protestant nation. These sermons Laud stopped, or as good as stopped, by a series of resolutions which he led the king to issue to the effect (1) that the full Prayer Book service must precede the sermon, which must be delivered in a surplice, and, if in the morning, in connection with the Lord's Supper; (2) the preacher must not deliver any discourse upon the text which shall not be comprehended and warranted by the Articles of Religion or the Homilies; (3) there shall be no sermons in the afternoon except upon some parts of the catechism, creed, or Lord's Prayer, and that "those preachers be most encouraged and approved of who spend the afternoon's exercise in the examining of children in their catechism and in the expounding of the several points and heads of the catechism, which is the most ancient and laudable custom of teaching in the Church of England;" (4) no preacher except a bishop or dean must "preach in any popular auditory the deep points of predestination, election, reprobation, or of the universality, efficacity, resistibility, or irresistibility of God's grace." Regular attendance at divine service is to be exacted from all, and an account is to be sent at the beginning of each year as to the way in which these Instructions have been carried out.[1] Some preachers who still dared to touch doctrines like predestination were brought up before the council and suspended. The animus of the Instructions was, as Mozley says, no sermons. "Sermons were the unmanageable articles, the essential agents of mischief, and how to cut and pare them down, and put them into strait-waistcoats and into the stocks, and take out their tongues,

LAUD'S OPPOSITION TO SERMONS.

[1] For the Directions concerning Preachers, 1622, see Cardwell, Documentary Annals of the Reformed Church of England, ii, 149 ff., and for Instructions to Archbishop Laud, 1633, the same, ii, 177 ff. This latter set of Instructions supplements and corrects the former. In it the afternoon catechizing must take the place of preaching unless there is some great cause apparent to "break this ancient and laudable order." A lecturer must be willing to take upon him the cure of souls, and if such a cure is presented he must immediately accept it.

and make them say nothing, and mean nothing, and be nothing, was the question."[1] Under this iron bondage more of the clergy threw up their charges and joined their brethren in America.

4. The Dutch and other foreign congregations who had worshiped in various parts of England, this tolerance having been freely granted even by Elizabeth and James I, were now informed that they must either conform to the Church of England or close their churches; and English ambassadors and others residing abroad were informed that they must not attend worship in the Lutheran, Reformed, or other Protestant churches.

INTOLERANCE OF OTHER PROTESTANTS.

5. A system of purchase of endowments, by which, in spite of the opposition of kings and bishops, some Puritan clergy were still in charge of parishes, was destroyed, and all the vacant benefices were filled with Laud's men.

DISPLACEMENT OF PURITAN CLERGY.

6. The feasts, church-ales, and various sports and wakes which came in like a flood after James's Book of Sports, 1618, disgusted the Protestant clergy and alarmed the justices. In some counties the judges had forbidden these carousals. This angered Laud and the king so that they republished the Book of Sports with this declaration: "Our express will and pleasure is that these feasts, with others, shall be observed, and that our justices of the peace shall see them conducted orderly, and that neighborhood and freedom with manlike and lawful exercises be used. And the justices of assize are to see that no man shall be molested in these lawful recreations, and the bishops are to give order for the publication of this command in all the churches." It was not that so devout and sincere a Christian as Laud desired to see Sunday turned into a day of dissipation, but that he did desire fully to substitute the Roman Catholic doctrine and practice in regard to the day for the Protestant.[2]

RESTORATION OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC SUNDAY.

7. As is well known, the English Prayer Book is a translation of the best in the mediæval service books, with additions, indeed, yet

[1] Essays, Hist. and Theol., i, 164.

[2] To the Roman Catholic the sanctity of Sunday rests only on the authority of the Church, and is not inconsistent, divine service having been attended, with sports, amusements, and feasts. To the Protestant the sanctity of the day rests upon the commandment of God to keep holy the Sabbath, and is inconsistent with worldly diversions and unnecessary work. Charles's Declaration concerning Sports may be found in Gardiner, Constitutional Documents, pp. 31 ff., and Gee and Hardy, pp. 528–532. See the admirable book of L. A. Govett, The Kings' Book of Sports, a History with Reprints, Lond., Stock, 1890.

retaining many of the Roman Catholic elements in them. But with the revival of the ancient doctrine of the Lord's Supper as a spiritual feast of communion with Christ instead of the Roman doctrine of the sacrifice of his body and blood to God, there came the necessity of abolishing the altar and bringing back the table. This was placed in the nave or chancel, or wherever was most convenient, the elements being carried to the people where they stood or sat, and after the Supper the table was sometimes removed to one side. It appears from contemporary testimony that the table was not always treated with that reverence which even the law of association would require, hats, writing materials, and other articles being sometimes placed on it. Laud and Charles ordered that the table should be set altarwise against the east end of the church within the chancel. There it has remained to the present day in all Anglican churches throughout the world and in all related churches—the table altar, symbol of sacrifice, the place of the sacrificing priest, who in priestly garments, with his back to the people and with his face to the altar, transacts the august ceremonies of the sacrament. Laud said: "The altar is the greatest place of God's residence upon earth, greater than the pulpit, for there 'tis *Hoc est corpus meum*, This is my body; but in the other it is, at most, but *Hoc est verbum meum*, This is my word." Catholicism says: The greatest place of God's residence is the altar; Protestantism says: That place is the hearts of his people.

THE ALTAR.

8. The religious unifying of the two islands, which meant the destruction of Presbyterianism in Scotland and of Roman Catholicism and Protestantism in Ireland, was also on the program of Charles and his archbishop. How they fared in carrying it out will be told in later chapters. The ruthlessness and faithlessness which characterized the attempt was one of the chief causes, perhaps, of the tragic end of the two actors, and of Strafford, their agent in Ireland.

THE CATHOLICIZING OF SCOTLAND AND IRELAND.

9. The destruction of free speech and of a free press, the usual concomitant of Catholicism, was not overlooked. It could not be expected that the Protestant party would look on in silence while the little that remained of their privileges was swept away. Leighton, father of the eminent archbishop, wrote a Plea against Prelates, and was fined, imprisoned, and mutilated. Prynne wrote his Histrio-Mastix—a book against the stage—and for the alleged seditious writing in it was condemned to a fine of five thousand pounds,

DESTRUCTION OF FREE SPEECH AND A FREE PRESS.

perpetual imprisonment, and the loss of his ears. He wrote another book, and was condemned to branding and imprisonment in remoter prisons.[1] Bostwick, Burton, and many others suffered. The court of high commission and of the star chamber stood behind the new regulations, and anyone who made himself obnoxious to the authorities was soon silenced or put out of the way.

LAUD'S SINCERITY AND BLINDNESS.

The entire sincerity and conscientiousness of Laud, who was one of the most devout men of the time, and who kept a heart of prayer amid all his worldly business and dealings with affairs of State, are on the whole surface of the history. It was this which made him blind to the actual feeling of the country. To the Puritans the altars were the symbols of idolatry, of antichrist. "These new orders," wrote one of the Puritans, "do open the mouths of many against the bishops to call them antichrists, because none but an adversary to Christ will take upon him to set up altars."[2] "Can you," writes Bishop Hacket to Laud in earnest warning, "can you be insensible of this impendent ruin? Are you so intent upon your altar that you know not how the nation bears a grudge at you?"[3] Edward Hyde (Lord Clarendon, the historian) told Laud plainly that the people "were universally discontented, and that everyone spake extreme ill of his grace as the cause of all that went amiss."[4] But Laud either did not believe this, or, intent on his great work, he did not care.

LAUD'S LEANINGS TOWARD ROME.

What was the relation of Laud's scheme to the papacy? Laud was a thorough Protestant so far as concerned any desire to bring the pope's rule into England. "I assure myself," he said in 1637, "no prelate can be so base as to live a prelate in the Church of England and labor to bring in the superstitions of Rome upon himself and it. And if any should be so foul, I do not only leave him to God's judgment, but to shame also and severe punishment from the State. And in any just way no man's hand shall be more a power against him than mine shall be."[5] At the same time his earnest Catholicism in some matters of doctrine and practice,[6] and his work in crushing the Protestant party, made the Roman authorities feel that he was

[1] He was branded with the letters S. L. (Seditious Libeler), which Prynne interpreted Signum Laudiæ. [2] L. Hughes, Petition of a Poor Minister.

[3] Life of Bishop Williams, ii, 103.

[4] Life of Lord Clarendon, in Works, ed. 1843, p. 932.

[5] Speech at Bostwick's trial, p. 70.

[6] Thomas McKinnon Wood speaks of Laud's inculcation of celibacy among the clergy, of auricular confession, of prayers for the dead, and of the doctrine of purgatory.—Art. Charles I, in Enc. Brit., 9th ed.

working in their direction, and no doubt prompted their friendly overture of a cardinal's hat, which Laud declined with these words: "Something dwells within me which would not suffer that, till Rome is otherwise than it is at the present time."[1] He was also a forerunner of Anglican divines who desire a reunion with the Roman Catholic Church. He was accused of this at his trial, and he acknowledged it in some noble words: "I have ever wished and heartily prayed for the unity of the whole Church of Christ, and the peace and reconciliation of torn and divided Christendom. But I did never desire a reconciliation but such as might stand with truth and preserve all the foundations of religion entire."[2]

LAUD'S NEGATION OF PROTESTANTISM.

It is a matter of course that the Puritans looked upon Laud's innovations as popish, as they could not, as a rule, distinguish between practices and teachings that were the inheritance of universal Christendom, and those that were peculiar to Rome. Others did distinguish in a measure, as, for instance, Pym, in his speech in the Short Parliament, April 17, 1637: "We are not contented with the old ceremonies—I mean such as the constitution of the reformed religion hath continued unto us; but we must introduce again many of those superstitions and infirm ceremonies which accompanied the most decrepit age of popery, bowing to the altar and such like."[3] Laud's scheme was Anglo-Catholicism of the most uncompromising kind, which looked toward Rome in one direction and away from her in another, but which was the complete negation of Protestantism. It was historically justifiable as the logical carrying out of certain elements in Anglican ritual and doctrine; but, in a deeper sense, it was a monstrous usurpation, because it meant the complete subversion of other elements of the Church which were the life of thousands of her noblest sons, and because it was part and parcel of a movement to throttle freedom in both State and Church. The realization of this fact, which had been learned well by many sufferings, made the people in the time of their power send the holy and upright archbishop and his king to their doom as traitors to the English nation. Mozley says that to Laud we owe it that anyone of Catholic predilections can belong to the English Church. While there is truth in that, it is fair to say also that to the failure of Laud we owe it that anyone of Protestant predilections can belong to that Church or to any other in England.

[1] Laud, Diary, p. 49.

[2] Laud, History of his Troubles, p. 159.

[3] Rushworth, iii, 1133.

CHAPTER V.

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND FROM THE RESTORATION TO THE EVE OF THE GREAT REVIVAL.

Some of the events connected with that stirring period covered by the Long Parliament, the civil war, and the commonwealth will be treated under Presbyterianism and Congregationalism. The story of the English Church, from the restoration of the monarchy under Charles II, 1660, to the more hopeful and attractive time of Wesley, now claims our careful attention.

Charles, unlike his father, who in personal life was as pure a king as ever reigned, was a voluptuary who was ruled by his concubines. So far as he had any religious views he was a Roman Catholic, but he disliked persecution, and would have given a measure of toleration, if the Church had let him, to Protestants and Romanists alike. On May 1, 1660, he sent from Breda his letter to parliament in which occurs this noble passage: "Because the passion and uncharitableness of the times have produced several opinions in religion by which men engaged in parties and animosities against each other, which, when they shall hereafter unite in a freedom of conversation, will be compared and better understood, we do declare a liberty to tender consciences, that no man shall be disquieted or called in question for differences of opinions in matters of religion which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom; and that we shall be ready to consent to such an act of parliament as, upon mature deliberation, shall be offered to us for the full granting of that indulgence."[1] Charles was sincere in this, and tried to make his promise effective, but was prevented by Anglican determination to persecute the Puritans, if we may still so call the moderate Episcopalian, Presbyterian, and Congregational dissenters, and by the Anglican and Puritan determination to persecute the Roman Catholics.

CHARLES II.

The king asked the Presbyterians on what terms they could unite with the Church. They replied: The limitation of episco-

[1] Declaration of Breda is printed by Gardiner, Constitutional Documents of Puritan Revolution, p. 351, and Gee and Hardy, Documents Illustrative of English Church History, p. 585.

pacy by a standing council of presbyters, the abolition of oaths and subscription of ministers, recasting the liturgy in Scripture phrase, the abolition of the ceremonies, including the use of the surplice, and a provision against future innovations.[1] On October 25, 1660, the king issued a declaration which was really an overture for peace between Puritan and Anglican. It referred to his former promise of toleration, promised to promote godly ministers, to allow a large increase in suffragan bishops, to require a certain number of presbyters to take part in episcopal acts, to make confirmation follow a real preparation and instruction, to make the rural dean and certain assistant ministers a body for settling disputes in each deanery, to see that each clergyman performed his work aright, to cause a review of the liturgy to be made in which Scripture phrases should be added, and in the meantime to leave ministers to use such parts of the Prayer Book as they did not scruple, and to practice or not practice the ceremonies, as they pleased.[2] But the parliament refused to legalize the king's declaration. The next parliament was even more reactionary, and even if the Anglican party had accepted the Puritan proposals to the Savoy conference,[3] which, of course, they would not, the parliament, filled in the rebound with earnest Episcopalians, would have repudiated them. The Book of Common Prayer was submitted to convoca-

CHARLES II'S EFFORTS TO REUNITE ANGLICANS AND PURITANS.

[1] It is said that Baxter's influence made the Presbyterian demand somewhat stiff.—Calamy, Baxter, pp. 141 ff.

[2] Collier, Church Hist. of England, viii, 398; Perry, ii, 490, 491.

[3] The Savoy conference was a convention held by warrant of the king, whose purpose it was to bring together Puritans and Anglicans on some common platform. Here it was that Baxter presented the Reformed Liturgy, the result of prodigious industry, as it was written entirely by him in two weeks. He offered it, not to take the place of the Prayer Book, but to be substituted for it when necessary. All the recommendations of Baxter and his friends were refused by the Church party. Full accounts of the conference can be had in Calamy, Baxter's Life and Times; Orme, Life and Times of Baxter, i, 181–192; Swainson, Parliamentary Hist. of the Act of Uniformity, with Documents, Lond., 1875; Jas. Parker, Introd. to Hist. of Successive Revisions of the Prayer Book; Cardwell, Hist. of Conferences connected with the Revision of the Book of Common Prayer, Oxf., 1840, pp. 238 ff.; and in the Church Histories of England. The Puritan Prayer Book was republished by Prof. Shields, of Princeton (who left the Presbyterian for the Episcopal Church in 1898 on account of criticisms he received for signing a liquor license) under the title, The Book of Common Prayer as amended by the Presbyterian Divines of 1661, Phila., 1864, 2d ed., N. Y., 1883. The Savoy conference was so called because held at the Savoy palace, on the Strand, London.

tion for revision, 1661, and issued from their hands, after a speedy examination, with several changes—all in a Romanist direction—which were slightly modified by the king, presented to parliament, and at once approved, May, 1662.[1] This was the last revision of the English liturgy.

We now come to a new series of persecuting acts of the Church and State of England against the Protestants. The act of Uniformity was passed May 19, 1662. It was drawn up by the churchmen in the Commons, and in a series of propositions unexcelled for their precision it expresses their determination to put down dissent. It even calls the Puritans, men like Baxter and Howe, "people in divers parts of this realm, following their own sensuality, and living without knowledge and due fear of God, who do willfully and schismatically abstain and refuse to come to their parish churches." This language concerning the most pious and conscientious folk in England, at a time when thousands of those who had no scruples at the Prayer Book were swinging back into the tide of licentiousness which came in with Charles, seems gratuitous, to say the least. The king and lords tried in vain to get some lenient propositions inserted, as, for instance, to give the king power to except from the act those ministers who were in charge in 1660 and who had been peaceable since; but the Commons would allow no margin of liberty to the king for mercy and conciliation. The act provided (1) that every minister in England shall use the Book of Common Prayer as recently revised; (2) that every minister shall openly declare his

ACT OF UNIFORMITY, 1662.

[1] "The general effect of the alterations was very greatly to improve the book, and to give it upon the whole a more Romanist tone, getting rid of some of the marks of foreign Protestant origin. Certainly the changes made were not such as to make the book more acceptable to the Puritans."—Perry, Hist. of the English Church, Period ii, p. 499. Of the changes made under the king's sanction to make the book less offensive to the Protestants the following are specimens: Convocation said of the table used in the Supper: "The table shall stand in the most convenient place in the upper end of the chancel (or of the body of the church where there is no chancel)"—intending to confirm Laud's altarwise position at the extreme end of the building. The king said: "The table shall stand in the body of the church, or in the chancel, where morning and evening prayer are appointed to be said"—apparently an effort to get a position tablewise away from the wall. Convocation said: "Let us pray for the good estate of the Catholic Church of Christ," which might mean prayers for the dead. The king said: "Let us pray for the whole state of Christ's Church militant here on earth." But other changes of the ultra Anglicans were not touched, as, for example, where they substitute priest for presbyter.

unfeigned assent and consent to everything contained in that book; (3) that every canon, professor, reader, and tutor in universities and schools, and every teacher of any public or private school, shall subscribe to a declaration to the effect that it is unlawful under any circumstances to take up arms against the king, and that he will "conform to the liturgy of the Church of England, as it is now by law established;" (4) that no one can be admitted to officiate at the services of the Church unless he is episcopally ordained (although this does not apply to the foreign reformed Churches allowed or to be allowed in England); (5) that "no person shall be received as lecturer, or permitted, suffered, or allowed to preach as a lecturer, or to preach or read any sermon or lecture in any church, chapel, or other place of public worship," unless he shall first be approved and licensed by the archbishop or bishop, and gives his assent to the Prayer Book, which must be used in connection with his lecture or sermon; (6) that former acts of uniformity now in force shall be understood as applying to the Prayer Book just revised; and (7) that this act shall go into effect on St. Bartholomew's Day (August 24), 1662, the penalties for disobedience being deprivation or imprisonment, or both.[1]

NONCONFORMING CLERGY.

To the two thousand Puritan ministers who refused to conform, who preached their last sermons on August 17 and left their churches and parsonages for lives of exile, wandering, pain, poverty, or whatever the future might have in store, it must have seemed a striking, if undesigned, appropriateness in the selection of St. Bartholomew's Day for the fatal fall of the Anglican edict. Their fate was, indeed, not to be compared to that of their French brethren; but, the change of the times being considered, their experience must have seemed sufficiently painful to recall that day ninety years before.[2] The great and catholic-minded poet Wordsworth, himself a hearty Anglican, does not withhold a meed of praise to the brave men who then gave up their earthly prospects. In his sonnet, "Clerical Integrity," he sings their constancy:

[1] For text of act of Uniformity see Gee and Hardy, Documents Illustrative of the Hist. of the English Church, pp. 600–619.

[2] The number of ministers who went out on Black Bartholomew were, according to Baxter, 1,800, according to Calamy and Bates, 2,000. Even an Anglican historian admits: "Many of these ministers were very popular, and deservedly so. There were among them men of great power and true devotion."—Perry, Hist. of Church of England, Period ii, p. 502.

Nor shall the eternal roll of praise reject
Those Unconforming; whom one rigorous day
Drives from their cures, a voluntary prey
To poverty, and grief, and disrespect,
And some to want—as if by tempests wrecked
On a wild coast; how destitute! did they
Feel not that Conscience never can betray,
That peace of mind is Virtue's sure effect.
Their altars they forego, their homes they quit,
Fields which they love, and paths they daily trod,
And cast the future upon Providence;
As men the dictate of whose inward sense
Outweighs the world; whom self-deceiving wit
Lures not from what they deem the cause of God.[1]

The Anglican clergy, however, were not satisfied with the tender mercies of the Uniformity act. Their scythe wanted a wider swath. They therefore petitioned the Commons against the "strange prodigious race of men who labored to throw off the yoke of government, both civil and ecclesiastical. They pray for severe laws against the Anabaptists, for an increase of the fine for nonattendance at church, and for more expeditious methods of collecting church rates and tithes." Parliament responded by the first Conventicle act, 1664, which provided that all meetings for religion, private or otherwise, which are not regular Church of England meetings, would subject those attending to fine and imprisonment on the conviction of one justice of the peace, and on a third offense transportation to America, the return whence without leave subjected to the penalty of death.

FIRST CONVENTICLE ACT.

Neither the Great Plague of 1665 nor the devotion of the Nonconformists during its awful ravages turned the Anglicans to think upon justice and mercy. Many of the Anglican clergy fled the city. The Puritans remained, and though debarred from preaching in churches they ministered in heroic self-sacrifice in private ways. Sometimes they petitioned the authorities for the use of deserted churches, but this was always refused. Occasionally they made a law of public necessity and went into the empty churches, where great crowds would follow them eager to hear the word of life. James Vincent, an ejected clergyman of excellent learning, remained in town during the plague, carrying on the faithful and loving ministrations of pastor and preacher in a time of distress and affliction.

THE GREAT PLAGUE IN LONDON.

While the plague was raging parliament retired to Oxford, where

[1] Ecclesiastical Sonnets, part iii, sonnet 6.

they remembered the spiritual heroes of the time with the Five-Mile act, which required all Nonconformist ministers to take an oath that it is not lawful, on any pretense whatsoever, to take up arms against the king, and if they refuse this oath they are not allowed to come within five miles of any city, town, or borough, or of any parish in which they have been ministers, on the penalty of the jail and £40 fine. This was a hard blow, for Puritanism was strong in towns and centers of activity and intelligence. This was followed by the second Conventicle act, 1670, according to which informers were to receive part of the fines, prosecutors were to be saved unharmed in any outrage they might commit—two provisions sufficiently diabolical—and a record of fact by a justice was to be taken as a legal conviction. The archbishop of Canterbury, Sheldon, urged his clergy to see to the diligent execution of this act as something which would be "to the glory of God, the welfare of the Church, the praise of his majesty and government, and the happiness of the whole kingdom." No doubt it would enhance the happiness of Episcopalians, but what of Nonconformists?[1]

THE FIVE-MILE AND SECOND CONVENTICLE ACTS.

The threatening aspect of these persecuting edicts, however, must not mislead us as to the actual suffering which the Nonconformists were made to undergo. The days of Elizabeth and Charles I were gone forever. There was no high commission court nor *ex officio* oath, and some of the old punishments had also been abolished. Besides, in the danger feared from the Catholics it was felt that it was impolitic to proceed too harshly against the Puritans. Then all prelates were not equally severe, and some of them still allowed Nonconforming clergy to preach in churches and become chaplains in hospitals and prisons. Others were accepted as curates, and cases are recorded where a Nonconforming and an Anglican congregation worshiped alternately in the same church.[2]

MODERATED SEVERITY.

During the reign of James II (1685–88), who in 1671 had joined the Roman Church, the Church of England had her hands so full of work in resisting James's efforts to bring in his own Church that the Puritans had rest. In virtue of powers which he supposed inhered in his kingly office, this last and weakest of the Stuarts dispensed his people from the persecuting acts of the last reign, his object, of course, being to establish Catholi-

JAMES II.

[1] For texts of Five-Mile act and second Conventicle act see Gee and Hardy, pp. 620–632.

[2] For this brighter side see Stoughton, Church and State Two Hundred Years Ago; a Hist. of Eccl. Affairs in England, 1660–63, pp. 364–370.

cism. But the power thus to destroy the effect of parliamentary action was subversive of liberty and constitutional rights, even though in this case its purpose was ostensibly the enlargement of liberty. For this reason and others the bishops and clergy refused to read the king's declaration in their churches. Seven bishops—Sancroft, Lloyd, Turner, Lake, Ken, White, and Trelawney—were accordingly tried in Westminster Hall, June 29, 1688. It was one of the most exciting days England had ever seen. The Puritans, though the king's declaration gave them freedom of assembly, were as much interested as the Anglicans in the acquittal of the bishops. All the anti-Roman feelings of the people were profoundly stirred. On the 30th of June the bishops were brought into court to receive the verdict, and a deathlike stillness reigned over the vast crowd. The foreman pronounced the words, "Not guilty." "As the words left his lips Lord Halifax sprang up and waved his hat.[1] At that signal benches and galleries raised a shout. In a moment ten thousand persons who crowded the great hall replied with a still louder shout which made the old oaken roof crack, and in another moment the innumerable crowd without set up a third huzza, which was heard in Temple Bar. The boats which covered the Thames gave an answering cheer. A peal of gunpowder was heard on the water, and so in a few moments the glad tidings went past the Savoy and the Friars to London bridge, and the forest of masts below. As the news spread, streets and squares, market places and coffee houses broke forth into acclamation. Yet were the acclamations less strange than the weepings. For the feelings of men had been wound up to such a point that at length the stern English nature, so little used to outward signs of emotion, gave way, and thousands sobbed aloud for very joy. Meanwhile, from the outskirts of the multitude horsemen were spurring off to bear along all the great roads intelligence of the victory of our Church and nation."[2]

TRIAL OF THE SEVEN BISHOPS.

WILLIAM OF ORANGE AND TOLERATION.

With the enthronement of the first Protestant king in English history, William of Orange (1689–1702), son-in-law of James II, a toleration as large as the Anglicans would allow was granted to dissenters. "An act for

[1] Lord Halifax was one of the ablest defenders of the bishops. His Reasons Against Reading the Declaration were spread broadcast over the land, and formed one of the influences which determined the clergy to disobedience. Perry says that not over two hundred clergy read the declaration.

[2] Macaulay, Hist. of England, ii, 348 (chap. vi.).

exempting their Majesties' Protestant subjects Dissenting from the Church of England from the Penalties of certain Laws," 1689, was framed on the ground that "some ease to scrupulous consciences in the exercise of religion" might unite all Protestants in interest and affection. The Protestants could now enter upon a comparatively free religious life, although all disabilities were by no means removed, nor are to this day. The Quakers were allowed to substitute an affirmation for an oath in certain cases, but the Corporation and Test acts were to remain still in force,[1] and Unitarians were also denied freedom of worship. No minister or religious teacher could serve unless he assented to the Thirty-nine Articles, except Articles XXXIV, XXXV, XXXVI, and these words of XX: "The Church hath power to decree rights and ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith," and every person attending any religious meeting should be required to take an oath to the same effect. It would appear from the wording of the act that those who scrupled to take an oath should not only be required to make the same declaration as others in regard to faith and loyalty, but also the additional "declaration of fidelity," which makes a detestation of "that damnable doctrine and position that princes excommunicated or deprived by the pope" may be deposed or murdered, and mentions a profession of Christian belief in these words, which they are to subscribe: "I, *A. B.*, profess faith in God the Father, and in Jesus Christ his eternal Son the true God, and in the Holy Spirit, one God blessed for evermore, and do acknowledge the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be given by divine inspiration." The object of this double declaration of orthodoxy on the part of the non-oath takers is not apparent.

Even the meager toleration granted by the act of 1689 was

[1] The Corporation act, 1661, provided that no officer of a town corporation, and no magistrate or other local official, could hold office, unless he should take an oath declaring it is not lawful under any pretense whatsoever to take arms against the king, and that the oath of the Solemn League and Covenant is unlawful and not binding. It also declares that every such officer previously to election must have partaken of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, according to the rites of the Church of England. See Gee and Hardy, document 116, pp. 594–600. This contemptible act, which really worked toward keeping the most competent and faithful men in England from all local service, was more or less inoperative during the 18th century; but when Fox moved its repeal in 1787 he was defeated by 294 to 105. We are indebted to Lord John Russell for erasing it from the English statute book, 1828—one of his many services to religious and civil liberty. For the Test act see the chapter on the Roman Catholics, below, p. 760.

begrudged by the Anglican party, and they introduced a bill into the Commons in 1702 which inflicted heavy fines on all public officers who attended dissenting meetings, and compelled all such officers to partake of the Lord's Supper three times a year in an Episcopal church. This outrageous measure passed the Commons with enthusiasm twice, but was fortunately rejected by the Lords. The excitement throughout the country was intense, the High Churchmen and earnest Episcopalians everywhere urging the Lords to pass the bill and violently denouncing them after they had twice declined.

INTOLERANCE CHECKED IN HOUSE OF LORDS.

The history of the English Church from the revolution of 1688 to Wesley's time presents few matters of importance. There was a bitter controversy between the lower and upper houses of convocation which went to disgraceful lengths, and finally issued in the suppression of convocation itself by parliament, 1717, which suppression continued until 1852. A famous dispute was the Sacheverell case. A High Church wave was sweeping over the country on the strength of the "Church in danger" cry. The suspension of convocation, the admission of Presbyterians to the English parliament—15 in the upper house, 45 in the lower—consequent on the union of the English and Scottish parliaments, 1707, and the naturalization of foreign Protestants—all this, complicated with Tory opposition to Whig rule, and fanned by violent sermons and speeches of Anglican demagogues and bigots, brought about a state of public feeling which might have resulted in almost any kind of reactionary legislation. However, it vented itself in shouting for Sacheverell, preacher at St. Saviour's, Southwark, London, who had preached in November, 1709, a violent sermon full of scurrilous statements against toleration and nonconformity.[1] Forty thousand copies of this High Church rhapsody were sold in a few days. Unfortunately the Whig authorities were stupid enough to prosecute the preacher,[2] and although the judges could not help finding him guilty of false and mischievous utterances, in the excited state of the public they dared not punish him, and so sentenced him to be suspended from preaching for three years, a sentence which the people rightly interpreted as being a virtual acquittal. The crowd received the

SACHEVERELL.

[1] "I must say this much, that since the foundation of the city of London and the conversion of this island, there has not been in any age, in any cathedral or parochial church, such a sermon, so insolent, uncharitable, untrue, as this." —Kennett.

[2] "In what moving characters," says the preacher, "does the holy psalmist

now famous preacher with wild shoutings, "High Church and Sacheverell," and his opponent with groans and hisses, emphasized by the wrecking of dissenting churches, and Queen Anne loaded him with rich preferment.[1]

A more important controversy was that occasioned by a sermon preached by the bishop of Bangor—thence called the Bangorian controversy—Benjamin Hoadly. Hoadly was one of the acutest, most enlightened liberal minds of the age, and in his opinions on religious liberty he was a century—one might almost say two centuries—in advance of his time. He first came into prominence in 1705 by a sermon preached before the lord mayor of London, in which he riddled the Passive Obedience and Divine Right doctrine, asserting that rulers exist only for the good of their subjects, and that when they abuse their position and no longer conduce to public welfare they not only should be resisted, but nonresistance becomes a sin, because it is a "tacit consent to the ruin and misery of mankind." Hoadly was the first prominent divine to attack boldly and effectively the ancient and revered dogma of Anglicanism. But this sermon was surpassed by one he preached before the king in 1717, which disturbed the extreme Anglicans of the Church with terrible effectiveness, and raised around him a storm in which pamphlets and books rained from the press, as many as seventy-five being published in a single month. The propositions of Hoadly were certainly sufficiently startling for a Church accustomed for two hundred years to lord it over the consciences of men, and they have been exaggerated by High Churchmen. Unnecessary inferences have been drawn

BANGORIAN CONTROVERSY.

point out the crafty insidiousness of such modern Volpones!" Volpone is a contemptible character of Ben Jonson's play, "The Fox." Swift attributes the prosecution to this sentence. "It arose," he says, "from a foolish passionate pique of the earl of Godolphin, whom this divine was supposed to have reflected on under the name of Volpone."—Memoirs relating to the Change of Ministry, in Works (ed. Roscoe), i, 279. "We remember when a poor nickname, borrowed from an old play of Ben Jonson, was made use of to spur on an indictment."—Examiner, No. 26. See Perry, Hist. of Church of England from Death of Elizabeth to the Present Time, iii, 208, note.

[1] Full account of the Sacheverell case will be found in Burnet, Own Times, Life of Kennett (one of the liberal churchmen of the day), p. 102; Somerville, Queen Anne, ch. xv; State Trials, vol. xv; Parliamentary Hist., vi; Hearne, Diaries; Bloxam, Register of Magdalen, iii, 98–110; Burton, Hist. of the Reign of Queen Anne, Edinb., 1880, vol. ii; Perry, Hist. of Church of England since Elizabeth, iii, 200–225; and excellent accounts in Hore, The Church in England from William III to Victoria, i, 206–214; Perry, Hist. of the English Church, Period ii, 572–575.

from them; yet they were really but a republication of Christ's charter of his Church—"My kingdom is not of this world." It was an attempt to roll away the accumulated misconceptions which had long since hardened into traditions and dogmas, on which in turn were founded worldly ecclesiasticisms with their persecuting edicts, violating as much the rights of Christ to the free love of his people as they did the rights of man to the free obedience of his conscience. Parts of that great sermon read like the splendid sentences of Milton, the Independent, and the pleadings of the Congregationalists for a free spiritual brotherhood which would know no master save Jesus.[1] Convocation impeached Hoadly, and it was partly because of its unremitting pertinacity in trying to suppress all freedom of expression in the Church, and to keep her still in the old rôle of driving the sword into her own children, that king and parliament—now liberal and knowing their age—prorogued that ecclesiastical court.[2]

[1] "If therefore the Church of Christ be the kingdom of Christ, it is essential to it that Christ himself be the sole lawgiver and sole judge of his subjects in all points relating to the favor or displeasure of Almighty God; and that all his subjects, in what station soever they may be, are equally subjects to him; and that no one of them, any more than another, hath authority either to make new laws for Christ's subjects, or to impose a sense upon the old ones, which is the same thing; or to judge, censure, or punish the servants of another master in matters relating purely to conscience or salvation. If any person hath any other notion, either through a long use of words with inconsistent meanings, or through a negligence of thought, let him but ask himself whether the Church of Christ be the kingdom of Christ or not; and if it be, whether this notion of it doth not absolutely exclude all other legislators and judges in matters relating to conscience or the favor of God; or whether it can be his kingdom, if any mortal man have such power of legislation and judgment in it."—Hoadly, The Nature of the Kingdom or Church of Christ (sermon), pp. 15, 16. The Bangor divine did not mean to affirm that churches had no power to make prudential or other regulations, but that in matters between the soul and God, "matters relating purely to conscience or salvation," no foreign power must interfere. It was a noble effort to divorce Anglicanism from intolerance.

[2] Ultra Anglican writers have deeply deplored the suppression of convocation, and have attributed to it manifold evils. Canon Perry says: "To this gross outrage on the Church of England [suppression of convocation] most of the mischief and scandals which impeded her progress during the 18th century are distinctly to be traced. The Church, denied the power of expressing her wants and grievances, and of that assertion of herself in her corporate capacity which the constitution had provided for her, was assaulted at their will by unscrupulous ministers of the crown, and feebly defended by latitudinarian bishops in an uncongenial assembly. Her ministers might now give utterance to the most heretical, and even blasphemous teaching,

It was not to be expected that ministers who believed in divine right and hereditary succession would receive William of Orange as king. Four hundred clergy, including nine bishops, refused the oath, and were, after suitable probation, simply deprived of their offices. The noblest of these was Bishop Ken, a name of precious memory in the history of religion. Collier, the historian, and Leslie, the theologian, were of the number, and of laymen were Professor Dodwell, of Oxford, the devout and philanthropic Robert Nelson, and the keen controversialist and unworldly mystic William Law, whose Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life, 1729, made Samuel Johnson a Christian, profoundly influenced Wesley, and was praised by his pupil Gibbon for its sincerity and strength. The history of the schism of these ultra High Churchmen, the Nonjurors, is a most interesting one, but must be passed over.[1] The schism had this compensation, that by weakening the Anglican or "Church" party it gave opportunity for the spread of liberal opinions and the appropriation by the coming party, the Evangelicals, of the earnest religious life of the country.

THE NON-JURORS.

without fear of censure, and there remained no agency for altering and adjusting her system to meet the varying requirements and opportunities of the times."—Hist. of Church of England, Period ii (6th ed., 1894), p. 585. There is truth in this. On the other hand, the scandalous record of convocation as a "heresy"-hunting body, and the disgraceful fight between its lower and upper houses in the opening years of the 18th century, made its indefinite postponement a necessity. Besides, that "assertion of herself in her corporate capacity" which the Church had in convocation is limited and maimed. It cannot meet without the permission of the crown, nor can any of its resolutions or laws take effect without that same consent. For instance, in 1862 both houses of convocation pronounced Bishop Colenso heretical for saying in his book, The Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua Critically Examined, part i, Lond., 1862, that Moses was not the sole author of the Pentateuch and that there were historical errors in it. Legally, such a contention amounted to little.

[1] See the Church Histories of England, and especially Lathbury, Hist. of the Nonjurors, Lond., 1845. It has been a part of the work of the High Churchmen of the present century to rescue the Nonjurors from oblivion and do justice to their piety and principles. See Literature, above, p. 611.

CHAPTER VI.

THE PRESBYTERIAN ASCENDENCY.

It will be seen from the preceding history that Presbyterianism had a hard time in the English Church; that although the Church in all the early part of her history was Calvinistic, and although her divines recognized presbyterial ordination as valid and the foreign reformed Churches as Churches in regular standing, she would never herself either substitute a presbyterial for an episcopal organization or reform her services in the direction of a consistent Protestantism. This led the Presbyterians to organize a presbytery at Wandsworth, near London, 1572. Some other presbyteries were organized in neighboring counties. Presbyterianism had a feeble life for a few years, but the numerous Uniformity acts finally made existence impossible. Presbyterians had either to conform, be imprisoned, or leave the kingdom. An exceptional instance of full presbyterian organization in connection with the Church of England was the Churches of Guernsey and Jersey, composed largely of Huguenot refugees from Roman Catholic butcheries. By special permission these people kept their own worship and polity from 1576 to 1623. It was here that the great Cartwright was for a time pastor.

A PRESBYTERY ORGANIZED.

Thanks to the civil and religious despotism of Charles I and Laud, and to the necessity of seeking the help of Scotland in the conflict with them, parliament was brought to the Presbyterian position. The only condition on which Scotland would offer her help was the taking by England of the Solemn League and Covenant, the first two sections of which read as follows: "I. That we shall sincerely, really, and certainly through the grace of God endeavor in our several places and callings the preservation of the reformed religion in the Church of Scotland, in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, against our common enemies; the reformation of religion in the kingdoms of England and Ireland, in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, according to the word of God and the example of the best reformed Churches; and we shall endeavor to bring the Churches of God in the three kingdoms to the nearest conjunction and uniformity in religion, con-

PARLIAMENT ACCEPTS SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT.

fession of faith, form of Church government, directory for worship and catechizing, that we and our posterity after us may as brethren live in faith and love, and the Lord may delight to dwell in the midst of us. II. That we shall in like manner, without respect of persons, endeavor the extirpation of popery, prelacy (that is, Church government by archbishops, bishops, their chancellors and commissaries, deans, deans and chapters, archdeacons, and all other ecclesiastical officers depending on that hierarchy), superstition, heresy, schism, profaneness, and whatsoever shall be found to be contrary to sound doctrine and the power of godliness, lest we partake in other men's sins, and thereby be in danger to receive of their plagues, and that the Lord may be one and his name one in the three kingdoms."[1] This celebrated paper was drawn up by the Scotch commissioner of England, Alexander Henderson, on the basis of the Scotch covenant of 1638, and was taken by the Scotch estates in 1643 and later in the same year by the English parliament.

Already, on December 1, 1641, the parliament in their Grand Remonstrance had said: "And the better to effect the intended reformation we desire there may be a general synod of the most grave, pious, learned, and judicious divines of this island, assisted by some from foreign parts professing the same religion with us, who may consider of all things necessary for the peace and good government of the Church, and represent the results of their consultation to parliament, to be there allowed and confirmed, and receive the stamp of authority, thereby to find passage and obedience throughout the kingdom."[2] During 1642 several attempts were made by parliament to call an assembly of divines to reform the doctrine and polity of the Church, but the king always refused to give his assent. At length, finding that nothing could be done in that way, the Commons passed an ordinance, June 1, 1643, "for the calling an assembly of learned and godly divines," who were directed to meet "at Westminster, in the chapel called King Henry the Seventh's chapel, on the first day of July, in the year of our Lord 1643,

CALL OF THE WESTMINSTER ASSEMBLY.

[1] For the Solemn League and Covenant see Gardiner, Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution, pp. 187–190; Gee and Hardy, Documents Illustrative of English Church History, pp. 569–574.

[2] For the Grand Remonstrance in full see Gardiner, 127 ff., and selections, Gee and Hardy, 553 ff. The Grand Remonstrance reminds one of the Declaration of Independence. It presented the grievances of the people in a series of propositions that could not be misunderstood, the reforms that parliament had already effected, and those yet to be obtained.

. . . to confer and treat amongst themselves of such matters and things touching and concerning the liturgy, discipline, and government of the Church of England, or the vindicating and clearing of the doctrine of the same from all false aspersions and misconstructions, as shall be proposed unto them by both or either of the said houses of parliament, and no other, and to deliver their opinion and advices of or touching the matters aforesaid, as shall be most agreeable to the word of God, to both or either of the said houses, from time to time, in such manner or sort as by both or either of the said houses of parliament shall be required, and at the same time not to divulge by printing, writing, or otherwise, without the consent of both or either house of parliament. And be it further ordained by the authority aforesaid that William Twisse, D.D., shall sit in the chair as prolocutor of said assembly."

COMPOSITION OF WESTMINSTER ASSEMBLY.

It was the design of parliament that the assembly should be representative of English Christianity, except the extreme sections. There were therefore no extreme Anglicans there, nor any of the more extravagant dissenters. Episcopalians like Archbishop Usher, Bishops Brownrigge and Westfield, Drs. Featley, Hackett, Hammond, Holdsworth, and others were called, but as the assembly met without the sanction of the king they would not attend—except Westfield and Featley, and they but a short time. Of Independents (Congregationalists) Thomas Goodwin, Philip Nye, William Bridge, Jeremiah Burroughs, and Sidrach Simpson were the chief, but there were others, and they were not slow in using their influence. There were Erastians, especially John Lightfoot, Thomas Coleman, and John Selden, who were perhaps the most learned men in the body. They joined with the Independents in the endeavor to thwart all extreme measures put through by the great majority of the members, who were stanch Presbyterian Church of England men.

FAIRBAIRN ON WESTMINSTER ASSEMBLY.

In a paragraph noted for its able and fine characterization Principal Fairbairn accuses the Westminster Assembly of provincialism and onesidedness for not representing widely the theology and scholarship of England. He names as those who were never invited to the assembly John Hales, William Chillingworth, Ralph Cudworth, Henry More, Benjamin Whichcote, Jeremy Taylor, Brian Walton, Thomas Pierce, John Goodwin, Richard Baxter, John Milton, and Thomas Fuller. "These were representative men, and had, as such, a right

to be consulted in any attempt to 'vindicate and clear from aspersions' the doctrine of the Church of England. The assembly which did not include these men can only claim to be sectional, cannot claim to be national. Its confession is the confession of a party, not of a people."[1] There is truth in this. On the other hand, it should be said that Chillingworth as an intense royalist would have repudiated an invitation to the assembly. Jeremy Taylor, the High Churchman, must have looked with horror upon the assembly, and however much he pleaded for liberty, when, like Sir Thomas More, he came to translate his theories into practice they were found to be entirely consistent with intolerance. Besides, his dislike to clear, definite theological statements would have made his presence in the assembly profitless to others and painful to himself. Milton's views on divorce as well as on Christ debarred him from the assembly, and it is not likely that Thomas Fuller, as a royalist and a chaplain in the royal army, though a remarkably broad-minded and catholic-spirited man, would have accepted an invitation to a meeting which his king abhorred. And what a figure the gentle Platonism of Henry More and Whichcote would have cut in the stern and high debates

> "Of providence, foreknowledge, will, and fate—
> Fixed fate, free will, foreknowledge absolute."[2]

As for the rest mentioned by Fairbairn, they were represented by others, though it is doubtful if there was an earnest Arminian in the assembly. In fact, outside of the High Church party Arminians were very scarce in England. In the debates on election occasionally an Arminian note is struck, but it is so weak and vanishing that it is of no account.

It is fair to say also for the assembly that it was composed for the most part of learned and pious divines and laymen of eminent culture. Probably never in history has so able, competent, and high-minded a body of men sat down to the work of creed-making. The Roman Catholic councils cannot be compared to it, and the compromising Anglican synods seem weak and futile. The words of Professor Briggs, who has profoundly studied the whole Puritan literature of the time, are justified: "Looking at the Westminster Assembly as a whole, it is safe to say that there never was a body of divines who labored

HIGH CHARACTER OF ITS MEMBERS.

[1] The Westminster Confession of Faith and Scotch Theology, in Contemporary Rev., Dec., 1872, pp. 73–75 (vol. xxi).

[2] Milton, Paradise Lost, ii, 560–561.

more conscientiously, carefully, and faithfully, and produced more important documents, or a richer theological literature, than that remarkably learned, able, and pious body, who sat for so many trying years in the Jerusalem Chamber of Westminster Abbey."[1]

For five years, six months, and twenty-two days, through one thousand one hundred and sixty-three sessions, the chapel of Henry VII and the Jerusalem Chamber witnessed the labors of the assembly.[2] "We meet every day of the week but Saturday," says Baillie, the Scotch commissioner, whose journals are as interesting gossip as any age can furnish. "We sit commonly from nine to one or two after noon. The prolocutor at the beginning and the end has a short prayer. . . . After the prayer Mr. Byfield, the scribe, reads the proposition and the Scriptures [that is, the Scriptures alleged in support of the proposition], whereupon the Assembly debates in the most grave and orderlie way. No man is called up to speak; but who stands up of his own accord, he speaks as long as he will without interruption. If two or three stand up at once, then the divines confusedly calls on his name whom they desire to speak first. On whom the loudest and maniest voices calls, he speaks. No man speaks to any but to the prolocutor. They harangue long and very learnedly. They study the questions well beforehand, and prepares their speeches; but withal the men are exceeding prompt and well spoken. I do marvel at the very accurate and extemporal replies that many of them usually do make."[3] Baillie objected only to their tediousness: "Much of their way is good and worthy of our imitation: only

ACCOUNT OF THE SESSIONS.

[1] Documentary Hist. of the Westminster Assembly, in Presb. Rev., 1880, p. 163. Baxter's judgment as that of a fairly impartial contemporary is worth quoting: "The divines there congregate were men of eminent learning and godliness, and ministerial abilities and fidelity; and, being not worthy to be one myself, I may the more freely speak that truth which I know, even in the face of malice and envy, that as far as I am able to judge by the information of all history of that kind, and by any other evidences left us, the Christian world, since the days of the apostles, had never a synod of more excellent divines (taking one thing with another) than this synod and the synod of Dort were."—Life and Times (Calamy), i, 73, (Orme) i, 68. Among recent historians, Stoughton says: "The Westminster divines had learning—scriptural, patristic, scholastic, and modern—enough and to spare; all solid, substantial, and ready for use."—Religion in England, i, 445.

[2] Stanley, Memories of Westminster Abbey, 5th ed., p. 436. Schaff says the 1163d session was held February 22, 1648; the last, March 25, 1652.

[3] Robert Baillie, Letters and Journals, ii, 107–109.

their longsomeness is woful at this time, when their Church and kingdom lies under a most lamentable anarchy and confusion. They see the hurt of their length, but cannot get it helped; for being to establish a new platform of worship and discipline to their nation for all time to come, they think they cannot be answerable if solidly and at leisure they do not examine every point thereof."[1]

True to its presbyterial character the assembly included laymen as well as clergymen, all appointed by authority of parliament, to which they were responsible, from which they received a schedule of topics to be discussed, and to which they submitted their work for refusal or acceptance. That work resulted in five products. (1) Fifteen Articles of Religion revised and enlarged from the first fifteen of the Thirty-nine. The work on the Articles was cut short by parliament's request that they take up the discussion of discipline, and amounted to no practical importance, as the revised Articles were superseded by the confession. However, the debates on the Articles, which lasted for three or four months, trained the divines for their subsequent work, and determined their treatment of the same subjects later.[2] (2) Directory of Church Government and Discipline, adopted by parliament in 1648, which organized the Church of England in presbyterian fashion, with large lay element in the classis, provincial assembly, and national assembly, the work of the latter assembly to be under the supervision of parliament.[3] (3) Directory for Worship. This was drawn up in 1644, and was passed by the Commons, January 3, 1645. It substituted a nonliturgical for a ritual service, but gave many directions for the orderly and solemn celebration of divine worship. On August 25, 1645, parliament passed

PRODUCTS OF THE ASSEMBLY.

[1] Those who have not at hand Baillie's book may read quotations in Stanley, Memories of Westminster Abbey, pp. 435, 436; Mitchell and Struthers, Minutes of Westminster Assembly, pp. lxxix, lxxx; Schaff, Creeds of Christendom, i, 750, 751, and in his article in the Schaff-Herzog Encyc., iii, 2500; Hetherington, Hist. of the Westminster Assembly, ed. Williamson, pp. 111, 112.

[2] These debates occupied 105 folios in the MS. Minutes of the Dr. Williams library, London, and are the fullest of any that are reported.—Briggs, *l. c.*, p. 140. Hetherington slights this part of the work of the divines in an unhistorical way. He says "it cannot properly be said to form any part of the Assembly's actual proceedings"—p. 115.

[3] "The national assembly shall meet when they shall be summoned by parliament, to sit and continue as the parliament shall order, and not otherwise."—The Form of Church Government, etc., 1648.

an ordinance providing that the use of the Prayer Book, either in public or private worship, would mulct the offender five pounds, for the second offense ten, and for the third would imprison him for one year.[1] (4) The Confession of Faith. The work on the Confession lasted from August, 1644, to April, 1647, and was approved by parliament June 20, 1648, with the significant exceptions of chapters xxx (Church Censures) and xxxi (Synods and Councils), a part of section 4 and sections 5 and 6 of chapter xxix (Marriage and Divorce), and section 4 of chapter xx (Christian Liberty).[2] The Confession was based entirely on the Irish articles,[3] and is perhaps the clearest, ablest, and most logical statement of the Calvinist gospel ever made in brief form, and has therefore been well fixed upon as the standard of orthodoxy by all Presbyterian Churches. (5) The Catechisms. These were the last work of the assembly, and were finished and adopted by parliament in 1648. This part of the assembly's labors has been the most influential of all. The Shorter Catechism is perhaps, on the whole, the noblest literary product of Protestantism, and its wide circulation throughout all branches of the evangelical Church has done more to popularize divine truth and leaven the world with Christianity than any other single document. It stands with Luther's catechism and the Heidelberg catechism as one of the three chief and immortal products of the revived Christian consciousness which came with the Reformation.[4] The Shorter and Larger Catechisms are, of course, Calvinistic, but the Calvinism is at

THE CONFESSION.

THE CATECHISMS.

[1] The texts of the Fifteen Articles, Directory of Worship, and Form of Church Government may be found in Appendix to last vol. of Neal, Hist. of the Puritans, Nos. 7–9.

[2] Neal, with a touch of bitterness and exaggeration, refers to the parts of the Confession which failed of acceptance as those "in which the very life and soul of presbytery consists."—Hist. of Puritans, ed. 1822, Lond., iii, 321.

[3] In the Irish Articles, says Prof. Mitchell, "we have the main source of our Confession of Faith, and almost its exact prototype in the statement of all the more important and essential doctrines of Christianity."—Minutes of the West. Conf., Introd., p. xlvii.

[4] "The Catechisms of the Westminster Assembly, and especially their Shorter Catechism, may be regarded as in several respects the most remarkable of their symbolical books, the matured fruit of all their consultations and debates, the quintessence of that system of truth in which they desired to train English-speaking youth, and faithful training in which, I believe, has done more on both sides of the Atlantic to keep alive reverence for the old theology than all other human instrumentalities whatever."—A. F. Mitchell, Catechisms of the Second Reformation, Introd., p. ix.

a minimum, while the strong, unadulterated living evangelicalism which has been the spring and life of modern English Christianity is at a maximum.

This is not the place for an analysis of the Westminster Confession. In the light of modern thought and feeling its chief defects are its extreme Calvinism and its doctrine of intolerance. As to the first, it states or clearly implies (1) the arbitrary selection of a certain fixed number for saved and lost;[1] (2) the predetermination from eternity of all things that happen, which makes God the author of sin;[2] (3) the damnation of nonelect infants;[3] and (4) the damnation of all good heathen.[4] As to the second, it defines the office of the magistrate

CALVINISM AND INTOLERANCE OF CONFESSION

[1] "By the decree of God, for the manifestation of his glory, some men and angels are predestinated to everlasting life, and others foreordained to everlasting death. These angels and men, thus predestinated and foreordained, are particularly and unchangeably designed; and their number is so certain and definite that it cannot be either increased or diminished."—Conf. of Faith, iii, secs. 3, 4. The principle of this eternal selection is "his mere free grace and love"—evidently to the favored ones only—"without any foresight of faith or good works" (sec. 5). The unfortunate ones have no chance, for it is only to those who "are ordained unto life" that he "gives his Holy Spirit, to make them willing and able to believe" (vii, sec. 3).

[2] "God from all eternity did, by the most high and holy counsel of his own will, freely and unchangeably ordain whatsoever comes to pass" (iii, 1). The natural implication that this makes God unchangeably ordain sin is also immediately repudiated by the Confession, as it is by all Calvinists.

[3] "Elect infants, dying in infancy, are regenerated and saved by Christ through the Spirit, who worketh when, and where, and how he pleaseth" (x, 3). As this expressly limits salvation to a particular class of those dying in infancy, namely, the elect, one might naturally infer that the other class is lost. Otherwise the Confession would say, Infants, dying in infancy, are elected. But this would overthrow the fundamental postulate of Calvinism, which is that the election depends, not on earthly conditions, such as age, wealth or poverty, and good works, but upon the mere good pleasure of God.

[4] The doctrine of the Confession here, though thoroughly logical, and by most of the men of that time taken as a matter of course, is peculiarly exasperating to the present-day conscience. "Although the light of nature, and the works of creation and providence, do so far manifest the goodness, wisdom, and power of God as to leave men inexcusable, yet they are not sufficient to give that knowledge of God and of his will which is necessary to salvation" (i, 1). "Much less can men not professing the Christian religion be saved in any other way whatsoever, be they ever so diligent to frame their lives according to the light of nature and the law of that religion they do profess, and to assert and maintain that they may is very pernicious and to be detested" (x, 4).

in the rooting out of heresy in these words: The civil magistrate "hath authority, and it is his duty, to take order that peace and unity be preserved in the Church, that the truth of God be kept pure and entire, that all blasphemies and heresies be suppressed, all corruptions and abuses in worship and discipline prevented and reformed, and all of the ordinances of God duly settled, administered, and observed. For the better effecting whereof he hath power to call synods, to be present at them, and to provide that whatsoever is transacted in them be according to the mind of God."[1]

UNFORTUNATE FAILURE TO THROW OFF INTOLERANCE.

In the matter of intolerance the great Presbyterian symbol of 1648 was no better nor worse than other creeds of the Reformation. But men were gradually working themselves free from the old conceptions, and the rigid way in which the Presbyterians enforced their directories upon the consciences of both Anglican and dissenter alienated many a noble mind from them, and finally caused the collapse of their ascendency. This intolerance had another unfortunate influence: it embittered the loftiest mind of that age, and left its traces in the scorn and vituperation which we deplore in some of the greatest sonnets of the language. Thus, On the New Forcers of Conscience under the Long Parliament, Milton writes, with scathing words:

> "Because you have thrown off your prelate lord,
> And with stiff vows renounced his liturgy,[2]
> To seize the widowed whore Plurality
> From them whose sin ye envied, not abhorred,[3]

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[1] Conf. xxiii, sec. 3.

[2] The liturgy and ceremonies of the Anglicans were renounced in an elaborate and comprehensive vow or oath. The Presbyterians went so far at length as to enforce the Covenant on all Englishmen over eighteen.

[3] This cutting taunt stung all the more because there was a measure of justice in it. Several of the Presbyterian divines held more than one benefice or office at the same time. In his Fragment on the History of England (Prose Works), Milton says: "The most part of them were such as had preached and cried down with great show of zeal the avarice and pluralities of bishops and prelates, and one cure of souls was a full employment for one spiritual pastor, how able soever. Yet they wanted not boldness, to the ignominy and scandal of their pastorlike profession, to seize with their hands sometimes two or more of the best livings, collegiate masterships in the universities, rich lectures in the city, setting sail to all winds that might blow gain to their covetous bosoms." See also Lightfoot, Journal, pp. 208–217.

Dare ye for this adjure the civil sword
To force our consciences that Christ set free,
And ride us with a classic hierarchy [1]
Taught ye by mere A. S.,[2] and Rutherford?[3]
Men whose life, learning, faith, and pure intent
Would have been held in high esteem with Paul,
Must now be named and printed heretics
By shallow Edwards[4] and Scotch what d'ye call:[5]
But we do hope to find out all your tricks,
Your plots and packing worse than those of Trent,
That so the parliament
May, with their wholesome and preventive shears,
Clip your phylacteries, though baulk your ears,[6]
And succour our just fears,
When they shall read this clearly in your charge,
New Presbyter is but old Priest writ large." [7]

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[1] For purposes of government the Presbyterians included certain churches in a locality in a class, or classical assembly. Thus London was divided into twelve classes, which chose two ministers and four elders each to represent them in a provincial assembly.

[2] Adam Stuart, a Presbyterian writer who answered the Independents' Plea for Toleration.

[3] Samuel Rutherford, one of the Scotch commissioners to the Assembly, was eminent as a saint and as a controversialist. He was a strong enemy of the Congregationalists, and so shares in Milton's scorn.

[4] Thomas Edwards was a vigorous fighter on the Presbyterian side. The titles of two of his books will reveal his spirit: Gangræna, or a Catalogue and Discovery of Many of the Errors, Heresies, Blasphemies, and Pernicious Practices of the Sectaries of This Time, 3 vols., 1645–46; The Casting Down of the Last and Strongest Hold of Satan, or a Treatise against Toleration, 1647.

[5] He probably refers to George Gillespie, one of the four Scotch commissioners to the assembly. Gillespie attacks Congregationalism with learning and keen argument in his Assertion of the Government of the Church of Scotland, 1641, and defends the Presbyterian intolerance in Aaron's Rod Blossoming, or the Divine Ordinance of Church Government Vindicated, London, 1646. The Scotch being thus associated in Milton's mind with intolerance, he came to dislike them and to ridicule their names.

[6] Spare your ears. Cutting off the ears was a frequent method of Anglican persecution!

[7] Sonnets, xiii. The fearful impression the Presbyterian intolerance left on Milton is seen in the language of one of his prose works, A Fragment of a History of England. After speaking of their pluralism he says: "And yet the main doctrine for which they took such pay, and insisted upon with more vehemence than gospel, was but to tell us in effect that their doctrine was worth nothing, and the spiritual power of their ministry less available than bodily compulsion; persuading the magistrate to use it as a stronger means to subdue and bring in conscience than evangelical persuasion; distrusting the virtue of their own spiritual weapons which were given them, if they might be

The Presbyterian triumph was not for long. Under Cromwell (about 1649–59) their despotism was shattered, and the poor sectaries, as the Congregationalists, Baptists, and other Puritans were called, lifted up their heads and flourished. All the while, however, the Presbyterians had pious and learned ministers who were doing noble work until they were dispossessed by Charles II, 1660, as we have seen. After the toleration of 1689 they never regained their power, but dwindled away as if smitten by dearth. As in all the Calvinistic strongholds, Geneva, France, New England, Unitarianism came in on the steps of this religious decay. It is a strange devolution —from Calvinism to Unitarianism. But that hyperorthodoxy which too often is transformed into a hard machine and beats down the tender conscience, and especially that which changes the loving Father into a passionless Fate, brings its own reaction. This is the history of the Roman Catholicism, the Lutheranism, and the Calvinism of the times.

FALL OF PRESBYTERIANISM.

rightly called, with full warrant of sufficiency to pull down all thoughts and imaginations that exalt themselves against God. But while they taught compulsion without convincement, which long before they complained of as executed unchristianly against themselves, their contents are clear to be no better than antichristians; setting up a spiritual tyranny by a secular power, to the advancing of their own authority above the magistrate, whom they would have made their executioner to punish church delinquencies, whereof civil laws have no cognizance. And well did their disciples manifest themselves to be no better principled than their teachers; trusted with committeeships and other gainful offices, upon their commendations for zealous and (as they hesitated not to term them) godly men, but executing their places like children of the devil, unfaithfully, unjustly, unmercifully, and where not corruptly, stupidly. So that between them, the teachers and these the disciples, there hath not been a more ignominious and mortal wound to faith, to piety, to the work of reformation, nor more cause of blasphemies given to the enemies of God and truth since the first preaching of the reformation."[2]

CHAPTER VII.

THE CONGREGATIONALISTS.

"AND God we trust will one day raise up another John Fox to gather and compile the Acts and Monuments of his later martyrs, for the view of posterity, though yet they seem to be buried in oblivion and asleep in the dust." Such were the words of some nameless Congregationalist writing in 1596, in those terrible days of "good Queen Bess" when evangelical men hardly dared to place their names on their furtively printed pamphlets lest a felon's death should overtake them, or imprisonment, which in those days was not greatly to be preferred.[1] If the moderate Anglicans and Presbyterians suffered, as we have seen, for their Protestantism, it was reserved for the Congregationalists, who carried their Protestantism one step further, to feel the full effects of what Roger Williams called "the bloody tenet of persecution."

AN ADVANCED PROTESTANTISM.

Anglicanism, with all its defects, stood for an open Bible, and it was inevitable that with increased light from that source men would try to restore the primitive type of Church polity, and thus to build again the foundation of the apostles on the characteristic principle of Protestantism—the priesthood of all believers. The extreme Anglicans ought to have perceived that this would be the result of a free Bible, and should have tried to make room in some way for quiet law-abiding Christians who wanted only the privilege of serving God according to their conscience. But a comprehensiveness like this was then historically impossible. Christendom had not worked itself free from that medievalism which identified the State with a form of religion, and could not understand the peaceable and equal loyalty of men of variant creeds. Some of the Elizabethan Congregationalists had a larger vision, but it was as the first light of the rising sun which soon goes under a cloud.

SLOW RELEASE FROM STATE RELIGION.

Robert Browne, the first English Congregationalist, attained at a bound as early as 1582 to the true doctrine of tolerance. He says that the magistrates "may do nothing concerning the Church, but

[1] A True Confession of Faith, Lond., 1596, p. v. This treatise was a defense of the Congregationalists from the charge of sedition.

only civilly, and as civil magistrates; that is, they have not that authority over the Church as to be prophets or priests or spiritual kings, as they are magistrates over the same; but only to rule the commonwealth in all outward justice, to maintain the right welfare and honor thereof with outward power, bodily punishment, and civil forcing of men. And therefore also because the Church is in a commonwealth it is of their charge; that is, concerning the outward provision and outward justice they are to look to it; but to compel religion, to plant churches by power, and to force submission to ecclesiastical government by laws and penalties belongeth not to them."[1]

ROBERT BROWNE AND TRUE TOLERANCE.

But this promise was not kept. The later Congregationalists returned to the mediæval conception. The exiles at Amsterdam in 1596 wrote that "by God's commandment all that will be saved must with speed come forth from this anti-Christian estate [the Church of England], leaving the suppression of it unto the magistrate to whom it belongeth." John Norton, in 1651: "That licentious and pestilent proposition, The care of matters of religion belongs not to the magistrates, is a stratagem of the old serpent and father of lies, to make free passage for the doctrine of devils." Cambridge synod of 1646: "For the magistrate to command or forbid according to God, as it is not persecution, so neither doth it tend to persecution. Power to press the word of God and his truth doth not give warrant to suppress or oppress the same."

A RELAPSE TO THE OLD POSITION.

Robert Browne, a Cambridge graduate, a man of strange and checkered life, was the first to give a full and systematic presentation of the Congregational principle. Imprisoned by Anglicans, he was released through the influence of his kinsman, Lord Burleigh, and with his companion fled to Middleburg, Zealand. There he wrote those able pamphlets which give the first literary expression of voluntaryism. In December, 1583, he came to Scotland, where he was imprisoned. By a singular mental twist he subjected himself to the Church of England, 1586, and became master of a school in Southwark, and in 1591 was presented by Burleigh with a little living at Achurch-cum-Thorpe, where he lived for forty years. Henry Martyn Dexter was the first to rescue the memory of Browne from the

THE FIRST ENGLISH CONGREGATIONALIST.

[1] Treatise of Reformation without Tarrying for Any, Middleburg, Zealand, 1582. Dexter, in his Congregationalism as Seen in its Literature, pp. 101 ff., has fully elucidated Browne's ideas.

[2] See the Nation, N. Y., Aug. 6, 1896, p. 109.

dishonor which has surrounded it on account of these later years. He has shown good reason for believing that Browne was either insane or mentally irresponsible.

> "A fiery soul, which, working out its way,
> Fretted the pygmy body to decay,
> And o'er-informed the tenement of clay. . . .
> Great wits are sure to madness near allied,
> And thin partitions do their bounds divide."[1]

In any case, the last part of Browne's life cannot dim the glory of the first part. What were his principles? Christianity is not dogma nor organization, but it is a "joyful and plain declaring and teaching by due message of the remedy of our miseries through Christ our Redeemer, who is come in the flesh, a Saviour unto them which worthily receive this message, and hath fulfilled the old ceremonies." "The Church planted or gathered is a company or number of Christians or believers, which by a willing covenant made with their God are under the government of God and Christ, and keep his laws in one holy communion, because Christ hath redeemed them unto holiness and happiness forever, from which they were fallen by the sin of Adam." What about offenders? "Separation of the open, willful offenders is a dutifulness of the Church in withholding from them the Christian communion and fellowship, by pronouncing and showing the covenant of Christian communion to be broken by their grievous wickedness, and that with mourning, prayer, and fasting for them and denouncing God's judgment against them." The officers of the Church are pastor, teacher, elder (for counsel and government), reliever, and widow. Any Church thus organized was complete in itself, and in every respect a New Testament Church. But it should not for that disown the advice and help of sister Churches, for in Browne's large study of the subject he had provided for this element of Congregationalism also: "There be synods," he says, "or the meetings of sundrie churches: which are when the weaker churches seek help of the stronger for deciding or redressing of matters." He gives his reasons why he could not accept a call from a bishop. "For the joining and partaking of many Churches together, and of the authority which many hath, must needs be greater and more weighty than the authority of any single person. 'We are yours,' says the

TEACHINGS OF BROWNE.

[1] Dryden, Absalom and Achitophel, i, 156.

apostle, 'you are Christ's, and Christ is God's.'" This was really the first application of the Protestant principle of the priesthood to Church polity.[1]

THACHER, COPPEN, AND BARROWE.

Bury St. Edmunds was a school of dissent. Here Thacher and Coppen had taught that the Church establishment was not according to Christ, nor were the man-made prayers, and that, although her majesty was entitled to civil obedience, she could not lord it over the conscience. After several years' imprisonment they were hanged for sedition, June, 1583, their sedition being simply the assertion of logical Protestantism. Forty of Browne's books were burned at the same time. Henry Barrowe, a Norfolk man and graduate of Cambridge, is eminent in the early annals of Congregationalism. Governor Bradford gives this account of him: "He was a gentleman of good worth and a flourishing courtier in his time. Walking in London one Lord's Day with one of his companions, he heard a preacher at his sermon very loud, as they passed by the church. 'Let us go in,' said he, 'and hear what this man saith that is thus earnest.' Moved by the sudden impulse, in he went and sat down. And the minister was vehement in reproving sin, and sharply applied the judgments of God against the same, and, it would seem, touched him to the quick in such things as he was guilty of, so as God set it home to his soul, and began to work for his repentance and conviction thereby. For he was so stricken as he could not be quiet, until by conference with godly men, and further hearing of the word, with diligent reading and meditation, God brought peace to his soul and conscience after much humiliation of heart and regeneration of life. . . . He left the court and retired to a private life, sometime in the country and sometime in the city, giving himself to the study and reading of the Scriptures and other good works very diligently; and being missed at court by his consorts and acquaintances, it was quickly bruited abroad that Barrowe was turned Puritan."[2]

GREENWOOD AND THE TRIAL OF BARROWE.

John Greenwood, another Cambridge graduate, had received orders in the English Church, but on further study had concluded that it was his duty to separate from it. For holding private meetings he was arrested and lodged in the Clinch prison. Here on November 19, 1586, Barrowe

[1] Full information as to Browne is given by Dexter, pp. 61 ff. The republication of the three tracts of Browne, 1582, Treatise of Reformation, A Book which Sheweth the Life and Manners of All True Christians, and A Treatise upon the 23d of Matthew, is a debt which Congregationalists owe to this too-neglected founder. [2] Dialogue in Chronicles of the Puritans, pp. 433, 434.

visited him. Barrowe was himself arrested and brought before the archbishop. His legal training made him protest against the form of his trial. This enraged Whitgift, who dismissed him with the words, "Where is his keeper? You shall not prattle here. Away with him. Clap him up close, close. Let no man come at him. I will make him tell another tale ere I have done with him." Four months later, March 24, 1587, he was summoned before the high commission court. Again asked to swear upon the Bible, he again refused, saying that he would swear by no creature but only by God himself; but pledging himself to answer nothing but the truth he was permitted by the archbishop to proceed without the oath. The trial was conducted by the method of inquisition.

BARROWE'S ANSWERS IN COURT.

May the Lord's Prayer be rightly used? It is a model, he answered, but not to be strictly used as a prayer, "seeing that our particular wants and present occasions and necessities are not therein expressed." Are prescribed prayers lawful? It is "high presumption to impose any one devised apocrypha prayer upon the Church." Is the Prayer Book idolatrous, superstitious, and popish? It is well-nigh altogether so. Are the sacraments of the Church of England true sacraments? He thought not. Are the laws and government of the Church of England unlawful and anti-Christian? He did not know them all, but many of them, including her courts and governors, were so. Should Church of England baptism be repeated? He scrupled whether her baptism was altogether right, and yet those who had received it ought not to be baptized again. Is the Church of England a true Church and her people God's people? The parish assemblies are not true Churches, nor the people as they now stand in disorder and confusion; yet he was sure that the Lord had many precious and select vessels among them, whom he will in his good time call forth, and whom it became not him to judge lest he should enter into God's seat. Is the queen supreme governor of the Church, and may she make laws for it not contrary to the laws of God? "I think the queen's majesty supreme governor of the whole land, and over the Church also, bodies and goods; but I think that no prince, neither the whole world, neither the Church itself, may make any laws for the Church other than Christ hath left in his word. And yet I think it the duty of every Christian, and principally of the prince, to inquire out and renew the laws of God, and stir up all their subjects to more diligent and careful keeping of the same." Take notice of that conservative answer. Can the queen alter the law of Moses to suit

her own country and policy? What is ceremonial and Jewish is alterable, but the judgments set down for the moral law cannot be changed without injury to it and to God himself. "Yet if any man can better instruct me therein by the word of God I am always ready to change my mind." May any private person take it upon himself to reform, if the queen will not, or delays? "I think that no man may intermeddle with the prince's office without lawful calling thereunto; and therefore it is utterly unlawful for any private person to reform the State without his good-liking and license, because the prince shall account for the defaults of his public government, and not private men, so they be not guilty with the prince in his offenses, but abstain and keep themselves pure from doing or consenting to any unlawful thing commanded by the prince, which they must do as they tender their own salvation." Ought every parish and parish Church to have a presbytery? "Over every particular congregation of Christ there ought to be an eldership, and every such congregation ought to their utmost power to endeavor thereunto."

A LOCAL PRESBYTERIANISM.

The positions of Barrowe and Greenwood fairly represent the general attitude of the Separatists. It will be noticed that they differ from Browne somewhat, as they make the presbytery of the local Church the governing body, instead of the body of believers. "They put together Browne's idea of a separate organization and Cartwright's Calvinistic notion of eldership, thus resorting to the expedient of conducting a Congregational Church by means of a Presbyterian session. This, they fancied, would adjust all difficulties. The pastor, teacher, and elders would manage all things well, and the company of covenanted saints would heartily indorse their action, and be grateful to them for kindly taking the entire trouble and responsibility, and—the glory of the Lord would appear in the earth."[1] It might not be fair, however, to press this, because in the Brief Answer of the Congregational prisoners, who would hardly write without declaring the sentiments of the two most distinguished of their number, Barrowe and Greenwood, they say that the "true officers of the Church usurp no tyrannical jurisdiction over the least member, neither do any public thing without the consent of the whole congregation."[2]

[1] Dexter, p. 222.

[2] Brief Answer to such Articles as the Bishops have given out in our name, upon which Articles their Priests were sent and enjoined to confer with us in the several prisons wherein we are by them Detained, printed in Collection of Certain Scandalous Articles, pp. 15, 16.

In reading the writings of these men one is impressed with their enthusiasm for a holy Church. Their chief objection to the establishment is that no guarantee for a converted membership is given. The parish assemblies of the Church of England "subject unto the aforesaid worship and ministry consisting of all sorts of unclean spirits, atheists, papists, heretics," and the like, they cannot hold to be true Churches. They are not gathered from the world to the obedience of Christ, nor have power or freedom to practice Christ's Testament. For lack of "lawful ministry to administer" and of a "faithful and holy free people orderly gathered by a true outward profession of Christ," the establishment lacks the covenant of grace, and so the "sacraments in the assemblies of baptism and the Lord's Supper, given unto atheists, papists, whoremasters, drunkards, and their seed, delivered also after a superstitious manner, according to their liturgy, and not according to the institution and rules of Christ's Testament, are no true sacraments, nor seals with promise."[1] One cannot but be impressed by the early Congregational literature that one of the chief objections of these earnest Puritans to the establishment was a moral one—a revulsion due to a true ethical instinct. In fact, Gregory makes the essence of Puritanism to consist, not in an ecclesiastical or dogmatic principle, but in its lofty moral enthusiasm.[2]

INSISTENCE ON A GODLY MEMBERSHIP.

Another emphasis was liberty of preaching and worship, without being fettered by a "limited, bound, and stinted" liturgy. These prescribed prayers "set and stint the Holy Ghost," and take away the whole liberty, freedom, and true use of spiritual prayer; "yea, you stop the springs of the living fountain which Christ hath sealed in his Church." They therefore would not take their children to the parish assemblies for baptism, but in the "true Church to seek the seal of the covenant as soon as it may be had by the true ministry in the congregation according to Christ's institution."

PLEA FOR FREE WORSHIP.

The hanging of Greenwood and Barrowe for the foregoing opinions, which the authorities interpreted as seditious, took place on April 6, 1593, the prelates being determined on their execution. By the Anglican interpretation their martyrdom was perfectly legal, being covered by the act of Supremacy, as well as by the special statute of the 23d of Elizabeth, which made it a capital offense to

EXECUTION OF GREENWOOD AND BARROWE.

[1] Collection of Certain Scandalous Articles, p. 11. Dexter, pp. 226, 227.

[2] Puritanism, p. 2 *et passim*.

publish anything to the defamation of the queen.[1] To deny her authority over the conscience to the extent that all must belong peaceably to her Church was constructive treason. Congregationalism was, therefore, a capital crime. But yet to a State desirous to save and not destroy its citizens the question might well have been asked, Leaving out their views of the Church, are these people at heart loyal to the throne? Their steadfast assertion that they were, allowing her majesty's supremacy over all causes civil and ecclesiastical, reserving to themselves only the right to worship according to the New Testament, should have been taken as at least making it safe to grant them a limited toleration. Perhaps this might have been done if the prelates had not urged forward their own case against them.

JOHN PENRY, THE WELSHMAN, SENTENCED.

Equally heroic and saintly was another Congregational martyr, John Penry. He was a Welshman, graduated at Cambridge in 1584, and proceeded to his M. A. degree at St. Alban's Hall, Oxford, and soon entered with all his soul into the task of arousing the conscience of England to the work of the more thorough evangelization of Wales. His appeals for this were earnest and ought to have been effective. But he had embraced the thorough Protestantism of the Pilgrim fathers, and his attitude toward the Church proved the snare which entrapped him to his death. His private papers were ransacked, and this utterance was found, which the authorities interpreted as seditious: "The last days of your reign are turned rather against Christ Jesus and his Gospel than to the maintenance of the same. And I have great cause of complaint, madame, nay, the Lord and his Church hath cause of complaint of your government, not so much for any outward injury as I or any other of your subjects have received [in his excessive loyalty to his queen it seemed to poor Penry that the sufferings which hundreds of the best people in England were daily undergoing for conscience' sake in vile prisons and before tyrannical bishops and other commissioners were not to be thought of], as because we, your subjects, this day are not permitted to serve our God under your government according to his word." It seems strange that Anglicanism could have found this simple mild statement of fact, extracted from a private paper, a warrant for a felon's death; but in the last lurid years of Elizabeth's reign this was possible. On May 21, 1593, he was tried, and of course sentenced to death.

The next day he sent a paper to Burleigh in which he declared

[1] See the statute quoted in full in Dexter, p. 241, note.

that the "private intercepted writings were not only most unperfect, but were so private that no creature under heaven was privie to them except myself," repudiated the thought of sedition, and referred to his published writings as giving the fullest evidence of loyalty. "I am a poor man, born and bred in the mountains of Wales. I am the first since the last springing up of the Gospel in this later age that publicly labored to have the blessed seed sown in those barren mountains. . . . And now being to end my days before I am come unto the one half of my years in the likely course of nature, I leave the success of these my labors unto such of my countrymen as the Lord is to raise up after me for the accomplishing of that work which in the calling of my country unto the knowledge of Christ's blessed Gospel I began." Referring to the statement of his religious convictions he says: "If my blood were an ocean sea, and every drop thereof were a life unto me, I would give them all, by the help of the Lord, for the maintenance of the same my confession. Yet," he adds, with the true instinct of a truth lover, "if any error can be shown therein that will I not maintain."

PENRY'S LAST CONFESSION.

The admiration that the English Protestants had for Elizabeth, their almost superhuman confidence that, if she only knew the truth concerning them, all would be well, is one of the most pathetic things in history. Perhaps it is well that they suffered and died in that fond illusion—their blissful ignorance that no tyranny of prelate or parliament could go farther than was desired by her of the profane tongue, lying lips, and steel heart, and that their kind of Christianity she hated with the bloody intolerance of her father.[1] "My only request," says the loyal martyr, "being also as earnest as possibly I can utter the same, unto all those into whose hands this my last testimony may come, is that her majesty may be acquainted before my death, if it may be, or at least after my departure. The Lord bless her highness with a long and prosperous reign to his glory in this life, and vouchsafe her that blessed crown of righteousness at the peaceable end of her thus comfortable days. Amen, yea againe and againe unfeignedly, Amen, Amen. Subscribed with

PENRY'S EXECUTION.

[1] An authority studiously mild says that Elizabeth was "outside of and had no sympathy with either the intellectual or religious movements of her time. Protestantism in the form of Puritanism she abhorred; she was indifferent to the genius of Shakespeare, though his plays were performed before her. The virgin queen nearly stands revealed as cruel, capricious, insincere."—W. Wallace, in Chambers's Encyc., *s. v.*, last ed.

that heart and that hand which never devised or wrote anything to the discredit or defamation of my sovereign Queen Elizabeth (I take it of my death, as I hope to have a life after this) by me, John Penry."[1] On May 29, 1593, this noble young Christian was flung from the gallows at St. Thomas Watering, in London.

DEXTER ON CONGREGATIONALIST MARTYRS.

Dexter says most fittingly and with touching emotion as he closes his chapter on these martyrs: "Not many wise men after the flesh were called to reerect upon its original foundation the Church of the New Testament, but God chose the weak things of the world to confound the things which were mighty. By consequence the martyrs of Congregationalism filled a humbler place in the mind of their generation; and so far as they were allowed to say anything with the halter around their necks, no John Fox was there to embalm it for the ages. But I found in the handwriting of Henry Barrowe among the Harleian MSS. a letter from which I copied three sentences which seem to me worthy at least to stand on the same page with the strong words of the immortal Latimer—his celebrated words to Ridley at the stake, see page 424—'Ever for our parts our lives are not dear to us, so we may finish up our testimony of our faith with joy. We are always ready through God's grace to be offered up upon that testimony of our faith which we have made. We purpose to embrace the chief pillars of their Church, and carry them with us to our grave.'"[2]

THE MARTIN MAR-PRELATE CONTROVERSY.

A famous controversy is associated with the early Congregationalists, which one of its historians calls "*the* controversy of the Elizabethan age,"[3] but which, though not worthy of that dignity, doubtless helped in some degree to break the spell of Anglicanism over rude and uncultivated minds. This was the Martin Mar-Prelate Controversy, 1588–89, in which some keen-witted Independent, unmarried, with knowledge of laws, wrote seven anonymous pamphlets against the English hierarchy, its doctrines, morals, and polity, so effective in satire, banter, and raillery, and so cutting in the frankness of its

[1] Taken from the autograph paper in Lansdowne MSS., see Dexter, 249–250.

[2] Dexter, p. 252. Speaking of the Congregational martyrs Governor Bradford says: "We know certainly of six that were publicly executed, besides such as died in prisons: Mr. Henry Barrowe, Mr. Greenwood (these suffered at Tyburn); Mr. Penry at St. Thomas Watering, by London; Mr. William Dennis at Thetford, in Norfolk; two others at St. Edmund's in Suffolk, whose names were Copping and Elias."—Dialogue, or the Sum of a Conference, in Young, Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers of the Colony of Plymouth, p. 427.

[3] Maskell, Hist. of the Martin Mar-Prelate Controversy, p. 221.

revelations of the crooked things sheltered by that episcopate, that one archbishop, three bishops, a learned Latin writer, and a poet entered the lists against him. The printing was done, of course secretly, on two pilgrim presses, by peripatetic printers, copy being dropped under hedges, and the printed sheets circulated among the people hidden in personal apparel or wrapped up in the middle of rolls of leather. The chief place of printing was Weekston's house at Woolston (Welstone) in Warwickshire. It is marvelous how, in spite of the severest laws against unlicensed printing, these tracts were printed, circulated, and read far and wide.[1] Anglican writers have outrageously exaggerated the satire of the Mar-Prelate into the most shameless scurrility. Maskell says that they are so vulgar that they cannot be quoted,[2] and Curteis declares that it is "impossible to give any extracts from these abominable and filthy lampoons."[3] The best answer to these and all kinds of similar misrepresentations is to read the tracts themselves as they are given in copious extracts in Dexter's Congregationalism as Seen in its Literature, or in Arber's reprint of the tracts in his English Scholar's Library. Excepting a roughness and frankness of expression suitable to the sixteenth century, but not to ours, there is nothing to call out the fierce invectives of modern historians. There is nothing blasphemous or obscene in Martin, but there is the unveiling of what the author considered the iniquities of the establishment in a style which would appeal to the blunt justice of the Englishman of his day—to his sense of the ridiculous and to his moral indignation. It was the truth in the straightforward advice like this which gave the Martin books their sting:

A SAMPLE FROM MARTIN.

"Now, Mr. Prelates, I will give you some more counsel; follow it. Repent, clergymen, and especially bishops. Preach faith, bishops, and swear no more by it. Give over your lordly callings. Reform your families and your children. . . . You are now worse than you were 29 years ago. Write no more against the cause of reformation. Your un-

[1] Speaking of the attempt of the Congregational prisoners to appeal to the forum of intelligence and reason, Dexter says: "I look upon these simple, homely, straightforward, pathetic tracts, having thus their birth in journeyings often, in perils of waters, in perils of robbers, in perils by their own countrymen, in perils by the heathen, in perils in the city, in perils in the wilderness, in perils by the sea, in perils among false brethren, in weariness and painfulness, in watchings often—I look upon them with an admiration that deepens toward reverence."—*L. c.*, p. 225.

[2] Hist. of the Martin Mar-Prelate Controversy, pp. 24, 99, 186, *et passim.*

[3] Dissent in its Relation to the Church of England, p. 76.

godliness is made more manifest by your writings. . . . If you should write, deal syllogistically; for you shame yourselves when you use any continued speech, because your style is so rude and barbarous. . . . Study more than you do, and preach oftener. Favor non-residents and papists no longer. Labor to cleanse the ministry of the swarms of ignorant guides wherewith it hath been defiled. Make conscience of breaking the Sabbath by bowling and tabling. Be ringleaders of profaneness no longer unto the people. Take no more bribes. Leave your simony. . . . Stretch your credit, if you have any, to the furtherance of the Gospel. . . . All in a word, become good Christians, and so you shall become good subjects, and leave your tyranny. And I would advise you let me hear no more of your evil dealings." [1]

As to the authorship of Martin, Dexter, after a thorough investigation and diligent comparison, comes to the conclusion that they were written by Barrowe in prison and printed by Penry.

CONGREGATIONALISM IN SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

A fascinating story is that of Congregationalism in the seventeenth century. The little church at Scrooby, founded in 1606, on account of persecution was broken up. It removed to Leyden in Holland in 1609, and in 1620 sailed out on the Mayflower to the New World. Another band settled in Amsterdam, but unfortunately troubles and scandals arose in that company, and the faithful among them had to separate. English Congregationalists settled in other parts of Holland, and that brave little country became the foster mother of religion and liberty for both England and America. However, Congregationalism never ceased to exist in England, though after the drastic act of 1592 the New Testament men had to keep themselves under shelter. Browne says that the church founded in Southwark in 1616 by some returning exiles has had a continuous existence to the present time. Many are the heroic names of whom the world was

[1] Oh read over D. John Bridgees. . . . Epistle, p. 53. Halley, an eminent Congregationalist, says: "A man beaten when his hands are bound may be excused for making the most with his tongue. The prelates fined and imprisoned, and the martyrs retaliated with angry words, biting sarcasm, and rough abuse."—Lancashire: Its Puritanism and Nonconformity, i, 144. Dexter will not admit even this. He says there was no personal conflict. "Martin was not defending himself, or storming at his oppressors. He was attacking what he firmly believed to be grievous error and monstrous wrong in Church and State, and was doing his earnest utmost, not to worst the enemy in a hand-to-hand conflict, but to persuade his countrymen that it was an abomination in the sight of the Lord which ought to be swept clean away, and which no man could be guiltless and yet still cherish and defend."—*L. c.*, p. 191. As Dexter gave the Mar-Prelate tracts most diligent study, his opinion is of great weight.

not worthy. John Robinson, the pious and faithful Leyden pastor, sent his people with his prayers across the Atlantic, and intended himself to go with the rest of the Church, but died in 1625, before they left. It is to him we owe the oft-quoted sentence, "God hath yet more light to break forth from his Holy Word," which, as Dexter proves by an exhaustive discussion, refers not to matters of doctrine but of polity. Robinson, like nearly all the early Congregationalists and many Baptists, was a rigid Calvinist, and the idea that men would ever come to any truer doctrinal conception of Christianity than that which he and other Calvinists held he would not have entertained for a moment. It seems entirely unhistorical to attribute to him a view of progress of doctrine essentially modern.[1] Unfortunately the only report of his famous farewell address in which these words occur is in an abstract which Edward Winslow published in 1646 in his Hypocrisy Unmasked—a tract for the vindication of the New Englanders. The address is so important as showing the working of a more catholic leaven in Congregationalism—a spirit of conciliation and comprehension, which issued in the union of the Episcopalian nonconformists and Congregationalists in the New World—and as even prophesying such a union, that we reproduce it.[2]

Under Cromwell, the Congregationalist, a new era dawned on England, which, obscured for twenty-nine years under his two successors, emerged again under the Dutch Protestant, William of Orange, and that sun has risen higher until now. Cromwell did two things for England: (1) he made it impossible that she should ever again live under kingly absolutism; (2) he established religious liberty—not complete and perfect, but as perfect as could be then obtained. Under his rule the nonprelatic Episcopalian, the Congregationalist, the Baptist, the Presbyterian, even the Quaker, lived together for the first and only time in English history in a comprehensive Church. The

UNDER CROMWELL.

[1] Correct thus the opinion expressed by Sheldon, Church History, iv, 215, note. For Dexter's argument see *l. c.*, pp. 399–410.

[2] "In the next place, for the wholesome counsel Mr. Robinson gave that part of the Church whereof he was Pastor, at their departure from him to begin the great work of Plantation in New England, amongst other wholesome instructions and exhortations, he used these expressions, or to the same purpose: We are now ere long to part asunder, and the Lord knoweth whether ever he should live to see our faces again: but whether the Lord had appointed it or not, he charged us before God and his blessed Angels, to follow him no further than he followed Christ. And if God should reveal anything to us by any other instrument of his, to be as ready to receive it, as ever we were to receive any truth by his ministry: For he was very confident the Lord had

large-minded Presbyterian, Baxter, confessed that Cromwell's system worked well, "giving us able serious preachers, who lived a godly life, of what tolerable opinion soever they were." It was a golden day for England in more respects than one. At least the poor Protestants could say for the first time :

> "Thou bringst me back the halcyon days
> Of grateful rest, the week of leisure."[1]

The High Anglicans and the Romans were indeed debarred, for the Anglicans were constantly plotting his assassination and seeking to overthrow his government, revealing their true spirit in hanging his body to chains in Tyburn, his head on a spike in Westminster Hall, and teaching their children to execrate his memory, and the Roman Catholics because public opinion would not permit

more truth and light yet to break forth out of his holy Word. He took occasion also miserably to bewail the state and condition of the Reformed churches, who were come to a period in religion, and would go no further than the instruments of their reformation: as for example, the Lutherans, they would not be drawn to go beyond what Luther saw, for whatever part of God's will he had further imparted and revealed to Calvin, they will rather die than embrace it. And so also, saith he, you see the Calvinists, they stick where he left them: a misery much to be lamented; for though they were precious shining lights in their times, yet God hath not revealed his whole will to them: and were they now living, saith he, they would be as ready and willing to embrace further light, as that they had received. Here also he put us in mind of our Church Covenant (at least that part of it) whereby we promise and covenant with God, and one with another, to receive whatsoever light or truth shall be made known to us from his written Word: but withal exhorted us to take heed what we receive for truth, and well to examine and compare, and weigh it with other Scriptures of truth, before we received it; for, saith he, *It is not possible the Christian world should come so lately out of such thick Antichristian darkness, and that full perfection of knowledge should break forth at once.*

"Another thing he commended to us was, that we should use all means to avoid and shake off the name of Brownist, being a mere nickname and brand to make religion odious, and the professors of it (odious) to the Christian world; and to that end, said he, I should be glad if some godly minister would go over with you, or come to you, before my coming. For, said he, there will be no difference between the unconformable (Nonconformist) ministers and you, when they come to the practice of the ordinances out of the kingdom. And so he advised us by all means to endeavor to close with the godly party of the kingdom of England, and rather to study union than division: viz.: how near we might possibly, without sin, close with them, than in the least measure to affect division or separation from them. And be not loath to take another pastor or teacher, saith he, for that flock that hath two shepherds is not endangered, but secured by it."—Hypocrisy Unmasked, 97, 98. See Dexter, pp. 404–5.

[1] Bret Harte, On the Cone of the Big Trees, st. 2.

their toleration. But the catholic mind of Cromwell was seeking some way to find standing ground for them, and if he had lived, and could have carried on his plans in the new parliament he was about to call when he died, Catholic emancipation would not have had to wait nearly two hundred years.[1] In his relation to the Jews he was also a hundred years ahead of his time. "I desire from my heart," he says, "have prayed for it, I have waited for the day to see union and right understanding between the godly people—Scots, English, Jews, Gentiles, Presbyterians, Independents, Anabaptists, and all." "Every sect saith, O, give me liberty. But give him it, and, to his power, he will not yield it to anybody else. Liberty of conscience is a natural right; and he that would have it ought to give it." Cromwell was a genius, a saint, a prophet, and, considering the circumstances of his time, the greatest statesman and general England ever had. Like the noblest soldiers, he hated war, wept at its ravages, and sent letters of tender sympathy to the fathers and mothers who had lost sons in battle.[2] "It hath been our desire," he said, "to have avoided blood in this business." The only stain on his memory is the massacre of the garrisons at Drogheda and Wexford, and although this to our standard is inexcusable, it seemed to him a military necessity as well as an act of justice. The report was that in the massacre of 1641 two hundred thousand Protestants—men, women, and children—had been butchered.[3] On the 17th of June, 1895, the House of Commons refused a statue to Cromwell. On this Algernon Charles Swinburne wrote:

CROMWELL'S CATHOLICITY.

CROMWELL'S STATUE.

"What needs our Cromwell stone or bronze to say
His was the light that lit on England's way
The sundawn of her time-compelling power,
The noontide of her most imperial day?

[1] For proof of this see letter 216 in Carlyle, Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches, part ii, 2d parliament (in Works, Estes & Lauriat's ed., xix, 109–111). See also Church, Oliver Cromwell, pp. 398 ff.

[2] See one of these letters in Carlyle, *l. c.*, letter xxi, July 5, 1644. It can hardly be read without tears. The father's broken heart speaks in it, for he had already lost his own son Oliver in the battle. See Carlyle's note in his last edition on this letter.

[3] War is brutal and brutalizing at best, and, as with all great soldiers, it was Cromwell's aim to make it short and effective. It was also the method pursued by the English in punishing the Sepoy mutineers in India.

"His hand won back the sea for England's dower;
His footfall bade the Moor change heart and cower;
His word on Milton's tongue spake law to France
When Piedmont felt the she-wolf Rome devour.

"From Cromwell's eyes the light of England's glance
Flashed, and bowed down the kings by grace of chance,
The priest-anointed princes; one alone
By grace of England held their hosts in trance.

"The enthroned republic from her kinglier throne
Spake, and her speech was Cromwell's. Earth has known
No lordlier presence. How should Cromwell stand
By kinglets and by queenlings hewn in stone?

"Incarnate England in his warrior hand
Smote, and as fire devours the blackening brand
Made ashes of their strengths who wrought her wrong,
And turned the strongholds of her foes to sand.

"His praise is in the sea's and Milton's song;
What praise could reach him from the weakling throng
That rules by leave of tongues whose praise is shame—
Him, who made England out of weakness strong?

"There needs no clarion blast of broad-blown fame
To bid the world bear witness whence he came
Who bade fierce Europe fawn at England's heel,
And purged the plague of lineal rule with flame.

"There needs no witness graven on stone or steel
For one whose work bids fame bow down and kneel;
Our man of men, whose time-commanding name
Speaks England, and proclaims her Commonweal."[1]

Parliament redeemed itself, however, in 1899, by voting a statue to the founder of English liberty and, with the exception of Alfred and Gladstone, the most progressive and most Christian of English statesmen.

After the death of William of Orange in 1702 the Anglicans tried hard to take away the restricted liberties of the Congregationalists and other dissenters, but with the coming of the Hanover line of Protestants in 1714 it became impossible to carry through this program.

[1] Nineteenth Century, July, 1895, pp. 1, 2.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE BAPTISTS.

It is one of the anomalies of history that principles for which a Church contends as for the essence of the Gospel sometimes form no part of its original testimony, and principles which at first were the breath of its life are at length abandoned, waived, or disregarded. The Roman, the Anglican, the Presbyterian, and the Congregational Churches are instances. The Baptists have regarded immersion as an essential part of their faith, and some of them have at times almost made it a requisite to salvation, but originally their founders did not hold it aloft on their standard. As immersion was the universal mode of baptism in mediæval Christendom—in large measure in ancient Christendom too—it might have been expected that when Christians returned to the old models they would have reinstated immersion. The fact that they did not ought to be taken as indicating their belief that the Scriptures did not make immersion essential. That immersion did not come in with the new life and revived biblical study which gave rise to the Protestant Churches is an instructive fact. Neither the English, Swiss, Austrian, Moravian, nor Dutch Baptists practiced immersion at the first, though it was practiced by them at St. Gall, Augsburg, Strasburg, and in Poland. As Professor Newman says, "the importance of immersion as the act of baptism seems to have been appreciated by few."[1]

ABSOLUTE IMMERSION NOT URGED BY EARLY BAPTISTS.

The opinion is common among Baptist writers in the Southern States of America that Baptists can trace their origin back to the apostolic age in a series of communities or churches or bands of godly men. As to the general theory of an evangelical succession through ancient and mediæval Christianity, judgment has already been expressed.[2] As to the opinion of a Baptist succession, all impartial scholars of that denomination, like Professors Newman, Vedder, Whitsitt, and Dr. Norman Fox, repudiate it. A close study of the mediæval sects shows that not until the twelfth century do we meet with distinctive Baptist views, and then these were often held with others unevangelical or heretical. Peter de Bruys

[1] Hist. of the Baptists, p. 37. [2] See above, i, 829.

and Henry of Lausanne rejected infant baptism, and it is probable that Arnold of Brescia did also. Peter Cheleicky, one of the fathers of the Bohemian Brethren (15th century), enunciated many views which the Baptists of the sixteenth century embraced, such as, the Lord's Supper a commemorative feast; baptism does not regenerate; union of Church and State an evil; Christians must not hold office in the State, as all dominion or class distinctions are opposed to Christ's requirement of brotherly equality; the will is free; divine grace necessary; and oaths and capital punishment unchristian. As to baptism, he held it should succeed faith, but believed also that the children of Christians might be baptized. Some of the Bohemian Brethren, though apparently not many, rejected infant baptism.

RISE OF CONTINENTAL BAPTISTS.

During the time of the Reformation on the Continent we find three types or kinds of Baptists: (1) revolutionary and socialistic, (2) unitarian, and (3) evangelical, though of course there were various degrees of truth and error among these. Full treatment of Baptist continental history would make a volume. Suffice it to say that Thomas Münzer at Zwickau, in Westphalia, represented the first kind, and their fanaticism and excesses covered the Baptist name with reproach, were the cause of great suffering to thousands of peace-loving and innocent people, and have impeded the Baptist cause in all Europe to this day. But the fanatical section was only a small segment of the great Baptist army. A large part, especially in Italy and Poland, was unitarian, and had other views of a liberal kind. The evangelical Baptists—many of these being premillennialists—had large vogue in Germany, Switzerland, Moravia, Holland, and other lands, and had among them many great and noble Christians, like Hubmaier, Storch, Ascherham, Huther, Denk, Gross, Sattler, Roübli, Kautz, Marbeck, Reink, Hofmann, and Menno Simons, the founder of the Mennonites, all of whom are well worthy of study. Some of these were evangelists and preachers, others were scholars, and others devoted laymen. Professor Newman has summed up the testimony of the continental Baptists of the Reformation times and after, and we follow his conclusions.[1]

TYPES OF BAPTISTS.

1. All parties, except some of the revolutionaries, agreed in aiming to restore primitive Christianity, in laying stress on the ethical teachings of Jesus, in rejecting the Augustinian and Calvinistic doctrinal system, in re-

NEWMAN ON CONTINENTAL BAPTISTS.

[1] See his Anabaptists of the Sixteenth Century, in History of the Baptists in the United States, pp. 36, 37.

jecting oaths, war, the infliction of death for any cause, and the exercise of magistracy by Christians. Especially as to war and oaths they were at one with many of the post-Reformation sects—in that fresh morning light which arose with the newly opened Bible, men being simple enough to take the morality of the Nazarene at its face value. Hubmaier, however, differed as to some of these matters.

2. Baptists were pioneers in upholding liberty of conscience, Hubmaier writing a special treatise on the subject.

3. They all rejected infant baptism, though not many, as we have said, practiced immersion at first.

4. Some were unitarians, and others mixed various gross errors with their unitarianism.

5. The chiliasm of some was held in connection with violent and extravagant ideas and methods, and that of others in an evangelical and peaceful spirit.

The English Baptists sprang spiritually from their Dutch brethren, whose influence and teaching worked most beneficently in their adopted island home. The fury of the Roman Catholics in the Netherlands had this compensation, that it helped to make England Protestant. As early as 1560 John Knox answered a Baptist writer who had pleaded for freedom of conscience and freedom of the will.[1] The Baptist made a bold protest against persecution. Speaking of the persecutors he says: "Be these, I pray you, the sheep whom Christ sent forth into the midst of wolves? Can the sheep persecute the wolf? Doth Abel Cain kill? Doth David, though he might, kill Saul? Shortly, doth he which is born of the Spirit kill him which is born of the flesh? Mark how ye be fallen into the most abominable tyranny, and yet ye see it not."[2] Knox answered this in a bad spirit, calling the Baptists "You dissembling hypocrites," and threatening the writer that if ever the opportunity offered "I shall apprehend thee in any commonwealth where justice against blasphemers may be ministered, as God's word requireth." Knox thought that the Old Testament method of punishing blasphemers and idolaters with death justified the Christian State in doing away with heretics. He says that the Baptist "assemblies, and all those that in despite of Christ's beloved ordinance do frequent the same, are accursed of God."

JOHN KNOX VERSUS THE BAPTISTS.

[1] Knox's book was called An Answer to a Great Number of Blasphemous Cavillations written by an Anabaptist, an Adversary to God's Eternal Predestination.

[2] See Underhill, Hist. Introduction to the Publications of the Hanserd Knollys Society, Lond., 1846–47.

Speaking of the beginning of Elizabeth's reign the intense Jewel wrote: "We found a large and inauspicious crop of Arians, Anabaptists, and other pests, which, I know not how, but as mushrooms spring up in the night and in darkness, so these sprung up in that darkness and unhappy night of the Marian times."[1] In 1559, under a momentary influence of mercy (for what shall a man not give for his life?) it was proposed to establish a heretic convict station in some out-of-the-way place in Wales for the imprisonment of "incorrigible Arians, Pelagians, or free-will men [Baptists], there to live of their own labor and exercise, and none other be suffered to resort unto them but their keepers." Yet, alas! this alternative was not to be theirs, but fire and imprisonment rather. In 1567–68 an effort was made to discover the Baptists, and in 1572 Whitgift published an account of the Peasants' War and Munster Kingdom, and tried to fasten their doings on the Baptists in general. This was the cause of their suffering vast injustice. In 1575 thirty Dutch Baptists were seized while holding service in a London suburb, and brought before the commission. Here are the questions and answers. 1. Did Christ take his flesh and blood of the Virgin Mary? *He is the Son of the Living God.* Some of the Baptists and other Christians of that time had such an exaggerated conception of Christ's divinity that they denied his real humanity—holding that even in the flesh he was the Son of God. 2. Ought not little children to be baptized? *No.* 3. May a Christian serve the office of a magistrate? *It did not oblige their consciences; but as they read they esteemed it an ordinance of God.* This answer was ambiguous, but it seemed to indicate a more liberal attitude than that of most of their European brethren. 4. May a Christian, if needs be, swear? *An oath also did not oblige their consciences, for Christ has said in Matthew, Let your word be Yea, yea; Nay, nay.* Opinions such as these could not be tolerated. Some of the parties were imprisoned, loaded with chains; others were banished, including several women, and Jan Pieters and Hendrik Terwoort—the one a man of fifty with nine children, the other a young man of twenty-six—were burned at the stake, 1575. Foxe, the martyrologist, wrote a noble letter to the queen—noble for that age—in which, while he recognizes the right of the State to suppress obnoxious opinions, he pleads earnestly for a commutation of sentence.[2]

OPPOSITION AND PERSECUTION IN ENGLAND.

[1] Zurich Letters, i, 92.

[2] Foxe says that such absurd and monstrous opinions are "by no means to be countenanced by a commonwealth, but in my opinion ought to be sup-

An interesting question is the debt of the early English Congregationalists to the Dutch Baptists. We know that Browne was surrounded by them at Norwich, and that he followed them in their ideas of a separated godly church membership, religious liberty, and limitation of the authority of the State to civil matters. But he may have come to these ideas through his own studies, and his failure to follow them as to infant baptism, magistracy, and oaths shows that he was by no means a disciple of theirs. It is quite probable, however, that the resemblance between his views and theirs was more than accidental, and it is hardly likely that he should have lived among them without imbibing somewhat of their spirit and thought.[1]

RELATION OF CONGREGATIONALISTS TO DUTCH BAPTISTS.

About 1602–3 John Smyth, a Cambridge graduate and fellow, formed a Congregational church at Gainsborough, Lincolnshire, which nurtured Helwys and Morton, who with himself were destined to be the fathers of the General Baptist Church in England, and also John Robinson, William Brewster, and William Bradford, eminent names in Congregational history. Harassed by persecution, "the most were fain to fly and leave their homes and habitations and means of their livelihood, and to go into the Low Countries, where they heard there was freedom of religion for all men." John Robinson had formed a church at Scrooby, and both Smyth and Robinson, with their congregations, went to Amsterdam, the former in 1606–7, the latter in 1607–8. An English church was already formed at Amsterdam, with Francis Johnson pastor and Henry Ainsworth teacher.[2] Smyth formed another, the Second English Church at Amsterdam. In 1609 he issued a pamphlet in which he said: "Christ's Church in several respects is a monarchy, an aristocracy, a democracy. In respect of Christ the King it is a monarchy, of the eldership an aristocracy, of the brethren jointly a democracy, or popular government. . . . The body of the Church

JOHN SMYTH.

pressed by proper correction." Foxe was far from being a believer in toleration. "There are," he says, "ejections, castings out, there are chains, perpetual exile, brands and stripes; there are even beams" (*patibula*, referring to the gallows). He means let the State use these and let burnings alone.

[1] Campbell, The Puritan in Holland, England, and America, ii, 179, 180, holds strongly to Browne's indebtedness to the Dutch Anabaptists, and so does W. E. Griffis, The Anabaptists, in the New World, Dec., 1895. Prof. Williston Walker thinks it probable that there was this influence, although, as we have no direct documentary evidence, he speaks cautiously.—Hist. of Congregational Churches in the United States, pp. 30 f.

[2] This is the Church of the scandalous history. See Arber, The Story of the Pilgrim Fathers, 1606–25, Lond. and Boston, 1897, pp. 101 ff.

hath all power immediately from Christ; and the elders have all their power from the body of the Church, which power of the eldership is not exercised, nor cannot be used over or against the whole body of the Church, for that is an antichristian usurpation. . . . The definite sentence, the determining power, the negative voice, is in the body of the Church, not in the elders." In this he parted from that section of Congregationalists who clung to a remnant of eldership rule. About this time, 1608–9, Smyth embraced Baptist views so far as infants were concerned, and came to the conclusion that the baptism received in the Church of England, as it was given to unregenerate persons, was invalid. He and those who sympathized with him therefore withdrew from the church; he baptized himself, and then baptized Helwys, Morton, and his other companions. The mode by which he baptized himself was by affusion, as was natural at the time, when the Mennonites and nearly all the other schools of Baptists of which Smyth had any knowledge baptized by pouring.[1] Smyth, however, though a conscientious and able man, seemed to be afflicted by mental restlessness, and soon embraced some Pelagian and other views of the Mennonites, and repented that he had rebaptized himself.

SMYTH ADOPTS BAPTIST VIEWS.

Smyth and those who went with him applied for admission into the Mennonite Church, but the latter preferred to recognize them as a friendly sister Church. Morton, Helwys, and the main body remained faithful to the more radical views of Smyth. They returned to England about 1611, led by an heroic impulse that "flight from persecution had been the overthrow of religion in the island, the best, the ablest, the greater part being gone and leaving behind them some few who, by the others' departure, have had their affliction and contempt increased, hath been the cause of many falling back, and of their adversaries' rejoicing."

MORTON AND HELWYS.

About 1612 Helwys and Morton organized in London the first General Baptist Church. Others were soon established, so that by 1626 there were five congregations in close fellowship—London, Lincoln, Sarum, Coventry, and Tiverton. By 1644 there were forty-seven churches, and by 1660 the membership had reached twenty

ORGANIZATION OF FIRST ENGLISH BAPTISTS.

[1] This is abundantly proved in Dexter's exhaustive monograph, John Smyth the Se-Baptist, Bost., 1881, and received by the eminent Mennonite Dutch historian, Dr. J. G. De Hoop-Scheffer, De Browninisten te Amsterdam, Amst., 1881, and by Baptist scholars who write in a scientific spirit. See Newman's scholarly work, Hist. of Antipedobaptism, pp. 386, 387, and the admirable discussion of Whitsitt, A Question in Baptist History, pp. 55 ff.

thousand. Like most of the German or continental Baptists, they were Arminian as to predestination, perhaps semi-Pelagian as to depravity, and for the most part orthodox as to Christ. They had abandoned, or came to abandon, the strict notions of their continental fathers in regard to magistracy, oaths, and warfare.[1] At first, like the early Christians, they partook of the Lord's Supper weekly. The history of many successors of the Puritans was unfortunately repeated in their case also—a unitarianism came in which struck their churches with death. As a result of the Methodist movement they were revived and reorganized in 1760 on an evangelical basis.

ORIGIN OF THE PARTICULAR BAPTISTS.

The Particular or Calvinistic Baptists had a separate and Puritan origin. In 1616 Henry Jacob, a Congregationalist pastor in Middleburg, Zealand, returned to London with some of his flock and organized a church. He went to Virginia, and was succeeded in the pastorate by John Lathrop. During his pastorate, 1633, several in the church became convinced that baptism should be confined to believers alone and organized a Baptist society, with John Spilsbury as pastor. In 1640 some in this church raised the question whether baptism ought not to be performed by immersion. The Tiffin manuscript says that they had sober conference concerning it, and that some of them became convinced that baptism "ought to be by dipping the body into the water, resembling burial and rising again, none having then so practiced in England to professed believers; and hearing that some in the Netherlands had so practiced, they agreed and sent over Mr. Richard Blunt (who understood Dutch) with letters of commendation, who was kindly accepted there, and returned with letters from them, John Battle, a teacher there and from that church, to such as sent him, 1641. They proceeded on therein—viz., those persons that were persuaded that baptism should be by dipping the body had met in two companies and did intend to meet after this; all then proceeded alike together, and then manifesting (not by any formal words) a covenant (which word was scrupled by some of them), but by mutual desires and agreement each testified, these two companies did set apart all to baptize the rest, so it was solemnly performed by them. Mr. Blunt baptized Mr. Blacklock, that was a teacher amongst them, and, Mr. Blunt being baptized, he and Mr. Blacklock baptized the

[1] These strict notions are accounted for in part by a literal interpretation of the New Testament and in part by mental reaction occasioned by fierce persecution.

rest of their friends that were so minded, and many being added to them they increased much."[1] Among the immersed in this first English dipping of modern times was Mark Lukar, who was to be one of the founders of one of the two oldest Baptist churches in America—John Clarke's church at Newport, R. I.

QUESTION OF FIRST IMMERSION IN ENGLAND.

The immersion of 1641 has led scholars to inquire whether this was not in fact the first time baptism was performed in that mode by English Baptists. The most thorough and impartial investigators, Baptist as well as other, agree in the conclusion that such is the historic fact. Dexter upturned every stone in his search for light on this question, and Whitsitt has done the same, and anyone who has read their results or looked over the ground even partially cannot resist the conclusion that they are right. The question is purely historical, and has no bearing whatever on one's opinions as to what is the scriptural mode of baptism; and yet, because Professor Whitsitt held according to the evidence on this matter, he was virtually compelled to resign his place in the Baptist Theological Seminary at Louisville, Ky., which he did in 1899.[2]

CONFESSION OF 1644.

In 1644 seven Particular Baptist churches united in a confession of faith designed to vindicate their views from calumnies. It is a noble utterance of evangelical truth, filled with the spirit of piety and of devotion to Christ. It is, of course, stanchly Calvinistic in its doctrine of decrees, Congregational in its doctrine of the Church, and Baptist in its doctrine of baptism, though it restores the primitive freedom in regard to the administrator of baptism.[3] It holds to the lawfulness of distinct

[1] Quoted by Newman, Hist. of Baptist Churches in the United States, pp. 49, 50.

[2] See the question of the date of immersion among Baptists thoroughly discussed by Dexter, John Smyth the Se-Baptist, Bost., 1881; Whitsitt, A Question in Baptist History, Louisville, 1896; John T. Christian, Did they Dip? Examination of the Act of Baptism before 1641, Louisville, 1896, and Baptist History Vindicated, Louisville, 1899; H. M. King, Baptism of Roger Williams, Providence, R. I., 1897; G. A. Lofton, Review of the Question, Nashville, 1895, and Review of Dr. Jesse B. Thomas on the Whitsitt Question, Nashville, 1897; J. B. Thomas, Both Sides; Review of Dr. Whitsitt, Question of Baptist History, Nashville, 1897; T. T. Eaton, Did Baptists Immerse in England prior to 1641, in Bibliotheca Sacra, Jan., 1897, 162 ff. Professors Newman and Vedder agree with Whitsitt.

[3] "The person designed by Christ to dispense baptism the Scripture holds forth to be a disciple; it being nowhere tied to a particular church officer, or person extraordinarily sent, the commission enjoining the administration being given to them as are considered disciples, being men able to preach the Gospel" (Art. xli).

ministry, of magistracy, and of oaths. The conclusion is in these words, worthy of immortality, in which breathe a humility and teachableness rare in creed-makers, the heroism of true confessors of Jesus Christ, and the pathos of men who may be called upon at any moment to die for their faith: "Thus we desire to give unto Christ that which is his, and unto all lawful authority that which is their due; and to owe nothing unto any man but love, to live quietly and peaceably, as it becometh saints, endeavoring in all things to keep a good conscience, and to do unto every man (of what judgment whatsoever) as we would that they should do unto us; that as our practice is, so it may prove us to be conscionable, quiet, harmless people (no way dangerous or troublesome to human society), and to labor and work with our hands, that we may not be chargeable to any, but to give to him that needeth, both friends and enemies, accounting it more excellent to give than to receive. Also we confess we know but in part, and that we are ignorant of many things which we desire and seek to know; and if any shall do us that friendly part to show us from the word of God that we see not, we shall have cause to be thankful to God and them. But if any man shall impose upon us anything that we see not to be commanded by our Lord Jesus Christ, we should in his strength rather embrace all reproaches and tortures of men, to be stripped of all outward comforts, and if it were possible to die a thousand deaths, rather than do anything against the least tittle of the truth of God or against the light of our own consciences. And if any shall call what we have said heresy, then do we with the apostle acknowledge that after the way they call heresy worship we the God of our fathers, disclaiming all heresies (rightly so called) because they are against Christ, and to be steadfast and immovable, always abounding in obedience to Christ as knowing our labor shall not be in vain in the Lord."[1]

This noble declaration did not save the English Baptists from persecution, and the tragic story of their patient sufferings, including tortures, imprisonment, and sometimes even death, is one of painful and pathetic interest.[2] But in spite of persecution the Particular Baptists increased in numbers and influence. They

[1] This Confession is printed in full in Confessions of Faith and other Public Documents illustrative of the History of the Baptist Churches in England in the Seventeenth Century, edited for the Hanserd Knollys Society by Edward Bean Underhill, Lond., 1854, pp. 27 ff.

[2] Ivimey, Hist. of the English Baptists, vols. i and ii, and Cramp, Baptist History, ch. v, sec. 7, vi, secs. 2–7, contain particulars.

formed a large proportion of the Parliamentarian army, and gave to Cromwell and his comprehensive measures of toleration a hearty support, though not to all details of his government.

GROWTH OF PARTICULAR BAPTISTS.

Baptist churches were founded in Ireland and Scotland, and John Myles and Vavasour Powell spread Baptist principles in Wales, which proved a fruitful soil.

Before leaving the Baptists of the Intermediate Period a word must be said concerning two famous representatives of their opinions, John Milton and John Bunyan. Milton was a Baptist in his belief concerning the subjects of baptism, and in thorough agreement with Baptists in their views of toleration and in the general theological ideas of the liberal wing, but he never united with any of their churches. He would have excluded Roman Catholics and non-Christians from toleration, but all sects and schools of Protestants were to be freely allowed.[1] Baptism was to be performed only by immersion, and infants were to be excluded. The Congregational was the true theory of Church government. In his final theological position Milton rejected Calvinism and Nicene Trinitarianism, though still holding to a kind of belief in the divinity of Christ as one created before all intelligences and worlds out of the essence of God. He also rejected the orthodox scheme of the hereafter, believing that soul and body died together and slept until the day of resurrection, and that Christ would come to set up a millennial reign on earth. He held strongly to the divine authority and infallibility of the Scriptures, to the atoning death of Christ, and to the general evangelical doctrine of salvation.[2]

MILTON'S BAPTIST VIEWS.

John Bunyan was born at Elstow, near Bedford, in 1628, and was trained in his father's trade, which was that of a tinker. The spiritual struggles of this uneducated smith, who was to write the greatest book in the religious literature of his country, are told in his vivid and powerful autobiography, Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners. He here describes his iniquities in no measured language: "It was my delight to be 'taken captive by the devil at his will;' being filled with all unrighteousness; the which did also so strangely work and put forth itself, both in my heart and life, and that from a child, that I had but few equals (especially considering my years, which were tender,

JOHN BUNYAN.

[1] See Masson, Life of John Milton, vi, 690–699, for a discussion of Milton's views on religious liberty.

[2] An admirable statement of Milton's theological position is found in Masson, vi, 838–840.

being but few), both for cursing, swearing, lying, and blaspheming the holy name of God." These became, he says, second nature to him, though he was much concerned in spirit over his sins and affrighted with fearful dreams and visions. "A while after those terrible dreams did leave me, which also I soon forgot, for my pleasures did quick cut off the remembrance of them, as if they had never been; wherefore with more greediness, according to the strength of nature, I did let loose the reins of my lust, and delighted in all transgressions against the law of God; so that until I came to a state of marriage, I was the very ringleader of all the youth that kept me company, in all manner of vice and ungodliness. Yea, such prevalency had the lusts and fruits of the flesh in this poor soul of mine that had not a miracle of precious grace prevented, I had not only perished by the stroke of eternal justice, but had also laid myself open even to the stroke of those laws which bring some to disgrace and open shame before the face of the world."[1]

BUNYAN'S SEVERE DESCRIPTION OF HIMSELF.

Southey was the first of the Bunyan biographers to interpret these frank statements as the unconsciously exaggerated confessions of an oversensitive conscience and of a preternaturally vivid imagination, and was followed by Macaulay in his brilliant article in the eighth edition of the Encyclopædia Britannica, reprinted in the ninth. We have certain evidence that in his relation with women Bunyan had always been perfectly pure, nor did his enemies ever charge him with drunkenness. Macaulay says that the worst that "can be laid to the charge of this poor youth whom it has been the fashion to represent as the most desperate of reprobates, as a village Rochester, is that he had a great liking for some diversions, quite harmless in themselves, but condemned by the rigid precisionists among whom he lived, and for whose opinions he had great respect. The four chief sins of which he was guilty were dancing, ringing the bells of the parish church, playing at tipcat, and reading the history of Sir Bevis of Southampton. A rector of the school of Laud would have held such a young man up to the whole parish as a model. But Bunyan's notions of good and evil were learned in a very different school, and he was made miserable by a conflict between his tastes and his scruples."[2] But how can we interpret this view

SOUTHEY AND MACAULAY ON BUNYAN'S CONFESSION.

[1] Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners, ed. Morley, pp. 16, 17.

[2] Essays, vi, 134, 135. The judgment of Southey, Life of Bunyan, p. 41, and of Macaulay is that of Coleridge. "Bunyan was never, in our received sense of the word, 'wicked.' He was chaste, sober, and honest; but he was a

with the honesty of Bunyan as a witness? The truth seems to be that Bunyan had kept himself free from gross physical sins, that his chief failing was profanity, in which he was fearfully proficient, and this was seconded by lying. It was spiritual sins which in after years laid their heavy weight over his conscience, and these, as his greatest biographer well says, "may be even more deadly than sensual sins in their moral recoil, laying waste the powers of the soul."[1]

His marriage at about the age of twenty-one was the beginning of a better life. His wife and he read together a couple of books she brought with her, Plain Man's Pathway to Heaven, and the Practice of Piety. After various experiences, which he has described with a graphic pen, he was brought into the light of God, and joined a little company of believers of which the liberal-minded John Gifford was minister. This was in 1653. In 1655 he began to preach. In 1660 he was arrested by the Anglican authorities, and was imprisoned for twelve years in the county jail at the corner of High and Silver streets, Bedford. Here he wrote Grace Abounding, 1666, and several other works. He was released in 1672 and became pastor of Gifford's church. This was not for long, for the Church authorities still pursued him, and in 1675 under the Conventicle act he was again imprisoned, this time in the town jail on Bedford Bridge. It was during this imprisonment, which fortunately lasted only six months, that he wrote the first part of Pilgrim's Progress, the greatest allegory ever written, a well of English undefiled, and as masterly in its delineation of character as it is powerful in its religious impression and, like the parables of Jesus, in its simplicity. The first part of Pilgrim's Progress was published in 1678. The Holy War, his best book after Pilgrim's Progress, unless we give Grace Abounding that honor, appeared in 1682, and the second part of the Pilgrim in 1684. After a pastorate of the Bedford church of sixteen years Bunyan died, while on a mission of reconciliation, in London, August 31, 1688, and was buried in the great Nonconformist burial ground, Bunhill Fields. Pilgrim's Progress sprang at once into popularity, 100,000 copies being printed during the author's lifetime. It was printed in Boston in 1681, and was soon translated into many European languages. Brown says that it has been translated into

BUNYAN IN PRISON.

PILGRIM'S PROGRESS.

bitter blackguard; that is, he damned his own and his neighbors' eyes on slight or no occasion, and was fond of a row."—Coleridge's Notes on English Divines, ed. by Derwent Coleridge, i, 336.

[1] Brown, John Bunyan, p. 60.

eighty-four languages and dialects, the versions in Japanese and the Canton vernacular being admirably illustrated by native artists, who have adapted the scenery and costumes to their own country.[1]

Like Milton, Bunyan was not a Baptist in the ordinary sense. The church that he joined, and of which he was a minister, was not a Baptist church, but a Christian society that looked upon questions like the mode of baptism as impertinent and divisive when made tests of Christian standing and membership. The contemporary record of the Bedford church says that the "principle upon which they thus entered into fellowship one with another, and upon which they did afterward receive those that were added to their body and fellowship, was faith in Christ and holiness of life, without respect to this or that circumstance or opinion in outward and circumstantial things. By which means grace and faith were encouraged, love and amity maintained, disputings and occasion to jangling and unprofitable questions avoided, and many that were weak in faith confirmed in the blessing of eternal life."[2] This church allowed infant baptism for those of its members who desired, and it appears from the records that Bunyan himself was one of those who desired.[3] Gifford, Bunyan's predecessor and teacher, made a noble appeal from his deathbed not to divide the Church of Christ on questions of rites and forms. "Concerning separation from the Church about baptism," he said, "laying on hands, anointing with oil, psalms or any externals, I charge every one of you respectively, as you will give an account for it to our Lord Jesus Christ, who shall judge both quick and dead at his coming, that none of you be found guilty of this great evil, which while some have committed —and that through a zeal for God, yet not according to knowledge—they have erred from the law of the love of Christ, and have made a rent from the true Church, which is but one."

THE BEDFORD CHURCH.

In this catholic and thoroughly Christian attitude Bunyan was a man after Gifford's own heart. As pastor of a church which allowed infant baptism and both pouring and immersion, and who

[1] Brown, art. Bunyan in Chambers's Encyc., revised ed., and his Life of Bunyan, p. 471. Brown gives an exhaustive and interesting chapter on the editions, versions, illustrations, and imitations of the Pilgrim's Progress, ch. xix, and an admirable bibliography is appended to Venables, Life of Bunyan, Lond., 1888 (Great Writers Series).

[2] See copious extracts from this record in Brown, pp. 83–85.

[3] Recent research among the church records has shown this. See Brown, pp. 238, 239. Tulloch is in error, therefore, when he says (*l. c.*, p. 466) that Bunyan "repudiated the baptism of infants."

considered himself as in the main holding the Baptist position, Bunyan with the true spirit of St. Paul brushed aside questions which are as the apple of the eye to the Baptist. "Because I will not suffer water to carry away epistles from the Christians, and because I will not let water baptism be the rule, the door, the bolt, the bar, the wall of division between the righteous and the righteous, must I therefore be judged to be a man without conscience of the worship of Jesus Christ? The Lord deliver me from superstitious and idolatrous thoughts about any of the ordinances of Christ and of God." In a controversy with some of the strict Baptists he says: "You ask me next how long is it since I was a Baptist? I must tell you I know of none to whom that title is so proper as to the disciples of John. And since you would know by what name I would be distinguished from others, I tell you I would be, and hope I am, a Christian, and choose, if God should count me worthy, to be called a Christian, a believer, or other such name which is approved by the Holy Ghost. And as for those titles of Anabaptists, Independents, Presbyterians, or the like, I conclude that they come neither of Jerusalem nor Antioch, but rather from hell and Babylon, for they naturally tend to divisions. You may know them by their fruits." Forms of baptism were mere matters of ritual over which it would be a sin to divide believers in Christ. Bunyan was an apostle of Christian union.[1]

BUNYAN'S CATHOLICITY.

[1] There is truth in what Tulloch says: "Bunyan became a Baptist more from accidental associations than anything else. He had found the truth among the poor men and women of the water-baptism way; but from the very depth and sincerity of his spiritual nature he rose far above the mere formalities of the sect, and did not hesitate with an unsparing hand to point out their narrowness and prejudices."—English Puritanism and its Leaders, p. 430. He suffered much from the strict Baptists on account of the coarse and bitter methods of controversy then in vogue. In one place he says: "What Mr. Kiffen has done in the matter I forgive [Kiffen was the Nestor of the Baptists—he might almost be called the founder of the Particular Baptists], and love him never the worse; but I must stand by my principles, because they are peaceable, godly, profitable, and such as tend to the edification of my brother, and as, I believe, will be justified in the day of judgment. That I deny the ordinance of baptism, or that I have placed one piece of an argument against it, though they feign it, is quite without color of truth. All I say is that the Church of Christ hath not warrant to keep out of her communion the Christian that is discovered to be a visible saint by the Word—the Christian that walketh according to his light with God." On Bunyan's relations to the Baptists see Brown, pp. 235-241, and Wm. Urwick, Bible Truths and Church Errors, including Lecture on Bunyan not a Baptist, with Pedigree of Bunyan's Family, Lond., 1888.

CHAPTER IX.

THE FRIENDS.

LIKE a sweet calm after storm was the advent of the Quakers in the seventeenth century. When wars were waged on slight provocation or no provocation came their word, "It is not according to Christ to fight with arms." At a time of fierce animosity between clashing Churches and sects they said, "Let us love one another and be at peace." In the midst of persecution carried on by both Roman Catholics and Protestants they affirmed, "It is not Christian to harm your brother for his religious opinions." When men were swearing to covenants and counter-covenants, to acts of parliament, and in courts of law to every testimony, trivial or otherwise, the Friends repeated the command of Christ, "Swear not at all." When Calvinistic particularism was the reigning creed they said, "God wills that all men should be saved," and when men were received into State Churches without conversion they declared, "No man belongs to Christ except by living faith." The rise of the Friends was God's rebuke to the selfishness and worldliness of that passionate and warring time when the Spirit of Jesus seemed to have well-nigh departed and his beautiful ethics to have been trampled under foot. Like Methodism, Quakerism was a revival of primitive Christianity.

QUAKERISM A RETURN TO PRIMITIVE CHRISTIANITY.

Did the Friends arise as a new force in history, with a fresh and hitherto unknown testimony? Or were there antecedents—were there those who anticipated their teachings and laid a foundation for their work? Here again Holland must come in as the mother of beneficent movements. The Mennonite Baptists of Holland were the precursors of the Quakers, and the General Baptists were so near of kin that they might almost be called a sister denomination. The Mennonites held: (1) That only regenerate persons constitute a true Church. (2) No persecution for conscience' sake is right. (3) Swearing is forbidden. (4) War is unchristian. (5) Since the office of a magistrate compelled men to use the sword and take an oath, no Christian man can rightly fulfill that office, though magistrates ought to be obeyed in all things not contrary to God's word. (6) There is to be no hierarchy—office does not confer headship.

MENNONITES PRECURSORS OF THE FRIENDS.

"We are brethren in the Church, not masters and servants." (7) Ministers must not receive any stipulated pay. (8) All unnecessary ornaments of dress must be avoided. A period of silent prayer was at first a part of the service of the Mennonites, and they paused before meals for silent thanksgiving. The Collegianten (so called from their meetings or collegia) were a sect of the Mennonites who added to the foregoing principles one other, that there was no distinct office of teacher or minister, but all Christians were prophets, and all were at liberty to pass judgment upon others or dissent from them in their preaching—there being no conformity in religious opinion, but all welcome to fellowship who confess Jesus Christ. It will be seen, therefore, that the Quakers were by no means original in their views. The Mennonites were strong believers in the universal atonement, God's desire to save all men, and that God's light comes to all if they will receive it.[1]

KINDRED VIEWS OF GENERAL BAPTISTS.

The views of the General Baptists concerning universal atonement; the need of a regenerated church membership, who had a personal witness to salvation; that Christians are supported directly by the immediate testimony of the Spirit and only indirectly by outward help like the Scriptures; that Christ's work was never to reconcile God to us, since he never hated us, but only to reconcile us to God and slay the enmity in our hearts; that magistrates must not meddle with religion or force the conscience; that outward baptism is of value only as it is a witness to the inner or spiritual; that the Supper does not confer grace, but only stirs up repentance and faith until Christ comes; that members of Christ are not to go to law before magistrates, and all differences are to be settled by yea and nay without an oath; Christians are brethren, and the poor are not to be allowed to suffer; Christians are not to lift up a sword, nor consent to battle, because the redeemed of the Lord have changed their fleshly weapons—yea, they are called of Christ "to the following of his unarmed and unweaponed life and of his cross-bearing footsteps;" and "it is not permitted that the faithful of the New Testament should swear at all"—such were some of the principles of John Smyth, the founder of the General Baptists.[2] Perfect freedom of prophesying was also insisted on.

[1] Barclay, in his Inner Life of the Religious Societies of the Commonwealth, who writes from the standpoint of a Friend, does full justice to the precursors of Quakerism, pp. 78 ff.

[2] See copious quotations from his Confession in Barclay, pp. 109-114 and app. to ch. vi.

Lay preaching was by no means a new thing when started by Wesley. The Quakers had it, and before them the Independents and Baptists. It was a common practice in England in the middle of the seventeenth century. It was doubtless the chief means by which the more earnest type of Christianity for which the Separatists stood got a foothold among the people.[1] The Presbyterians were bitterly opposed to this, and in the days of their ascendency among their oppressive measures was one forbidding lay preaching, 1645. But little attention was paid to this. Of Cromwell's army it is said that they "sent out everywhere captains and soldiers" to preach, and "gave tickets of the time and place."[2] According to Baxter the cry of the Separatists was, "Let God be glorified, let the Gospel be propagated," and that "there were few of the Anabaptists who had not been the opposers and troublers of the faithful ministers of the land."[3]

LAYMEN AS PREACHERS.

Nor were the Quakers first to use the talents of women. In the revival of which the Congregationalists and Baptists were the expression the daughters prophesied as well as the sons (Acts ii, 17). Women could talk to edification on any text, and search the deep things of God.[4] A lampoon of 1641 speaks of a congregation meeting in the malt house of one Job, a brewer, and says,

PREACHING BY WOMEN.

> "When women preach, and cobblers pray,
> And fiends in hell make holiday."[5]

The Baptists are spoken of as having "many pretty knacks to delude withal, and especially to please the female sex. They told of rare revelations of the things to come from the Spirit, as they say."[6]

[1] "The exile churches bequeathed this legacy of lay preaching to the first Congregational and Baptist Churches in England. It had been proved and rooted in their system during the days of the exile."—John Telford, Hist. of Lay Preaching in the Chr. Church, Lond., 1897, p. 81.

[2] Wm. Prynne, Fresh Discovery of some New Wandering Blazing Stars and Firebrands styling themselves New Lights. Lond., 1645, pref.

[3] Baxter, Life (Autobiography), p. 102.

[4] "And in this our thanksgiving let us remember all the blessed pastors and professors, whether at Amsterdam or elsewhere; as also all our *she*-fellow-laborers, our holy and good blessed women who are not only able to talk on any text, but search into the deep sense of Scripture, and preach both in their families and elsewhere."—The Brownists' Conventicle, 1641, p. 13.

[5] Lucifer's Lackey, or the Devil's New Creation, Lond., 1641.

[6] Johnson, History of New England, 1654, pp. 67–99. We are indebted to Barclay, Religious Societies of the Commonwealth, p. 155, for these quotations.

The Baptists appear to have had more women preachers than the Congregationalists. Baillie says that the continental Baptists allowed women's preaching, as also every one of their members, and the power of questioning the preacher on doctrine "before the church," and that in England it was the same, but that "many more of their women do venture to preach among the Baptists than among the Brownists, in England."[1]

GEORGE FOX.

George Fox, the founder of the Friends, was born of upright, pious Presbyterian parents at Drayton-in-the-Clay (now Fenny Drayton), Leicestershire, July, 1624. He was a youth of pensive religious nature, and his gifted and devout mother encouraged this tendency. Like Chrysostom, Jonathan Edwards, Robert Emory, and other rare characters, there never seemed to be a time when he did not love and fear God. There was a morbid and sad strain in Fox's early piety which was doubtless constitutional, and was aggravated by the religious intensity of the time.[2] To find light and peace Fox began to itinerate through the country, seeking counsel of ministers. But these gave him no help. The Lord, however, brought him on step by step until he was led to trust in him entirely, and to find him in the revelation of his truth, and grace, and love in the soul.

FOX'S ACCOUNT OF HIS RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE.

"Then the Lord led me gently along, and let me see his love, which was endless and eternal, surpassing all the knowledge that men have in the natural state, or can get by history or books. . . . When I was in the deep, under all shut up, I could not believe I should ever overcome; my troubles and my temptations were so great that I often thought that I should have despaired. But when Christ opened to me how he was tempted by the same devil, and had overcome

[1] Baillie, Anabaptism the True Foundation of Independency, Brownism, Familism, Antinomy, and the like, Lond., 1646, p. 30. Mrs. Attaway is called the "mistress of all the she-preachers in Coleman Street." For further information as to the Separatist—and particularly the Baptist—anticipation of Quakerism, see Barclay, *l. c.*, chs. iv–x; Tallack, George Fox, the Friends and the early Baptists, Lond., 1868. "None of these [Quaker] peculiarities were absolutely novel, nor were any of the religious doctrines of the Quakers."—Bickley, George Fox and the Early Quakers, Lond., 1884, p. 8.

[2] Macaulay, whose treatment of Fox is a caricature, makes Fox a semi-lunatic, "with an intellect in the most unhappy of all states, that is to say, too much disordered for liberty, and not sufficiently disordered for Bedlam."—Hist. of England, iv, 132 (ch. xvii). Macaulay was ably answered by J. S. Rowntree, Macaulay's Portraiture of George Fox, Lond., 1861.

him and bruised his head, and that through him and his power, light, grace, and spirit I should overcome also, I had confidence in him. . . . Thus in the deepest miseries, in the greatest sorrows and temptations that beset me, the Lord in his mercy did keep me. I found two thirsts in me: the one after the creatures to have got help and strength there; and the other after the Lord, the creator, and his Son Jesus Christ, and I saw all the world could do me no good. . . . One day when I was walking solitarily abroad and was come home, I was taken in the love of God so that I could not but admire the greatness of his love; and while I was in that condition it was opened upon me by the eternal light and power, and therein I clearly saw that all was done and to be done in and by Christ; and how he conquers and destroys this tempter the devil and all his works, and is atop of him, and that all these troubles were good for me, and temptations for the trial of my faith. My living faith was raised that I saw all was done by Christ the life, and my belief was in him."[1]

In 1649 there came to him the revelation which is the foundation of Quakerism—the mystical light which reveals God and truth without ceremonies and outward helps. "The Lord God opened to me by his invisible powers how every man was enlightened by the divine light of Christ. I saw through all, and that they who believed in it came out of condemnation to the light of life, and became children of it; but they that hated it and did not believe in it were condemned by it, though they made a profession of Christ. This I saw in the pure openings of the light, without the help of any man; neither did I know where to find it in the Scriptures; though afterwards searching the Scriptures I found it. For I saw in that Light and Spirit which was before the Scriptures were given forth, and which led the holy men of God to give them forth, that all must come to that Spirit if they would know God, or Christ, or the Scriptures aright; which they that gave them forth were led by."[2]

THE INNER LIGHT.

This famous doctrine of the Friends—the Inner Light—has been understood as the denial of the Scriptures as the rule of faith, and as the substitution of one's own impressions for the Bible. This is a mistake. Fox had been a most diligent student of the

[1] George Fox, Journal, Leeds ed., 1836, i, 92, 93.

[2] Journal, i, 111. There are no chronological divisions or marks in Fox's Journal. In the Leeds edition the editors have inserted at the top of p. 111 the date 1648.

Scriptures, which he always received as the words[1] of God; but what he saw around him convinced him that something more was necessary than an external rule. Here were warring sects flying at each other's throats, showing hatred and malice, each holding to the Bible, and yet each disowning its precepts—the Bible in their hands being without power to produce love and peace. It was necessary that the Holy Spirit should testify in the heart to the truth of Scripture, so that it might be no longer a dead book but a living power. As the Spirit gave the book, so he must interpret it, so he must breathe its truths once more into the soul. Fox had profound reverence for the Scriptures, and founded his whole teachings upon them; but they were unfolded by the Spirit, whose voice still speaks in the heart of the childlike believer to guide unto all truth. In fact, Fox was wont to challenge the Church of his day to a study of the Scriptures, to see if her doctrines were according to that standard.[2]

FOX'S VIEWS OF THE SCRIPTURES.

Fox was the English evangel of the seventeenth century. He went up and down the land, preaching repentance, proclaiming a simple, searching gospel of faith and good works, rebuking worldliness and sin, and creating everywhere a profound impression by his simplicity, self-denial, and holiness. His converts were from two classes: (1) those who were connected more or less with the churches, but who were dissatisfied with the bitterness and low spiritual and ethical tone of the time; (2) the outcast and sinful, who were quickened into newness of life by the faithful preaching of Fox and his helpers. Fox was like Wesley in the clearness with which he saw the need of spiritual renewal

FOX'S EVANGELISM.

[1] Fox disliked the expression, The Bible is the Word of God. Christ, he said, is the only Word of God; but he allowed the Bible to be the words of God. See Journal, Leeds ed., i, 217, 218, 356; ii, 251.

[2] Fox says: "And also this is an invitation to all sects and professors, and of people, to come forth and try if what they hold is according to the Scripture of truth, and to do this by evident and sound arguments, and by the best spiritual weapons they have, and to lay aside all this persecution and unrighteous dealing and stocking and whipping and imprisoning of us for speaking against their religion, and that they come forth in fair disputes to contend in the spirit of meekness for what they profess and practice, and to prove according to the Scriptures their ministry, Church, and whole religion, that is in and by the Spirit and power of God."—Great Mystery. In 1673 Barclay published a Catechism, the answers to all the questions of which were in the words of Scripture only—it being his intention by this means to refute the notion that the Quakers rejected the Scriptures as the rule of faith.

and the way of salvation by faith, and his utter fidelity to the ethics of Jesus both for himself and his followers. This twofold power of his life and teaching and that of the early Friends were irresistible over a multitude of minds. Besides, in a Calvinistic age the hopefulness of Fox's preaching was a strange element of power. God had not left himself without a witness in the hearts of men. There was a light shining there, however dimly. God spoke to the divine in man. That heavenly spark was in all men, and God called all men to him, and all might respond. Is it any wonder that the coming of this severe preacher of spirit and life to a town was an event in its history, when the easy-going and evil-living, whether priests or people, were seized with consternation, and the spiritually minded and those who longed for rest from sin went out in crowds to hear ?

SPREAD OF QUAKERISM.

Among his converts were the learned and the wealthy, as well as the poor and ignorant. In the fifth year of Fox's ministry there were twenty-five preachers: in the seventh, upward of sixty. Within eight years ministers of Friends preached in various parts of Europe, in Asia, and in Africa, and endured persecution in England and various parts of the Continent. Among the early preachers Francis Howgill, John Audland, and Samuel Fisher had been clergymen; George Bishop, Richard Hubberthorn, and William Ames, officers in the army; Anthony Pearson and John Crook, justices of the peace. Robert Barclay, a Scotch scholar of noble family of royal blood, joined the society, and became its theologian and apologist. In 1680 the number of Friends in Great Britain was 66,000. Faithful men carried their principles to distracted Ireland and proud Scotland, where many disciples were made—the Scotch Friends proving to this day the most loyal representatives of the cross-bearing Quakerism of its pure and triumphant days. "Fox anticipated Wesley and Whitefield in his application of field preaching to the spreading of the Gospel, and we see all the features of the great Methodist revival both in the character and gifts of the preachers, the multitudes who listened to them, the powerful impressions produced, and the entire change of character which was permanently effected."[1]

The resemblance between Methodism and Quakerism was seen even in the physical effects of its preaching. Audland, one of Fox's preachers, "lifted up his voice like a trumpet" to those who came to hear him in Bristol, and "opened to them the way of

[1] Barclay, Religious Societies of the Commonwealth, p. 311.

life in the mighty power of God." His words had such power that they were "seized in their soul and pricked in their heart; and some fell on the ground and foamed at the mouth, while others cried out when the sense of their states of sin was opened to them." Meetings were held daily, and the people followed the preachers everywhere, so that "every day was like one long meeting." People called upon the preachers to speak with them privately "before they got up," and they were laboring with them from six in the morning till eleven or even one at night.[1] John Wesley records that under similar manifestations of religious power during his preaching at Bristol a Quaker "was not a little displeased at the dissimulation of these creatures, and was biting his lips and knitting his brows when he dropped down as thunderstruck. The agony he was in was even terrible to behold. We besought the Lord not to lay folly to his charge. And he soon lifted up his head and cried aloud, 'Now I know thou art a prophet from God.'"[2] Barclay well remarks on this that the Quaker could hardly have been aware that his own Church in that very city was raised up by preaching that produced similar effects.[3]

PHYSICAL PHENOMENA AMONG QUAKERS.

One seems almost to be reading the Journals of Whitefield and Wesley in the accounts of the Quaker triumphs and persecutions. Audland and Camm write to Fox, whose relation to his ministers was similar to that of Wesley: "There is here [in Bristol] a great work and large fields to labor in. We have most commonly 3,000 to 4,000 at a meeting. The priests and magistrates of the city begin to rage, but the soldiers [of the commonwealth] keep them down; for the governor of the castle is not against us, and the captain of the royal fort is absolutely convinced, and his wife loves us dearly. And many captains and great ones of the city are convinced, and do believe in us, and that we are of God; and all within ten miles of the city round about the people is very much desirous after Truth. . . . Yea, at any point to which we come we can have 400 or 500, or even 1,000. We have many friends in many towns about who are honest and true in their measures, and eminent amongst men, so that we have many places in the country about where we can set up a standard and have gathered meetings, and we hit some every day we shoot, for 'our bow abides in strength.'"[4] Fox, like

SUCCESSES AND PERSECUTIONS.

[1] Swarthmore Papers, quoted by Barclay, p. 310.
[2] Wesley, Journals, May, 1739, in Works, Lond. ed., i, 190.
[3] Barclay, *l. c.*, pp. 311, 312.
[4] Letter of Camm to Fox, 1654, quoted by Barclay, pp. 308, 309.

Wesley, was peculiarly fortunate in having faithful, self-denying preachers, who considered no suffering of moment if they could fulfill their ministry.

IMPRISONMENT OF QUAKERS.

Most interesting would be an account of the persecution of the Quakers. Like Paul they could say, "In prisons more abundantly, in deaths oft." They were not, like the Baptists and Congregationalists, deliberately put to death by the Episcopalian State, but they often found the martyr's crown in their prisons. Between 1650 and 1689 fourteen thousand of them were fined and imprisoned, and three hundred and sixty-nine, including the majority of the first preachers, died in jail.[1] This fearful record is a black indictment of the ruling powers, for the very principles which led the Friends to conceal nothing and to yield themselves so readily to punishment proved their inoffensiveness. Of course the refusal to take an oath was a pretext, but there was justice in Fox's appeal to the judges that the well-known truthfulness of the Friends should be taken as rendering their solemn statement as worthy of belief as the oath-bound statement of others, which oath, as everyone knew, made the word of many of them no more truthful. Besides, he said, if any Friend is found false let him be punished exactly as though he had taken the oath.[2]

QUAKERISM BASED ON ETHICS AND SCRIPTURE.

The refusal to take the oath reminds us of the strenuous moral earnestness of the Quakers and their determination to be true at all costs to what they considered the New Testament ethics. "But if any of you can convince me," said Fox at one of his trials, "that after Christ and his apostles had commanded not to swear, they altered that command, and commanded to swear, ye shall see that I will swear." That was the keynote of the Friends—simple-hearted loyalty to the word of Christ and the apostles. This explains their plainness of attire, their refusal to remove the hat before dignitaries, and their opposition to war as inconsistent, not only with nonresistance teachings

[1] These are the figures of President Chase, of Haverford College, in the Schaff-Herzog Encyc., i, 839.

[2] In one of his trials Fox said: "I never took oath covenant or engagement in my life; but my yea and nay was more binding in me than an oath was to many others. For had they not had experience how little men regarded an oath, and how they had sworn one way and then another, and how the justices and court had foresworn themselves now? I was a man of tender conscience, and if they had any sense of a tender conscience they would consider it was obedience to Christ's command that I could not swear."—Janney, Life of George Fox, p. 275.

of Jesus, but with the spirit of the Gospel. The wearing of the hat in the presence of dignitaries they defended by the consideration that all men are equal before God, who alone is to be reverenced, and that as much deference is to be shown to poor and obscure as to the rich and great. Even their *thee* and *thou* rested on the Christian teaching concerning equality, teachings which they considered inconsistent with the seventeenth century habit of saying *thou* to the great and *you* to the common people. Worldly amusements they eschewed as of immoral tendency, or inconsistent with spirituality, or as wasting time. Slavery, oppression of the poor, anything like dishonesty in business or untruthfulness in word or act, they could not abide. They were preeminently the New Testament Christians of the post-Reformation times. Their emphasis on the Spirit and on spirituality in worship led them to undervalue the ordinances of worship, and even to the extreme position that the Lord's Supper and baptism, which rest on our Lord's specific command and were constantly observed in the apostolic Church, are no longer obligatory as to their external observance so long as the spiritual grace which they had at first signified was appropriated by faith. But this extreme position was not held by the Quakers as all-important. There is evidence (1) that they occasionally participated in a common meal with a religious or sacramental intent,[1] and (2) that they would not judge those who celebrated the ordinary church eucharist, much less those who ate the Lord's Supper according to the original method.[2]

Two men of widely different characters and points of view have spoken of George Fox. "Now it happened," says Charles H. Spur-

[1] In Fox's earliest tracts we have the expressions, "We have the Lord's Supper," "the table and supper of the Lord we own." Keith, an early Friend, speaks of certain "more solemn eatings and drinkings to remember the Lord's death and what he hath done and suffered for us," and states that the Society of Friends "did thus eat and drink together," though he asserts that such eating cannot limit the spiritual and inward eating of Christ's body—a statement that none would deny. See Barclay, Religious Societies of the Commonwealth, p. 375.

[2] For several quotations proving this, see Barclay, *l. c.*, pp. 373, 374. Professor A. C. Thomas, of Haverford College, who has made a thorough study of all the sources, claims that Barclay is mistaken in regard to any observance of the Lord's Supper by the first Friends, and his judgment is of great weight. The conservative position of the Friends, namely, against observance, is strongly set forth by Principal John W. Graham, in his The Lord's Supper, a Historical Study from Standpoint of Soc. of Friends, Lond., 1899, and Graham is combated in the interest of a more liberal view by William Tallack, Scriptural Limitations of Friends' Doctrine of the Sacraments, Lond., 1899.

geon, "that the Puritans, who had been like the spring buds and blossoms, were getting into the sere and yellow leaf, and the Independents and Baptists and other sects, who were at times thoroughly and even remarkably spiritual, were getting worldly, political, and vainglorious. They had an opportunity of grasping the carnal sword, and they embraced that opportunity;[1] and from that very moment many of them lost the spirituality for which they had been eminent. The danger was lest the evangelical sects should quietly settle down into one State Church, make a scramble for the good things of the ecclesiastical establishment, and preach, each one after its own fashion, in the numbness of death rather than in the power of life. At that very moment God sent into the world George Fox, who must have been the most troublesome man in the world to those good easy souls who counted on a quiet season of sleep. They had said, 'Soul, take thine ease, thou hast much goods laid up for many years.' It was by the mouth of George Fox that God said to each one of them, 'Thou fool.' George Fox, it seems to me, was a blessing, not to you alone, but to the whole of Christendom. He stood up in the face of the Christian world and said to it, 'No, thou shalt not do this. Thou shalt not conform thyself to the world. Thou shalt not go into unholy alliance with the State, there shall still be in the midst of thee a spiritual people, who shall bear their protest that Christ's kingdom is not of this world, and that religion standeth not in form and ceremonies, but is a matter connected with the inner man, and is the work of God's Spirit in the heart.' I look upon George Fox rather as a *practical* than a *doctrinal* man."[2] Thomas Carlyle speaks of the "farewell service of his awl," the leather suit of clothes which George Fox made for himself. "Stitch away, thou noble Fox: every prick of that little instrument is pricking into the heart of slavery, and World-worship, and the Mammon-god. Thy elbows jerk as in strong swimmer-strokes, and every stroke is bearing thee across the prison-ditch, within which Vanity holds her workhouse and Ragfair, into lands of true liberty, where, the work done, there is in broad Europe one Free Man, and thou art he."[3]

SPURGEON AND CARLYLE ON FOX.

[1] He refers to the inclusion of the Congregationalists and Baptists in Cromwell's comprehensive Church scheme, their taking their position as State-protected bodies, and enjoying the dignity and rewards which came from their semiunion with the State.

[2] Lecture on George Fox, quoted by Barclay, p. 191.

[3] Sartor Resartus, bk. iii, ch. i.

CHAPTER X.

THE ROMAN CATHOLICS.

THE history of the English Catholics from the close of the Reformation to the opening of the recent period is relatively monotonous and unimportant. They had little to do with the enrichment of English life, religion, theology, literature, science, or art. This, however, can hardly be laid against them, because they existed as a small, despised, persecuted sect, decimated and kept down by unrighteous laws, which were sometimes enforced with rigor and at other times allowed to slumber.

A SMALL BODY.

When James I came to the throne, in 1603, the Roman Catholics had reason to believe that their lot would be improved. They founded this (1) on the consideration that the king would naturally not care to persecute those of his mother's faith; (2) on his assurances that he was averse to bloodshed; (3) on his distinct promise that he would not molest them so long as they remained in quiet loyalty to his government. In fact, James was, in his way and according to his light, a kind of apostle of toleration. He deliberately entered into correspondence with the pope to see if some common platform could be secured on which he and the Roman Catholics might live together in peace. He proposed that the pope should promise to excommunicate any who rose in rebellion against him. The pope, of course, could not agree to govern his censures according to the dictates of a Protestant, but he promised to discourage all such risings. For a time James kept his promise. Everything looked favorable to the Roman Catholics; at least, it seemed that they were now to have a cessation of the Elizabethan horrors.

UNDER JAMES I.

The question of toleration for Roman Catholics was not so simple then as now. (1) They themselves did not believe in toleration. Every Catholic government in Europe was visiting Protestants not only with fines and imprisonments, but with death, and sometimes with wholesale massacre or extermination. (2) Self-preservation is the first law of governments. If the hand of repression were removed from the Roman Catholics, might they not so increase that they would

TOLERATION OF ROMAN CATHOLICS.

become dangerous to the State? In the first days of James's reign this increase became an actual fact, so that the authorities were alarmed. (3) Catholicism had stood for a theory of Church and State which made all governments suspicious. It is true that the new State Church of England was logically carrying out a similar theory, though the very action of that State Church in breaking from universal Catholicism made her tyrannical attitude a self-stultification. Europe had not worked itself free from the spell of mediæval traditions, much less of mediæval memories. Catholic countries were still faithful to the old history, and we may not wonder that in England Catholic emancipation did not come in that century or much later. Protestant emancipation in some Catholic countries yet lingers.

James made good his promise that the Catholics would not be molested. This meant much when we remember that then and long after the profession of Catholicism by attending mass was a capital crime. That is, the mere fact of saying mass was sufficient to bring a priest under the penalties of treason, and those penalties were extended to all who should assist or comfort him. As every Catholic at some time or other attended mass, it was evident that the life of every one of them might be forfeited, if the government were determined to proceed against them, and could find evidence. But this horrible law was rather held over their heads *in terrorem* than actually put into effect on any large scale. The authorities were ordinarily content with the fines for recusancy—that is, for not attending Episcopal Church. Catholics were always liable to imprisonment and these fines, "and they dare not complain, as they were allowed to escape without suffering the full penalty of the law."[1] At first James allowed the fines to rest, but soon aban-

FINES IMPOSED ON ROMAN CATHOLICS.

[1] Gardiner, Hist. of England, 1603–42, i, 96. So far as laws were concerned, the Catholics had little hope. The Supremacy act of 1559 threatened with death anyone who would not acknowledge the spiritual headship of the sovereign. The act against the Jesuits and Seminarists, 1585, threatened with death all priests who were in the kingdom after a certain date, and made all persons who should relieve or aid them in any way also liable to death. This act was reinforced by another in 1603, and proclamations of similar tenor were issued in 1604, 1606, and 1625. The Test act of 1673 provided that no one could hold office who would not receive the Anglican sacrament, that no one not born a Catholic could train up their children in Catholicism, and that all persons to whom the act applied should be obliged to make a declaration against transubstantiation. See the text of these and other acts in Gee and Hardy, Nos. 79, 85, 120.

doned this, and ordered them collected. This, with other reasons, led a hare-brained priest, William Watson, to form a plot for the seizure of the king's person, in order to compel him to grant better measures to Catholics. Another priest, however, disclosed the plot to the government, and this soap-bubble conspiracy came to nothing.[1]

Under this tolerant policy the Catholics rapidly increased. The missionary priests were active, no less than one hundred and forty having landed in the nine months since Elizabeth's death. The increase led to the promulgation of a decree that by March 19, 1604, the priests should have left England. About the same time the king made a speech in parliament in which he outlined his policy. The Catholic laity were not to be molested so long as they remained quiet and would not try to win converts, and if any unjust laws oppressed the innocent, these laws would be revised. As to the clergy, they must be banished the kingdom unless they would disown the doctrine that the pope possessed an "imperial civil power over all kings and emperors," and the doctrine that an excommunicated king might be lawfully assassinated. The laws fining the laity and banishing the clergy, which were now renewed, were soon put into effect. A priest was executed at Salisbury for saying mass, 1604, and a layman suffered the same fate for encouraging him. At Manchester several persons suffered death, September 21, 1604; such priests as were in prison were sent over the sea. The recusancy fines were put in execution, and James and his council became more than determined to proceed against all dissenters—Puritans and Catholics.

MORE RIGOROUS MEASURES.

These severe measures were met by one of the most celebrated plots in the history of the world—a plot unsurpassed for its daring and diabolical intent. This was the Gunpowder Plot, in which it was determined at the opening of parliament on November 5, 1605, to blow up the king and queen and family, and the Lords and Commons—Catholic and Protestant. This was to be followed by a rising of the Catholic gentry, and a succession to the throne under guarantees of justice to the Catholics. The plot was discovered the day before the fifth, owing to an anonymous letter received by one of the Catholic lords warning him against attending parliament that day—a letter which he immediately turned over to the

THE GUNPOWDER PLOT.

[1] Tierney, Dodd, vol. iv, App., and Gardiner, *l. c.*, i, 108 ff., give full particulars of Watson's plot.

authorities. Of this famous plot it should be said: (1) Outside the half dozen men in the plot, and a few who had been entangled into the rising, the Catholics not only knew nothing of the plot, but would have regarded it with horror. (2) This applies to the Jesuits and all the clergy, it might fairly be said, even although the conspirators received the communion binding each other to secrecy from the Jesuit Gerard, who was not, however, let into the plot, and although the head of the Jesuits in England, Garnet, knew of the plot by confession, and might have known of it outside of confession if he had allowed the information to be communicated. (3) From the fact that the Jesuit Greenway knew of the plot by confession, gave absolution to the plotters, and refrained from forbidding their crime or thwarting it, but rather indorsed it, and from the fact that his chief, Garnet, took substantially the same attitude, though he said he looked upon their deed with abhorrence, the Order of Jesus and the Church are indirectly implicated as accomplices and abettors. (4) Perhaps equally damaging to the constructive treason and murder chargeable to Garnet was his use of equivocation at his trial, founded as it was on a treatise on equivocation corrected by his own hand, and therefore not to be understood as the effort of a desperate man to clear himself, but rather as the legitimate carrying out of an ethical principle. Garnet held that it was not only right for a prisoner to use falsehood, on the ground that a magistrate had no right to compel him to accuse himself, but he held the immoral doctrine of equivocation, that the speaker could put any meaning upon his words, and he was not responsible if the hearer understood them in the ordinary or probable sense.[1] (5) The effort of Father Gerard, S. J., as a part of the general movement of Catholic scholars to revise the judgments of history, to throw dust on the reality of the Gunpowder Plot by trying to show that the evidence is not sufficient to prove it, or is capable of another explanation, or that the whole plot was manufactured by James's prime minister to induce the king to proceed further against the Catholics, has been shown by Gardiner in a fair and unbiased investigation to be an instance of special pleading which breaks down at all critical points. The history of the whole plot can be traced with minuteness by contemporary evidence.[2]

[1] Gardiner, i, 280, 281; Jardine, Gunpowder Plot, p. 334.

[2] Wm. Gerard, S. J., What Was the Gunpowder Plot? Lond., 1897; 2d ed., 1899. This is answered by The Edinburgh Review, Jan., 1897, pp. 183 ff., and by S. R. Gardiner, What Gunpowder Plot Was, Lond. & N. Y., 1897. Gerard

It is obvious that the Gunpowder Plot would prejudice the Catholics in the eyes of their fellow-countrymen, make their treatment harsher, and postpone the day of their deliverance. Sometimes the persecutions slackened, the penal laws were relaxed, and Catholics breathed freely for a time. Then fines, imprisonment, even death, were theirs. It is a long, gloomy history. The slaying of holy and sincere men, whose only crime was that they were Catholic priests, is a record that Protestant England might well desire to forget. But the accusing page of history is like the books of the judgment day: What is written is written forever. Challoner and Father Morris have told the story of these latter-day martyrs, whose saintliness and heroic self-devotion recall the glories of the martyr Church of Diocletian and of the Reformation.[1]

ALTERNATIONS OF MILD AND SEVERE TREATMENT.

If Catesby's Gunpowder Plot was a grim reality, Oates's Plot, in 1678, was a grim fiction. It seems incredible that this immoral adventurer, Titus Oates, could so work on the credulity of the English that on October 21, 1678, the Commons resolved that "there hath been, and still is, a damnable and hellish plot, carried on by papist recusants for assassinating the king, the subverting the government, and for rooting out the Protestant religion." But, like similar cries almost equally baseless, it was turned into political capital, and so became effective for vast mischief. Two thousand Catholics were cast into prison, and fifteen were executed, including five Jesuit priests. There are times when a nation seems to lose its head and become possessed with a kind of frenzy or insanity. Such was England at the time of the famous "Popish Plot." For two years the excitement continued, and victims were demanded by the Protestant mob. It was not, however, the last scare at the popish bugbear, nor the last time that such scares have been utilized by political selfishness, bigotry, and intolerance.

TITUS OATES.

replied to Gardiner in his The Gunpowder Plot and the Gunpowder Plotters, Lond., 1899. The trouble with Gerard's book is that it rests chiefly on "suggestions and suspicions, gossip or hearsay," on subjective criticisms, imagined difficulties, or supposed improbabilities, whereas the historical account rests on positive evidence. "It is plain," says S. R. Gardiner, "that Father Gerard is unversed in the methods of historical inquiry which have guided recent scholars."—What Gunpowder Plot Was, p. 3.

[1] Challoner, Martyrs to the Catholic Faith: Memoirs of Missionary Priests and Other Catholics of both Sexes that have suffered Death in England on Religious Accounts from 1577 to 1688, Lond., 1741; new ed. with pref. by Card. Manning, Edinb., 1877; Morris, Troubles of our Catholic Forefathers, 3 vols., Lond., 1877.

CHAPTER XI.

POST-REFORMATION SCOTLAND.

MODERN Scottish Church history is divided into two well-defined periods : (1) the struggle of Presbyterianism for existence against Episcopalianism—from the Reformation to the Revolution of 1688 ; and (2) religious development under an established Presbyterianism—from 1690 to the present time. It is the aim of this chapter to relate some of the events of the first period.

As we have seen, the Reformation established itself in Scotland under a Presbyterian form. This was in harmony with the convictions of Knox and of his chief coadjutors, clerical and lay, and was not obnoxious to any who assented heartily to the movement. But there were some who preferred episcopacy. They were (1) the court party, the regent, and, later, James VI (James I of England), and (2) some of the nobles who desired a greater share of the temporalities, and those who were indifferent to the Reformation. The court party was powerful enough to secure at the Convention of Leith, 1572, an order for the continuance of the hierarchical titles and dioceses, and for the appointment of bishops. The so-called bishops were still subject to a Presbyterian General Assembly, and the whole arrangement could give but little satisfaction to a consistent Episcopalian. Besides, as the bishops were but the catspaw of certain greedy laymen, who received most of the emoluments of the see, the people went straight to the mark with their derisive nickname, "tulchan bishops." The tulchan was a calfskin stuffed with straw, which was placed beside a cow to make her give her milk more freely. "The bishops have the name," said the people, "but the nobles have the milk."

ADVOCATES OF EPISCOPALIANISM.

Neither party could be content with such a state of things as this. The Presbyterian party went forward to a more consistent position. This was partly due to the influence of the learned Andrew Melville, who had returned to Scotland after a long training in continental universities, and under Calvin and Beza, and now threw his whole influence into the work of establishing the Church on what he considered scriptural foundations. In the Assembly of 1575 he made a strong argument to

MELVILLE'S ARGUMENT.

the effect "that prelacy had no foundation in Scripture, and that, viewed as a human expedient, its tendency was extremely doubtful, if not necessarily hurtful to religion. The words bishop and presbyter are interchangeably used in the New Testament, and the most popular arguments for the divine origin of episcopacy are founded on ignorance of the original of Scripture. It was the opinion of Jerome and other Christian fathers that all ministers of the Gospel were at first equal, and that the superiority of bishops originated in custom, not in divine appointment. A certain degree of preeminence was at an early period given to one of the college of presbyters over the rest, with a view or under a pretext of preserving unity; but this device had often bred dissension, while it fostered a spirit of ambition and avarice among the clergy."

ASSEMBLY OF 1576.

With arguments like the above, Melville and others gradually led the General Assembly to an uncompromising Presbyterianism, so far as their synodal action was concerned. The Assembly of 1576 decided that the "name of a bishop is common to all who are appointed to take charge of a particular flock, in preaching the Word, administering the sacraments, and exercising discipline with the consent of their elders; and that this is their chief function according to the Word of God." The tulchan bishops did not raise their voices in their own defense.

MELVILLE'S COURAGE.

The court bitterly resented this action, and especially Melville's influence. The Regent Murray tried to stop the meeting of the Assembly by telling Melville that as it was a court of the king's subjects it could only meet by his permission. If that were so, said Melville, then Christ and his apostles must have been guilty of treason, for they called together great multitudes and taught and governed them without asking permission of magistrates. In a fit of anger Lord Chancellor Morton bit his staff, and growled in an undertone, "There never will be quietness in this country till half-a-dozen of you be hanged or banished." "Tush, sir," replied the brave Presbyterian; "threaten your courtiers after this manner. It is the same to me whether I rot in the air or in the ground. The earth is the Lord's. My country is wherever goodness is. . . . I have lived out of your country two years, as well as in it. Let God be glorified; it will not be in your power to hang or exile his truth."[1] In 1578 the General Assembly sanctioned the Second Book of Discipline, which fixed Presbyterianism as the national polity, and ordered that no new bishops should be made.

[1] Melville's Diary, pp. 52, 53.

The Stuart sovereigns were bound to neutralize or destroy Presbyterianism in Scotland as in England, under the impression that that polity was a school for freedom. When James was trying to enslave the Scottish Church by interfering with the free coming together of her Assembly, the heroic Melville addressed him thus : " Sir, we will always humbly reverence your majesty in public ; but since we have this occasion to be with your majesty in private, and since you are brought into extreme danger of your life and crown [by certain proposals from the Catholic nobles], and along with you the country and the Church of God are like to go to wreck, for not telling you the truth and giving you faithful counsel, we must discharge our duty, or else be traitors to both it and you. Therefore, sir, as divers times before I have told you, so now again I must tell you, there are two kings and kingdoms in Scotland : there is King James, the head of the commonwealth, and there is Christ Jesus, the king of the Church, whose subject James the Sixth is, and of whose kingdom he is not a king, nor a lord, nor a head, but a member. Sir, those whom Christ has called and commanded to watch over his Church have power and authority from him to govern his spiritual kingdom, both jointly and severally ; the which no Christian king nor prince should control and discharge, but fortify and assist ; otherwise they are not faithful subjects of Christ and members of his Church. We will yield to you your place, and give you all due obedience ; but again I say, you are not the head of the Church ; you cannot give us that eternal life which we seek for even in this world, and you cannot deprive us of it. Permit us, then, freely to meet in the name of Christ, and to attend to the interests of that Church of which you are the chief member."[1]

MELVILLE AND KING JAMES.

Was it the memory of these bold words which at Hampton conference made the king resolve that he would either make the Puritans conform or harry them out of the land ? But Melville's warning did not make the king any the less anxious to cripple the presbytery and strengthen the episcopacy in Scotland. Step by step, often by secret and corrupt influence, he got one advantage after the other, and finally had prelacy recognized as a third estate of the realm. To get rid of Melville's influence he deprived him of the rectorship of St. Andrew's University, 1597, and then had a law passed that no theological teachers not pastors should sit in Assembly. James's treatment of this great and good man is one of the dark blots on

MELVILLE RESTRICTED AND IMPRISONED.

[1] Melville's Diary, pp. 245, 246.

his character. In 1606 James summoned him and seven other ministers to London, nominally to confer with them on Church matters, but really to deprive the Assembly of their presence and their opposition to his plans. While in London Melville was compelled to attend a highly ritualistic service in the royal chapel, on which he afterward wrote for his own amusement some satirical Latin verses. A spy discovered these and delivered them to the king, who now had his revenge. Melville was found guilty by the privy council of a great scandal, and was imprisoned in the Tower.

After four years' confinement, James, at the request of Du Plessis Mornay, allowed Melville to go to Sedan to assist Tilenus in the professorship of divinity. Scotch students came to him there, so that his work was still continued. One of his pupils was John Dury, who labored so zealously for union among Protestants, and Alexander Colville, who carried on his work at St. Andrew's. "If the love of pure religion, rational liberty, and polite letters forms the basis of national virtue and happiness, I know no individual, after her reformer, from whom Scotland has received greater benefits, and to whom she owes a deeper debt of gratitude and respect, than Andrew Melville."[1] He died at Sedan, at the age of 77, in 1622. With some of the principal champions of Presbyterianism thus removed, James succeeded by bribery and force in bringing in a full-fledged prelacy upon the Scottish Church, and also some minor regulations, such as kneeling at the Lord's Supper, confirmation, private baptism (when necessary), and the observance of Christmas, Easter, and other holidays.

MELVILLE ON THE CONTINENT.

Charles I and Laud were determined to proceed to further measures for the Catholicizing of Scotland. The country was still Presbyterian. Of one product that land has always been able to boast—*men*, men of brain and heart, men of learning and piety. There was Samuel Rutherford, the Presbyterian Thomas Aquinas, with his learning, his theological acumen, his piety—at once a great Church leader and a saint, equally at home among the tomes of the fathers, writing a letter of comfort to a poor widow, or praying in the hovels of his parishioners. There was George Gillespie, a young giant in intellect and learning, the great antagonist of both Independency and Anglicanism, who was cut off in the fullness of youth. Of him the story is told that when the Westminster Assembly was preparing the Shorter Catechism and came to the question, "What is

STRONG LEADERS AGAINST CHARLES I AND LAUD.

[1] McCrie, Life of Andrew Melville, 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1819, 2d ed., 1824.

God?" and all present declined to answer, they hit upon Gillespie as the youngest member. He proposed that they first engage in prayer, and the opening sentence of his prayer was taken down as the best of all human answers. There was also Alexander Henderson, the ecclesiastical statesman of Scotland, who towered like a rock amid the commotions of the times. He wore himself out for the Church, and went home to Edinburgh to die with the words: "I am near the end of my race. In a few days I am going home, and I am as glad of it as a schoolboy when sent home from school to his father's house." Men like these must be remembered when we ask, Why did not the first and second Charles succeed in their attempts to set up Anglo-Catholicism in Scotland?

In 1636 Charles I sent over a body of canons and constitutions ecclesiastical, which enjoined: (1) the supreme headship of the king in the ecclesiastical affairs of Scotland, and the penalty of excommunication for all who should refuse to recognize that headship; (2) ember seasons as the only time allowable for ordinations; (3) the receiving of the sacrament kneeling; (4) no extempore prayer; (5) no form of prayer except that in the new liturgy; (6) the communion table to be placed at the upper end of the church, and decently covered; (7) the encouragement of private confession; (8) absolution to be given at the proper time. The canons also suppressed the presbyteries and General Assembly.[1] This was followed by a Prayer Book intended to take the place of Knox's extremely Protestant Book of Common Order.[2] The Prayer Book received the king's assent on December 20, 1637, though it was not until the middle of the next year that it was ordered used in all the churches of Scotland.

CHARLES'S CANONS AND PRAYER BOOK.

On Sunday, July 23, 1638, the new liturgy was to be read for the first time in St. Giles' Cathedral, Edinburgh. The bishop of Edinburgh was the preacher. Several other bishops, the lords of the privy council, and the magistrates attended in their official robes. The dean, wearing not the usual teacher's gown, with which the people were familiar, but the hated surplice, arose to read the new book. Immediately a confused low murmur was heard, which gradually arose louder and louder, and in the midst of that ominous clamor a woman

THE CRISIS IN ST. GILES'.

[1] The canons of 1636 may be found in Laud's Works, vol. v.

[2] For a brief statement of differences between Knox's Book and the Anglo-Scottish liturgy see Luckock, The Church in Scotland, pp. 182–185. For an interesting account of Knox's Book see D. Douglas Bannerman in A New Directory for the Public Worship of God, Edinburgh, 1898.

took the stool on which she had been sitting, and sent it whizzing through the air at the head of the dean, with the cry, "Out, thou false loon! Dost thou say mass at my lug?" Other women made similar outcries, and Wodrow says that more than one stool was fired at the ecclesiastical dignitaries in the old church on that famous Sunday. Archbishop Spottiswood ordered the soldiers to clear the church of the rioters, and the service proceeded to the close with the fierce cries of the incensed crowds outside coming through the breaking windows.[1]

THE AIM OF THE ST. GILES' STOOLS.

Some Anglican writers have pointed to the St. Giles' rude protest against the reading of the prayer as an evidence of the dullness or barbarism of the Scotch people. But these writers are wide of the point. It was not against read prayers, as such, that the Scotch people protested. They had prayers in their own service book. But the St. Giles' stools were aimed at a larger mark. (1) It was the attempt to overthrow that Protestant faith in which two generations of people had been trained. Would they sit supinely by and see this splendid inheritance snatched from them? The people went straight to the mark: Wilt thou say mass at my lug? They knew that Laud's new Prayer Book meant Catholicism. (2) It was a protest against absolutism. Charles was trying, as James had tried, to rule independently of the ecclesiastical courts of the land, and to enforce a new religion against the will of the people.

CHARACTER OF THE STRUGGLE.

There now followed the attempt of the Episcopal Church to destroy Presbyterianism and freedom in Scotland, which lasted, with the Cromwellian respite, for fifty years. On the one hand, it must be allowed that the Anglicans did not persecute the Scotch because they wanted to kill Presbyterians, but they persecuted to realize a religiously united Great Britain. The countries could never be one politically until they were one religiously. That was the thought of England, and it was the thought of the Presbyterians too, when they prepared to swear the Solemn League and Covenant on every adult in England,

[1] The tradition of the flying stool is well founded, being based on all the contemporary accounts. But the tradition which makes Jeanie Geddes the heroine of that unusual missile has long been exploded, though it is repeated in histories of the Scotch Church, usually accurate, like those of Hetherington, p. 146; N. L. Walker, p. 48; and Muir, p. 40. Wodrow (d. 1734) states that it was a "constant believed tradition that it was Mrs. Mean, wife to John Mean, merchant of Edinburgh, that cast the first stool," (Analecta, i, 64). For the correct account see Luckock, pp. 186, 187; Burton, Hist. of Scotland, vi, 443; and Gardiner, Hist. of England, 1603–1642, viii, 315.

1643. On the other hand, it is fair to say: (1) The Anglican attempt was connected with absolutist ideas, and meant the virtual subversion of the Scotch parliament. It was the carrying out of a program for the destruction of Scottish liberty as well as of Scottish religion, whereas the English Presbyterians received the hearty support of parliament. (2) The Scotch never set out with armies to destroy Anglicanism. (3) The persecuting measures against the Scotch were so long continued, and of so cruel a character, that they are set apart by themselves as peculiarly diabolical and worthy of Rome at a darker time. (4) Far from having only a political intent in this persecution, Episcopalianism would not be content except at the martyrdom of women also, and of others whose faith was no menace to the State.

The rallying charter of the Scotch in this fearful time was the National Covenant, a pledge to maintain the true Christian faith, signed in 1580, 1581, and 1590, and now brought forward with important additions. The acts of parliament in support of the reformed religion were cited, and the Covenant closed with a solemn promise to defend that religion. "We, noblemen, barons, gentlemen, burgesses, ministers, and commons," ran the brave words of this immortal document, "subscribing hereto, considering divers times before, and especially at this time, the danger of the true reformed religion, of the king's honor, and of the public peace, by the manifold innovations and evils generally contained and mentioned in our late supplications, complaints, and protestations, do hereby profess, and before God, his angels, and the world, solemnly declare, that with a whole heart we agree and resolve all the days of our life constantly to adhere to defend the aforesaid true religion, forbearing the practice of all innovations already introduced in the matter of the worship of God or approbation of the corruptions of the public government of the Kirk or civil places, and power of Kirkmen, till they be tried and allowed, in free assemblies and in parliament, to labor by all means lawful to recover the purity and liberty of the Gospel as it was established and professed before the aforesaid innovations. And . . . . we promise and swear by the great name of the Lord our God to continue in the profession and obedience of the aforesaid religion, and that we shall defend the same, and resist all these contrary errors and corruptions."

THE NATIONAL COVENANT.

After declaring their loyalty to the king, they say: "And because we cannot look for a blessing of God upon our proceedings, except with our profession and subscription we join such a life

and conversation as beseemeth Christians who have renewed their covenant with God, we therefore faithfully promise ourselves, our followers, and all others under us, both in public and in our particular families, and personal carriage, to endeavor to keep ourselves within the bounds of Christian liberty, and to be good examples to others of all godliness, soberness, and righteousness, and of every duty we owe to God and man; and, that this our union and conjunction may be observed without violation, we call the living God, the Searcher of our hearts, to witness, who knoweth this to be our sincere desire and unfeigned resolution."

THE SIGNING OF THE COVENANT.

The signing of the Covenant in the Greyfriars' Church, Edinburgh, March 1, 1638, was one of the most affecting and memorable scenes in history. After prayer by Henderson, the Earl of Loudon addressed the congregation, urging fidelity to God and country. Then the document was unrolled, and signatures asked. A pause ensued, for no one felt himself worthy to sign first. At last the aged Earl of Sutherland came forward, and lifting up his hand, as is the custom of Scotland in swearing, wrote his name. The rest pressed forward to follow his example, noblemen first, country gentlemen next, then the ministers, and last the burgesses. Then the parchment was taken outside and laid upon one of the level gravestones. The people wept aloud for joy. Some added to their names the words "till death," and others drew their blood and used it as ink. "Then, as darkness closed in upon this weird spectacle, they stood once more, amidst the graves of their ancestors, and with uplifted hands and united voice declared that they had joined themselves to the Lord in an everlasting covenant that shall not be forgotten." The Covenant was signed with almost equal enthusiasm in other parts of the country.

RAGE OF CHARLES I.

Charles gnashed his teeth with rage when he heard of all this. "I intend not to yield to the demands of these traitors, the Covenanters," he said, "and, as concerning the explanation of this damnable Covenant, I will only say that so long as this Covenant is in force, whether it be with or without explanation, I have no more power in Scotland than a duke of Venice would have. I will rather die than suffer it."

ASSEMBLY OF 1638.

The General Assembly of 1638 continued the good work. The statesman, pastor, and saint, Alexander Henderson, was made moderator, and under his guidance the question was answered, Shall this General Assembly resume its rights as a court of Jesus Christ in his Church? In the exercise

of those rights it abolished episcopacy, removed the bishops, and rescinded the Perth Articles and the ordinances about the service book. Charles answered this action with an army, but his troops were defeated, and he soon had far more serious work on his hands in England.

SCOTLAND UNDER CHARLES II.

With the coming of Charles II, 1660, began the testing time in the history of Scottish Protestantism, which lasted almost to the deposition of James II in 1688. We have seen that during the Reformation times in Scotland there were few martyrs on either side. The real martyr period was in the last quarter of the seventeenth century. It was the Henrician and Marian age of Scotland, when her brave spirits—men and women—gave up their lives with glad joy for Christ's crown and covenant, and sealed their testimony for Christ with as heroic a giving up of life as ever the martyrs did who waited for Nero's torch or Galerius's sword.

CRUEL PERSECUTIONS.

It may be said that these methods were the rough ways of the times. This is so in part; but even under Henry, Mary, and Elizabeth the heretics had a form of trial, and their execution was always after a more or less long, careful, and formal examination. But the cruelties of the Anglican crusade recall the horrors of the mediæval wars for the Holy Sepulcher and those of the Sepoy Rebellion. Even the Episcopalian and Tory, Sir Walter Scott, though he speaks in Old Mortality of the "gloomy fanaticism" of some of the Covenanters, "their abhorrent condemnation of all elegant studies or innocent exercises, and the envenomed rancor of their political hatred"—qualities which their persecution by Anglicans would naturally engender, though doubtless all religious earnestness Scott would have been inclined to call fanaticism—speaks also in the same great novel of the deeper abhorrence that we must feel for the "tyrannical and oppressive conduct of the government, the misrule, license, and brutality of the soldiers, the executions on the scaffold, the slaughters in the open field, the free quarters and exactions imposed by military law, which placed the lives and fortunes of a free people on a level with Asiatic slaves."[1] A

[1] R. H. Hutton, in his Sir Walter Scott (English Men of Letters Series), says that "although Scott's political and martial prepossessions went with Claverhouse, his reason and educated moral feeling were clearly identified with Morton" (p. 106). In Tales of a Grandfather Scott made amends for his former treatment of the Covenanters. Mr. David Douglas, the editor of the Journal of Sir Walter Scott, 2 vols., Edinb., 1890, believes that Scott's

writer of studied moderation is constrained to say that it is vain to allege political matters as the sole cause of the persecution, "and that religious liberty was not interfered with. The boot and the thumbscrew were used for the purpose of enforcing submission to bishops, as certainly as ever the rack and the stake were used for the purpose of enforcing submission to the pope."[1] In fact the use of torture alone, which was employed so ruthlessly by the agents of Anglicanism in Scotland—and that in the last quarter of the seventeenth century—adds to the infamy of the attempt to destroy the Scottish Church.[2]

The ordinary method of the Episcopal persecution was not death. A devout and learned Presbyterian pastor received notice to give up his parish. He and his family became exiles and wanderers, though it was a criminal offense for anyone to receive them or give them aid. An Episcopal minister, ignorant and perhaps vicious—that is Burnet's contemporary description—succeeded him. The people would not attend his ministrations. The authorities sent down dragoons to compel them. These were quartered upon them, inflicted heavy fines, and thus ruined some. Others were banished or sold as slaves. Some were shot without trial. A pious carrier, John Brown, of Priesthill, Muirkirk, for refusing to attend the services of some worthless curate's ministry, was arrested by Claverhouse while working in the field, taken to his own house, and ordered to pray, for he must die. After praying, Brown kissed his wife and children good-bye, and Claverhouse ordered his soldiers to fire. They refused. Then he shot him through the head with his own hand, and said to the widow, "What thinkest thou of thy husband now, woman?" "I ever thought much good of him, and so much now as ever," she answered. "It were but justice to lay thee beside him," said the persecutor. "If you were permitted," replied she, "I doubt not but your cruelty would go that length; but how will you answer for this morning's work?" "To man I

MARTYRS FOR CONSCIENCE.

later effort to do justice to the Covenanters was due to a change of view, to a conviction that he had not done them justice in his earlier writings.

[1] Pearson McAdam Muir, The Church of Scotland, p. 48.

[2] Torture was not legally abolished in Scotland until 1709.—Lea, Superstition and Force, 4th ed., rev., p. 574. Lea says that no trace of torture in England can be found later than 1640, though the equally barbarous custom of *peine forte et dure*—torture to make a prisoner plead—was not abolished until 1772. *Ibid.*, pp. 569, 574, note. In fact the persistence of torture in the legal procedures of Christian states is one of the discouraging revelations of history.

can be answerable," said Graham of Claverhouse, of whom Aytoun sings in eulogistic lays, "and as for God I will take him in my own hand." Then the brutal Claverhouse wheeled away with his troops, leaving the desolate widow to gather up the brains of her husband and compose his body to its eternal sleep.

Another victim was Andrew Hislop, of County Dumfries, whom the soldiers requested to cover his eyes with his bonnet before they fired. "Raising it higher on his dauntless brow, and stretching out his hand, in which he held his Bible, he replied that he could look his death-bringers in the face without fear, charging them to answer for what they had done and were about to do in the Great Day, when they should be judged by that Book—and so fell a dreadless martyr for the truth."[1] Sometimes the persecutors in their search for some hapless Presbyterian would gather the children together, draw them up in a line, place soldiers before them, and tell them to pray, for they were now to be shot. Then, while they were in mortal fear, they were promised that on revealing the hiding places of their relatives and friends their lives would be spared. A promising young minister, Thomas Archer, was swung from the gallows. Another young preacher—the eloquent and devout Hugh McKail—had been associated with some efforts at self-defense, but only for a short time. He told frankly his whole relation to the movement, but this was not enough. The persecutors wanted to know more, and applied the torture of the boot. Harder and harder did they screw that horrible instrument, crushing his flesh and bones, but he repeatedly declared that he had nothing more to say. Finally a swoon relieved him. When he was brought to execution his face shone with the joy of Christian triumph. He closed his speech on the scaffold with these words: "And now I leave off to speak any more to creatures, and turn my speech to thee, O Lord. I begin my intercourse with God, which shall never be broken off. Farewell, father and mother, friends and relations; farewell, the world and all delights; farewell, meat and drink; farewell, sun, moon, and stars. Welcome, God and Father; welcome, sweet Jesus, the mediator of the New Covenant; welcome, blessed Spirit of grace, and God of all consolation; welcome, glory; welcome, eternal life; welcome, death. O Lord, into thy hands I commit my spirit; for thou hast redeemed my soul, Lord God of truth." The imprisonment of two hundred men and women in one vault in Dunnottar Castle for almost one whole summer (1685), all

HISLOP, ARCHER, AND MCKAIL.

[1] Hetherington, Hist. of Church of Scotland, pp. 280, 281.

crowded together in a mass, some happily relieved by death from that long agony, and others later sold as slaves, equals in inhumanity the famous incident of the Black Hole of Calcutta.[1]

ARMED RESISTANCE SLIGHT.

In regard to the armed resistance which the Anglican persecutors aroused, it may be said that this resistance was never formidable, but rather pathetically feeble, and that on any just principles of government it was both righteous and necessary. For far less provocation England was convulsed with civil war, Charles I was beheaded, and James II was dethroned. The Revolution of 1688 is the complete vindication of Argyll and Richard Cameron. These defensive movements, however, were never national, but rather sporadic and short-lived.

MURDER OF ARCHBISHOP SHARP.

The murder of Archbishop Sharp is also alleged as palliation for the "Killing Times." This was cruel and impolitic. Sharp had been professor at St. Andrew's, and was intrusted by the Presbyterians with responsible missions. But he turned traitor, and in 1661 was consecrated archbishop of St. Andrew's. With the zeal of a convert he entered into the work of persecution, sending nine persons to death, it is said, after the king had desired the bloody work to cease. A company of desperate men intercepted his carriage on Magus Muir, near St. Andrew's, May 3, 1679, and dispatched him before the eyes of his daughter. This single murder by a company of enthusiasts crazed by oppression can hardly excuse the horrible barbarities executed in cold blood on Hackston, the chief of the murderers.[2]

UNDER WILLIAM OF ORANGE.

William of Orange, king 1689–1702, believed in the divine right of neither presbytery nor episcopacy, and was indifferent as to which was established by law, providing that both were fully loyal to him and to the constitutional government for which his name stood. As the Episcopalians were the disaffected in Scotland—many of them being the partisans of the deposed James, and as presbytery was the national polity, the Presbyterian Church was established in Scotland, but with large provision for toleration. As early as 1712, with the memories of the Anglican Reign of Terror still fresh, an act of toleration was passed giving freedom to the Episcopal Church in Scotland. For the large and broad lines on which the Scottish Church was reconstituted credit is due not only to a liberal sovereign, but to Principal Carstares of the University of Edinburgh, one of the most illustrious names of modern times.

[1] On Dunnottar see Wodrow, v, 322–328, 333; Hetherington, 282, 283.

[2] See N. L. Walker, Scottish Church History, p. 82.

CHAPTER XII.

IRELAND FROM ELIZABETH TO ANNE.

WHATEVER the shortcomings of the Irish Reformation there were no burnings. During the reign of Elizabeth the Roman Catholics were not molested, nor were any severe acts passed by the Irish parliament. The presence of a large number of Roman Catholic peers there, and the fact that most of the inhabitants of the country were still of the old faith, made persecuting measures impossible. But this did not prevent suffering under the guise of treason. Patrick O'Hale, bishop of Mayo, and priest O'Rourke were hanged for supposed complicity in rebellious designs, but without proof. Archbishop Creagh of Armagh was kept in prison in the Tower of London until he died. His loyalty was suspected, though even Killen mentions no proof. Archbishop Dermot O'Hurley of Cashel was supposed to be in touch with some rebel chiefs, but as no substantial evidence could be obtained he was subjected to frightful tortures. Even this method of eliciting evidence did not avail; but under the impression that he knew more than he confessed he was hung in Dublin in June, 1584. The activity of the Anglican archbishop of Dublin, Loftus, in these inquisitorial horrors, is an admirable commentary on the apostle's directions to ministers in regard to opponents (2 Tim. ii, 24, 25).

PERSECUTION UNDER POLITICAL GUISE.

Under the barbaric treatment of England, with the attendant disturbances, destruction of crops and cattle, wars and massacres, Ireland was being reduced to desolation. The poet Spenser thus describes the wretchedness of the people of Munster: "Out of every corner of the woods and glens they came creeping forth upon their hands, for their legs could not bear them; they looked like anatomies of death, they spake like ghosts crying out of their graves; and if they found a plot of watercresses or shamrocks there they flocked as to a feast for a time; that in short space of time there were none almost left, and a most populous and plentiful country suddenly left void of man and beast."[1] The old Irish annalists confirm the testimony of Spenser as to the

MORAL AND PHYSICAL DESOLATION CONTINUED.

[1] View of State of Ireland, probably written 1590 ff., though not printed until 1633, ed. 1809, p. 166.

desolation of the country. "At this period it was commonly said that the lowing of a cow or the voice of the plowman could scarcely be heard from Dunqueen [the most western part of Kerry] to Cashel in Munster."[1] "There hath died by famine only," said a government official, "not so few as thirty thousand in this province [Munster] in less than half a year, besides others that are hanged and killed."[2] The country was in a state of moral and spiritual degradation as well as of physical suffering and destitution. Superstition was everywhere and crime was rampant. It is evident that the English occupation brought no cessation to Erin's woes.

FOUNDING OF TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN.

It is pleasant to turn from this to the founding of Trinity College, Dublin. The English authorities—to their credit be it said—were anxious for a Protestant university, and in 1591 their plan was carried out. The site of an old monastery was chosen, by the aid of personal subscriptions buildings were erected, and on January 9, 1594, students were admitted. "Josephus reports," says Thomas Fuller, "that during the time of the building of the temple it rained not in the daytime, but in the night, that the showers might not hinder the work. I say what by him is reported, hath been avouched to me by witnesses without exception, that the same happened here, for from the founding to the finishing of this college—the officious heavens always smiling by day, though often weeping by night, till the work was completed."[3] The Roman Catholics were not idle in the matter of education for their priests. Irish colleges were established in Spain in 1582 and 1590, and in Douay in Flanders in 1595, by the French government in Paris, and perhaps in other places in France and the Netherlands.

EPISCOPAL AND ROMAN CATHOLIC CLERGY.

The Episcopal clergy in Ireland were in a sorry condition. Many had conformed to the new religion in a purely mechanical fashion, and brought over with them their greed and impiety. "Whatever disorders," says an eyewitness, "you see in the Church of England you may find there [Ireland], and many more, namely, gross simony, greedy covetousness, fleshly incontinence, careless sloth, and generally all disordered life of the common clergymen. And besides all these they have their particu-

[1] O'Donovan, ed. of Annals of the Four Masters, sub A. D. 1582, v. 1785.

[2] Sir Warham St. Leger to Sir John Perrot, April 22, 1582; Froude, Hist. of England, xi, 249.

[3] Church Hist. of Britain, iii, 123 (book ix, cent. xvi, §§ 43–47). The queen's object was a safeguard against popery.

lar enormities; for all Irish priests, which now enjoy the Church livings, are in a manner mere laymen, saving that they have taken holy orders; but otherwise they do go and live like laymen, following all kinds of husbandry and other worldly affairs, as other Irishmen do. They neither read Scriptures, nor preach, nor administer the communion; but baptism they do, for they christen yet after the popish fashion."[1] Some of the Catholic clergy in morals were no better, for they indulged in drunkenness, lying, revenge, perfidy, and profane swearing.[2] But affliction had worked its noble fruits among many, for we find them at the risk of freedom and of life carrying the consolation of religion to their fellow-countrymen. Spenser contrasts their godly zeal with the culpable negligence of the Episcopal ministers.[3]

Perhaps the most important event in this intermediate period was the plantation of Ulster in 1610. The earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel, who had formerly been in rebellion, but were now at peace, finding no standing ground in Ireland, quietly left for the Continent. Another Ulster chieftain came to grief, and that, with the "flight of the earls," left a large portion of the northern province confiscated to the crown. There is some dispute as to the extent of the confiscated lands, but perhaps the careful estimate of Reid comes near to the truth: "The extent of the forfeited lands is stated by Carte at above 'half a million acres,' but Pynnar, who is much more accurate, gives it at 400,000 acres. . . . I find that of the 400,000 forfeited acres 100,000 were granted for Church, school, and corporation lands, above 60,000 were granted to the native Irish, and the remaining 240,000 were granted to the British undertakers or colonists, the majority of whose tenants were also Irish, the original inhabitants of Ulster."[4] O'Conor makes the extent of the plantation 250,682 acres, and says that many thousands of the planters were Roman Catholics.[5] There can be no doubt that on any just ethical principles the forcible seizure of these lands was indefensible. Some facts, however, must be noted. (1) Although the majority of the planters were Scotch Presbyterians and English Protestants, yet many were Catholics. (2) To many thousands of Catholics land was given under the planters. For instance, Lord Castlehaven

PLANTATION OF ULSTER.

[1] Spenser, *l. c.*, pp. 139, 140. [2] Killen, *l. c.*, i, 467.

[3] *L. c.*, pp. 253–255. For farther contemporary testimonies as to the ignorance, inefficiency, and degradation of the Episcopal clergy, see Killen, i, 471–473.

[4] Hist. of Presb. Church in Ireland, i, 90, note.

[5] Historical Address, part ii, pp. 296–298.

planted 9,000 acres with 3,000 Catholic Irish.[1] (3) From being a hotbed of rebellion Ulster became the most stable and peaceable province in Ireland, so that an era of prosperity began there for both the Catholic and the Protestant. (4) The condition of the Catholic native tenants under their old Catholic chiefs was wretched, being practically slavery. The tenants were now taught that they had the equal protection of the laws, that they had certain rights as tenants which the landlords must respect, and the latter were compelled to grant leases for a number of years.[2] (5) Under the new influences many of the Catholic Irish of Ulster became prosperous and content, and many passed over to Protestantism. Great injustice, however, was done to some, and this was remembered in the fateful year 1641.

Of the Episcopal clergy in Ireland during this period there were two men who would have done honor to any age—Ussher and Bedell. Ussher was professor of divinity in Trinity College, Dublin, 1607; bishop of Meath, 1621; archbishop of Armagh, 1625, and resident of England, 1640–56. He is chiefly famous, perhaps, for his stanchly Calvinistic Articles of Religion, 1615; his Answer to a Jesuit, 1625, the first attempt to meet Rome in Ireland by an appeal to the fathers; his labors on the antiquities of the Irish and British Churches, and his Annales Veteris et Novi Testamenti, 1650–54, where he worked out a chronology of the Bible which was accepted by the editors of the Authorized Version. But no less was he distinguished for his charity, his sweetness of temper, and his humility—rare qualities in that stormy age. "Come, doctor, let us say something about Christ before we part," he used to say to his friend, Dr. John Preston,

USSHER AND BEDELL.

[1] Hill, in his Macdonnells of Antrim, Belfast, 1873, greatly exaggerates when he says (p. 65), "Throughout every corner of Ulster, with a few rare exceptions, the Irish had been swept from all the arable lands." We have explicit contemporary testimony to the contrary. Sir John Davys, who was at this time Irish Attorney General, in his letter to the Earl of Salisbury, dated Nov. 8, 1610, giving an account of the proceedings of the plantation commissioners, says, "First, the land assigned to the natives we distributed among the natives in different quantities and portions, according to their different qualities and deserts."—Historical Relations, Dubl., 1704, p. 58.

[2] "The common people were taught by the justices," says Davys, "that they were the free subjects of the kings of England, and not slaves and vassals to their pretended lords; that the cuttings, cosheries [entertainment of lords and lords' retainers], cessings [billeting of soldiers upon the people], and other extortions of the lords, were now unlawful, and that they should not any more submit themselves thereto."—Historical Relations, p. 55.

the learned Puritan. Ussher had broad and comprehensive views of Episcopacy. William Bedell was an Englishman by birth, and a graduate of Cambridge University. He was made provost of Trinity College, Dublin, in 1627, and bishop of Kilmore in 1629. His piety made a deep impression on his Catholic neighbors, and he labored for their conversion with intelligence as well as with love. "What a picture of goodness!" exclaims Coleridge. "I confess in all ecclesiastical history I have read of no man so spotless."[1]

THE REBELLION AND MASSACRE OF 1641.

A word must be spoken concerning the Irish rebellion and massacres of 1641. The withdrawal of the English army in consequence of the civil wars left Ireland exposed. The Roman Catholic malcontents took advantage of the situation by beginning a marauding, desolating, and desultory onslaught—half war and half massacre. Recent historians are inclined to the view that the massacres were no part of the original program, but they formed no inconsiderable part of the actual proceedings. On the very day the rebellion opened, October 23, 1641, Maguire hanged eighteen persons in the church of Clones and then set fire to the church, and a widow testified on oath that on that day also her husband and thirty-two others were murdered in county Monaghan. The next day 196 English Protestants —men, women, and children—were drowned at the bridge at Portadown, and Sir Phelim O'Neill, the leader of the rebels, issued an order for an indiscriminate massacre exactly one week after the commencement of the rising. As a part of the effort of Roman Catholic historians to expurgate all history of damaging passages concerning the Church the great rebellion of 1641 has received its share of the apologizing process. But numerous contemporary records tell the fearful story. Even the names of the Presbyterian ministers whom they put to death in Ulster are preserved.[2] Recent research into the archives of the time has not only shown the reality of the massacres, but has confirmed what we already knew about the close relation of the Church to that carnival of slaughter.[3] The Roman clergy too often stood behind the massacres, urging them on with their exhortations and excommunications, though it is also true that other members of the same clergy took no part in the rebellion, and looked upon its methods with horror. How many were slain in that fearful time? Petty, a contemporary, and well acquainted with the whole country, says that 37,000 were

[1] Notes on English Divines, ii, 5.

[2] See a list in Reid, i, 331.

[3] See Hickson, Ireland in the Seventeenth Century, Lond., 1883.

massacred in the first year of the tumults.[1] Clarendon estimates the number of the slain at 40,000 or 50,000. The exact number who perished will never be known.[2]

CAUSES OF THE REBELLION.

What were the causes of this sanguinary outbreak? Doubtless they were (1) The rigor of Strafford's administration. This cold-blooded High Churchman was cheek by jowl with Laud, and enforced the penal laws against Irish dissenters—both Catholic and Protestant. (2) The memory of the uncompromising measures of the English government. Especially the matter of confiscation made the Irish feel that it was with them a question of simple existence. (3) The ruthless nature of Irish wars had an influence. In the deeds of 1641 the Irish were following abundant precedents in their mournful history, though it must be confessed that in this case they bettered their instruction. It must be said, however, that some of the English reprisals for the events of 1641 were as brutal and as far beyond the legitimate methods of war as the deeds of the insurgents.[3]

Under Cromwell Ireland was quickly brought to peace and prosperity, though at the expense of suffering and exile to many Catholics. Under Charles II the Anglican ascendency was once more assured, with the usual persecution to both Presbyterians and Catholics. The great name of the holy Jeremy Taylor lies under the reproach of using the hand of force. The modern era for Ireland dawned with the conquest of William III, 1690–91,

[1] Political Anatomy, ch. iv.

[2] Gardiner holds to the fact of isolated massacres, but not to a predetermined general massacre.—Hist. of England, 1603–42, x, 64–69. An authority favorable to the Irish, Justin McCarthy, M.P., agrees with Gardiner. He says: "The struggles of that time, indeed, show over and over again hideous incidents which can hardly be described as anything but massacres. The question in this case is, Was there a conspiracy to massacre the Protestant settlers—was that the conspiracy—or was there a conspiracy for a rebellion in the outbreak of which a slaughter of a great number of Protestants was a ghastly incident? Mr. Goldwin Smith, who certainly is not in much sympathy with Irish historians, gives it as his conviction that the massacre was 'unpremeditated and opposed to the policy of the leaders,' and that in any case it was not so bad as some of the massacres done by the other side."—Art. Ireland: History, in Chambers's Encyc., last ed., vi, 205. As to the number of victims, Miss Hickson, after a thorough study of the depositions, estimates that the number of the slain and those who died of starvation the first two or three years of the rebellion was 20,000 or 25,000.—Gardiner, *Op. cit.*, x, 69, note.

[3] See Killen, ii, 51, 52.

NORTH SEA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
MEDITERRANEAN
SCOTLAND
IRELAND
ENGLAND
WALES
NORWAY
DENMARK
GERMANY
FRANCE
SPAIN
PORTUGAL
SWITZERLAND
ITALY
CORSICA
SARDINIA
MAJORCA
MINORCA
BALEARIC ISLES
MOROCCO
ALGIERS
TUNIS
HEBRIDES
ORKNEYS
Aberdeen
Dundee
Edinburgh
Glasgow
Belfast
Dublin
Liverpool
Manchester
Hull
Lincoln
Birmingham
Cambridge
Oxford
London
Bristol
Plymouth
Portsmouth
The Hague
Amsterdam
Hamburg
Bremen
Hanover
Berlin
Dresden
Leipsic
Magdeburg
Cologne
Frankfort
Boulogne
Calais
Dunkirk
Lille
Cherbourg
Havre
Amiens
Rouen
Caen
Brest
Rennes
Paris
Versailles
Fontainebleau
Orleans
Nantes
Angers
Tours
Reims
Verdun
Metz
Strasburg
Carlsruhe
Stuttgart
Heidelberg
Nuremburg
Augsburg
Munich
Rochelle
Poitiers
Dijon
Nevers
Clermont
Lyons
Geneva
Bordeaux
St Etienne
Agen
Bayonne
Toulouse
Montpellier
Nimes
Marseilles
Nice
Toulon
Turin
Milan
Genoa
Parma
Verona
Leghorn
Pisa
Florence
Rome
Naples
Valencia
Perpignan
Andorra
Pau
Lerida
Saragossa
Segovia
Madrid
Toledo
Tortosa
Barcelona
Tarragona
Alicante
Murcia
Cartagena
Granada
Seville
Cadiz
Gibraltar
Tangier
Ceuta (Sp)
Melilla (Sp)
Tenez
Algiers
Bougie
Bizerta
Tunis
Susa
Setif
Oran
Orleansville
Mascara
Tlemsen
Ciudad Real
Alcantara
Badajoz
Merida
Evora
Lisbon
Santarem
Coimbra
Oporto
Braga
Valladolid
Douro
Aurgos
Pampluna
Bilbao
Santander
Corunna
Ferrol
Vigo
Cape St Vincent
Cape Trafalgar
Gaudalquivir
Sassari
Cagliari

EUROPE
AT THE
PRESENT DAY
St. Petersburg
Narva
Reval
Novgorod
Pskoff
Riga
Moscow
Ryazan
Vitebsk
Smolensk
Oka
Tula
Tamboff
Memel
Mitau
Konigsberg
Wilna
Mogulieff
Orel
Voronezh
Danzig
Grodno
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Kursk
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Bialystok
Pinsk
Pripet
Tchernigoff
Pultusk
Warsaw
Kharkoff
Lublin
Lutzk
Kieff
Donetz
Brody
Poltava
Berditcheff
Dnieper
Ekaterinoslaff
Lemberg
Halicz
Dniester
Bug
Asoff
Brünn
Tassy
Vikolaieff
Pesth
Pressburg
Komorn
Erlau
Debreczin
Ofen
Kertsch
Kuban
Grosswardein
Temesvar
Arad
Maros
Galatz
Sebastopol
Livadia
Bucharest
Varna
Sinope
Samsun
Sofia
Burghas
Kustamuni
Amasia
Tokat
Adrianople
Constantinople
Ismid
Sivas
Ochrida
Seres
Rodosto
Brusa
Sakaria
Angora
Durazzo
Monastir
Salonica
Gallipoli
Kisyl Irmak
Raisarieh
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Brindisi
Otranto
Smyrna
Mytilene
Chios
Aidin
Marash
Adana
Alexandretta
Aleppo
Rhodes
Cyprus
Larnaka
Beirut
Damascus
Candia
Crete
AUSTRIA-HUNGARY
HUNGARY
GALICIA
MORAVIA
POLAND
RUSSIA
TURKEY
BLACK SEA
SEA OF AZOF
CRIMEA
WALLACHIA
MOLDAVIA
TRANSYLVANIA
SERVIA
BOSNIA
HERZEGOVINA
BULGARIA
EASTERN ROUMELIA
IONIAN ISLES
ALBANIA
SLAVONIA
CROATIA
DALMATIA
Novibazar
Scutari
Durazzo
Corfu
Zante
Cephalonia
Santa Maura
Prevesa
Arta
Janina
Larissa
Lamia
Volo
Salonica
Monastir
Ochrida
Uskub
Scutari
Ragusa
Cattaro
Spalatro
Zara
Fiume
Agram
Essek
Peterwardein
Semlin
Belgrade
Nissa
Widdin
Orsova
Hermannstadt
Kronstadt
Jassy
Kischineff
Odessa
Galatz
Ibrail
Rustchuk
Silistria
Varna
Shumla
Adrianople
Constantinople
Gallipoli
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Ismid
Bergama
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though freedom was long delayed. Catholics suffered for over a hundred years under most exasperating and atrocious penal laws, and the Presbyterians and other dissenters were not legally entitled to complete toleration until 1780. The longevity of Episcopal intolerance is one of the humiliating things of history. The test act was not repealed in England until 1828.

As we dismiss the Church History of Great Britain and Ireland at the close of the Intermediate Period we may quote the words of Lecky, one of the keenest students of historical forces, whose judgment is confirmed by all our survey from Puritanism to Methodism: "It is to Puritanism that we mainly owe the fact that in England religion and liberty were not dissevered; among all the fluctuations of its fortunes it represented the alliance of these two principles which the predominating Church invariably pronounced to be incompatible. The attitude of this latter Church forms indeed a strange contrast to that of Puritanism. Created in the first instance by court intrigue, pervaded in all its parts by a spirit of the most intense Erastianism, and aspiring to a spiritual authority scarcely less absolute than that of the Church which it had superseded, Anglicanism was from the beginning at once the most servile and the most efficient agent of tyranny."[1] During the brief reign of James II, when her own supremacy was menaced, the Anglican Church resisted the crown. "But no sooner had William mounted the throne than her policy was reversed, her whole energies were directed to the subversion of the constitutional liberty that was then firmly established, and it is recorded by the great historian of the Revolution that at least nine tenths of the clergy opposed the emancipator of England. All through the reaction under Queen Anne, all through the still worse reaction under George, the same spirit was displayed. In the first period the clergy, in their hatred of liberty, followed cordially the leadership of the infidel Bolingbroke; in the second they were the most ardent supporters of the wars against America and against the French Revolution, which have been the most disastrous in which England has ever been engaged. From first to last their conduct was the same, every triumph of liberty was their defeat."[2]

LECKY ON ANGLICANISM.

[1] Rationalism in Europe, ii, 193, 194.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 197, 198.

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PART IV.

THE RECENT PERIOD.

I. ON THE CONTINENT.

CHAPTER I.

THE PERIOD OF RATIONALISM.

THE first great characteristic of Rationalism was its disposition to throw off the yoke of tradition. Nothing was to be accepted because it was old or had come down from a remote past. Social customs, civil government, and religion must all be subjected to critical examination in order to determine their worth, and only that which was rational, not that which was customary, was to be perpetuated.[1] A second characteristic was the elevation of the reason to the supreme judgeship in all affairs within the domain of human interest. This arbitration in the court of human reason was carried even to the point of making the claims of revealed religion wholly subject to its capricious decisions. This same spirit of subjectivity had distinguished Pietism also, which, no more than Rationalism, was willing to be held in bonds to outward authority. But while Pietism cherished the subjectivity of feeling Rationalism favored that of the reason. A third characteristic was the unbalanced moral estimate placed upon man as man. God became less necessary to an age which made man the end of all things.

THREE CHARACTERISTICS OF RATIONALISM.

These three distinguishing marks of Rationalism carried with them some tremendous practical consequences. Not only were the contents of the Bible to be subjected to the criticism of reason, but even the Bible itself was unnecessary; for with man so important a factor in human affairs and the reason so competent for all things, divine interpositions were resented and the religion of nature rose to supremacy. The reason could not accept miracles, and revelation was miraculous. Christ must also have been a mere man, since the

CONSEQUENCES OF RATIONALISM.

[1] Comp. Sohm, Grundriss der Kirchengeschichte, pp. 152 f.

supernatural has no place in the world. The atonement was a mere figment of priestly power; for man was too good and great to need an atonement if for other reasons it were necessary or possible.[1] So likewise the prevailing forms of worship were outworn superstitions; the State must be above the Church and allow perfect freedom to worship as each would, or not to worship at all; hence also all creeds must be abolished. There was nothing left but God, virtue, and immortality, and God was inaccessible, while virtue was the result of our own efforts, according to the individual judgment of each.

ANTECEDENT CAUSES OF RATIONALISM.

All the causes which led to such opinions were evident. English Deism took root in Germany and in other parts of the Continent, and soon began to bring forth fruit.[2] The reaction against external authority which was begun in the Reformation, but which was soon checked even in Protestant countries, now set in with an energy theretofore unknown, which carried it beyond the bounds of common sense. Protestantism awakened a spirit which it nourished into strength, but which it failed to control. The philosophy of Wolff, founded on the principle of belief in nothing which could not be demonstrated by reason, while it did away with superstition, also did away with all religion; for in its innermost nature religion transcends reason.[3]

LEADING RATIONALISTIC WRITERS.

The movement was aided by Frederick Nicolai, a book publisher in Berlin, who issued a Universal German Library—1765 and onward—in which the new sentiments were most ably represented.[4] Basedow gave himself to the work of education on the principle of the new ideas, emphasizing especially the dignity of humanity and the duty of training all the faculties of the human nature.[5] Moses Mendelssohn also took up the popular philosophy and showed its consequences for religion and particularly for the relation of Church and State.[6] Even the Christian apologists of the period were so infused with the neological doctrines that they decried the introduction of elements into theology which gave offense to many people, while in fact the real purpose of religion was to aid men in practical self-improvement. Hence but few doctrines are needed, and those only which would tend to the accomplishment of the desired results.[7]

[1] See Hurst, History of Rationalism, pp. 199–220. [2] *Ibid.*, pp. 113–117.
[3] On the influence of Wolff's philosophy see Baur, iv, 586 ff., 593 f., 596, and Hurst, *Idem*, 103–112. [4] *Ibid.*, 147, 148; Baur, iv, 593 f.
[5] See Nippold, Neueste Kirchengesch., i, 364–372, and Hurst, *Idem*, 184–187.
[6] Baur, iv, 596, 597. [7] *Ibid.*, 598, 599; Hurst, *Idem*, 195, 196.

The movement was powerfully advanced by Lessing's publication (1774–1778) of the so-called Wolfenbüttel Fragments. These fragments were parts of a work written about twenty years earlier by Reimarus, of Hamburg, in which he took strong ground in favor of a purely natural religion. In the disputes which followed, the principal point was the strife between reason and revelation.[1] The effect of Lessing's work was made the greater by that of Semler, an offshoot, so far as his moral and spiritual life were concerned, of Pietism, but, in spite of his early training, a child of his age. He soon became the center about which the disputes relative to the new doctrines revolved. Free as he was, however, in his thinking, he never allowed himself to pass a certain point, and when Bahrdt carried the neological views too far, he opposed him with all his might, as he did also the doctrines of the Wolfenbüttel Fragmentists.[2]

THE WOLFENBÜTTEL FRAGMENTS.

While Lessing and Semler may be classed as rationalists they must, nevertheless, together with Ernesti, be regarded as the agents by which a more favorable turn in religious thought was introduced. They employed the historico-critical principles of the present day, though not with complete consistency. These are destructive of the rationalistic principles, since they do not so much ask what is consistent with reason as what is true. While some of the earlier conservative views suffer little less by these principles than by those of Rationalism the religious life is not cut out by the roots thereby. Room is given for a genuine religious experience.

LESSING, SEMLER, AND ERNESTI.

Although the way was prepared by the work of Lessing and Semler, it is to Schleiermacher that we owe the more complete restoration of faith.[3] He maintained, in the early part of the nineteenth century, that the center of the religious life was in the emotional rather than in the intellectual nature of man. By defining religion as a feeling of dependence upon God he made it measurably independent of the results of critical researches. The exclusive domination of the intellect in religion had forever passed away, first under the wand of Wesley in England, and then under that of Schleiermacher in Germany.

SCHLEIERMACHER.

[1] On the Wolfenbüttel Fragments see Hurst, History of Rationalism, pp. 149–156, and Baur, iv, 604–606.

[2] On the writings of Bahrdt see Hurst, *Idem*, pp. 139–143. On the relation of Semler to Bahrdt and the Wolfenbüttel Fragmentists see Baur, iv, 603.

[3] Comp. Nippold, Neueste Kirchengesch., iii, 23–45, and Hurst, *Idem*, chap. ix.

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CHAPTER II.

PROTESTANT GERMANY UNTIL THE MOST RECENT TIMES.

THE early years of the nineteenth century were distinguished by an event of so great importance as to warrant its mention before the causes which led up to it are discussed. It was the formal union throughout most of Germany between the Reformed and Lutheran parties, which had so long been in conflict.[1] The union was first effected in Nassau, in August, 1817. On September 27 of the same year Frederick William III of Prussia issued an appeal to the clergy to strive for a union as one of the best means for a proper celebration of the three hundredth anniversary of the Reformation, October 31, 1817. The influence of this proclamation was great, but it could have effected nothing had not the progress of events been most helpful. Both the people and the theologians were convinced that the points of division, even with reference to the ritual observance of the Lord's Supper, were not clearly set forth in Scripture, and were therefore not essential.[2] The king saw and embraced his opportunity, and accomplished what the Hohenzollerns had long been seeking. Many places celebrated the union by the solemn administration of the Lord's Supper, in which the two parties united. The terms "Lutheran" and "Reformed" were abolished, and the united Church was called the "Evangelical."[3] The union did not compel the relaxation of opinions previously held, but only provided for mutual toleration, and the admission that in each communion the pure word of God was preached and the sacraments duly administered. Nevertheless, the introduction of a new liturgy in 1821 caused difficulty. To the Reformed it appeared too much like the Roman Catholic mass; to the Lutherans it was but too plain that the underlying presuppositions were those of Calvinism. The desire for union prevailed, however, with the vast majority.

THE UNION OF 1817.

The first real difficulty occurred in Breslau,[4] where Scheibel was

[1] Gieseler, Lehrb. d. Kirchengesch., v, 209–216; Hase, Kirchengesch., 572 f.
[2] Hase, Kirchengeschichte, 573.
[3] *Ibid.*, 573.
[4] *Ibid.*, 574–576, and Nippold, iii, 1, pp. 131 ff.

professor and pastor. He refused to employ the new liturgy, claiming that it must lead to a fatal indifferentism to tolerate, for the sake of peace, errors of faith in the Church.[1] His persistence was so great that in 1830 he was deposed by the magistracy, and with him went about two thousand of his flock and a number of scholars. The beginning had been made, and although Frederick William III would not tolerate these so-called Old Lutherans, but forbade their assemblies, and punished their clergy for administering the sacraments, congregations arose in many parts of Germany. Vast numbers of them emigrated to America,[2] while others remained at home and endured the persecution so unjustly inflicted upon them, and have perpetuated their branch of the Church to the present day.

OLD LUTHERANS AT BRESLAU.

The smooth progress of the Church was interrupted by a variety of other causes. The Mysticism which has been mentioned in connection with Switzerland made its appearance and won its converts in Germany. In Würtemberg the followers of George Rapp, a peasant, separated from the Church and gave themselves up to ascetic practices, such as the rejection of marriage and abstinence from animal food.[3] There were also the Michelians, the followers of Johann Michael Hahn, also a peasant, and the Pregizerians, adherents of a clergyman by the name of Pregizer.[4] These last professed such holiness of life as to make prayer for the forgiveness of their sins unnecessary. Most of the movements of this kind sprang from the bosom of Pietism, of which they were perversions rather than representatives.

FANATICAL SECTS.

Besides these more external difficulties this century has witnessed a number of tremendous intellectual upheavals, some beneficial, others injurious, to German Protestantism. Among these we mention first Romanticism, a reactionary movement against Rationalism, and as varied in its manifestations and applications to human life as the movement which it sought to displace.[5] Rationalism brought everything to the touchstone of reason, Romanticism to that of nature. Both in large measure renounced the products of historical development, the former because of their nonconformity with reason, the latter because of their artificiality. As the intellect dominated in the

ROMANTICISM.

[1] Gieseler, v, 212.

[2] *Ibid.*, 214.

[3] *Ibid.*, v, 190 f. Hase gives a somewhat different version of the sect and its history (Kirchengeschichte, 555).

[4] *Ibid.*, v, 191.

[5] Compare Sohm's charming section (48), Die Restauration und die Romantik, in his Grundriss der Kirchengeschichte.

former, so the feelings in the latter. In the light of these ruling principles it is easy to see why such numbers were attracted to the religion of nature, while others forsook the more rational Protestant forms of Christianity for the more emotional and spectacular ones of Romanism.[1] The number of those who fell away from Protestantism to Rome was much smaller than of those Romanists who became Protestants,[2] yet the character and eminence of the former made the movement notable in this regard. This result was brought about by the peculiar interest which the Romanticists felt for the Middle Ages, its art and its literature, which were so intimately associated with the Roman Catholic Church.[3] The severity of Protestantism, which depreciated the sensuous elements of worship, offended their taste, and led such men as Schlegel, Tieck, and Werner to Romanism. However, while Protestantism suffered from this movement, on the whole it gained by it, since it not only led directly to the union of the Reformed and Lutheran parties, but to a renunciation by vast numbers of the principles of Rationalism and a revival of interest in true Christianity.[4]

Closely connected with this movement was the struggle between Rationalism and Supernaturalism.[5] Revelation in some form was accepted as a fact by both parties. The principal point in dispute was the test which should be applied to it. The Rationalists claimed that the revelation contained in the Bible was conditioned as to its form, as well as to the conception which the biblical writers had of it, by historical developments, and was therefore of necessity mixed with error which the reason alone could detect. The Supernaturalists said that when anyone whose veracity and sobriety were unquestioned claimed to have received a revelation from God it must be accepted, whether in accordance with the dictates of human reason or not, and such were the writers of the Bible. The latter declared that Rationalism gave undue prominence to the reason and too completely ignored the feelings, thereby making religion a matter of the understanding rather than of the heart. But the Rationalists retorted that the Supernaturalists do not sufficiently heed the reason, that they allow too much influence to feelings which cannot bear the light of analysis, and that they too blindly accept the teachings of tradition.

SUPERNATURALISM AND RATIONALISM.

[1] Gieseler, v, 183.

[2] Whole congregations became Protestants. *Ibid.*, v, 186, 187.

[3] *Ibid.*, v, 182 ff.

[4] Sohm, Grundriss, pp. 173, 174.

[5] Hase, 546 f. Gieseler gives an extended account of the struggle and its later developments, v, 200–209. See also Hurst, Rationalism, chap. x.

The majority of the people were with the Supernaturalists, the more educated holding themselves aloof from the strife, although leaning toward Supernaturalism rather than Rationalism. Among those who distinguished themselves on the side of the former were Claus Harms,[1] archdeacon in Kiel; Professor Hahn, of Leipzig, and especially Professors Hengstenberg and Neander, although the latter broke away from the party because of the bitterness of its spirit. Hengstenberg[2] accepted and defended the old Lutheran symbols, while the majority of the party disregarded human creeds and strove to hold themselves strictly to the Bible. The victory was with the Supernaturalists, though not so much because of their argumentative power as because the spirit of the times had changed.

Some other names which cannot be overlooked are Schleiermacher, Hegel, D. F. Strauss, and F. C. Baur.

SCHLEIERMACHER.

Friedrich Schleiermacher,[3] pastor and professor of theology in Berlin (1834), founded no school, although he was so fruitful in ideas that he has left his impress on all theology from his day to the present time. His definition of religion makes it a feeling of absolute dependence upon God, thus working directly against the old Rationalism. The effect of this definition was to rob dogmas of their absolute value, and this led to the idea that they are but the formulation of the Christian consciousness of a given period, and must be changed with the times. The one permanent phenomenon was the feeling of dependence upon God, which is in all people and by which all are naturally pious. The Christians are bound together by the consciousness of redemption in Christ, thus differing from the followers of other religious founders. His Christology was equally opposed to Rationalism. God dwelt in the consciousness of Christ to such a degree that that indwelling constituted him the Son of God. With these high thoughts of God and Christ, and the relation of the human soul to them, he united, however, certain concessions which demonstrated his total freedom from traditional opinion. He would not insist upon the immortality of the soul nor the personality of God, but declared that a pantheist could enjoy as high a grade of piety as any other. Notwithstanding, he cooperated with Romanticism and other influences to make the German Protestantism of the nineteenth century far more religiously fruitful than that of the eighteenth century had been.[4]

[1] Hurst, Rationalism, 232–236. [2] *Ibid.*, 305–307. [3] *Ibid.*, 224–229, 241–244.
[4] Comp. Gieseler's masterly summary of the teachings and influence of Schleiermacher, v, 237–242; also Hase, 551, 552.

The influence of the Hegelian philosophy was in the main exceedingly hurtful to the cause of true Christianity.[1] Hegel did not, indeed, regard himself as occupying antichristian ground; and when first his philosophy began to attract attention there were not a few who thought that the final solution of all the great problems had been found. It was not long, however, until its dangerous consequences began to appear. It made a revelation to an individual impossible. The historical person of Christ was of no account; only the idea of Christ, that is, the idea of humanity in its total development, was of any value in the eyes of this philosophy. Hence it was that Strauss could maintain that the history of Jesus was a myth and yet not feel that he was contradicting the essentials of religion.[2] The extreme was reached by Bruno Baur when he held that the evangelical history was a deliberate invention.[3] Matters were only made more notoriously and dangerously alarming by Frederick William IV, when, upon his accession, in 1840, to the throne of Prussia, he filled all possible pulpits and professorships with orthodox pastors and scholars.[4] Long did the battle rage before the learned world forsook the principles which had wrought so much disaster. Perhaps the one greatest blessing which sprang from the Hegelian theology was the more careful study of the conditions under which our New Testament literature arose, and especially of the life of our Lord.[5] To this end, though by way of reaction, Ferdinand Christian Baur,[6] as well as Strauss, powerfully contributed.

HEGEL, STRAUSS, AND BAUR.

Two movements of a practical kind which originated prior to the middle of the present century must here be mentioned.[7] The first is the organization and development of the order of deaconesses.[8] Pastor Fliedner, of Kaiserswerth, Prussia, inspired by the work of the Roman Catholic Sisters of Mercy and following the example of the early Church, established an institution for the training of young unmarried women and widows in the care of the sick and poor and in the instruction of children. While these deaconesses wear a

FLIEDNER AND DEACONESSES.

[1] Gieseler, v, 242–245. [2] *Ibid.*, v, 246, 247; Hurst, Rationalism, 257–278.
[3] In his Kritik der evangelischen Geschichte, Bremen, 1840.
[4] Nippold, iii, 1, pp. 290–307. [5] *Ibid.*, iii, 2, pp. 119–139.
[6] F. C. Baur's influence belongs to the history of doctrine. Comp. Hurst, Rationalism, 278–280. [7] Nippold, iii, 1, pp. 557–576.
[8] The English reader will find full information in Wheeler, Deaconesses, Ancient and Modern, New York, 1889, and in Miss Jane M. Bancroft's Deaconesses in Europe, New York, 1889.

distinctive garb and live in a common Home, or Mother House, yet the principles of the order are not those of the nunnery. The idea was not altogether new to modern times, and Fliedner was probably guided by the actual witness of deaconesses among the Mennonites during a visit which he made to Holland. Nevertheless to him the modern movement as such must be traced. His plans were sober and his zeal in their execution untiring. His enthusiasm kindled a like flame in many others of low and high degree. Frederick William IV was one of his most enthusiastic supporters. As a consequence the movement spread with remarkable rapidity in Germany, and its influence has begun to be deeply felt in other branches of the Christian Church.

The second movement is that which is known in Germany as the Inner Mission,[1] or Domestic Mission. It has for its objects works of mercy to the bodies of men, the preaching of the Gospel among those who neglect the churches, and the reform of Church life. Segregated and local attempts in this direction had not been wanting; but when Johann Heinrich Wichern, then a mere youth without a pastoral charge, opened his Home (Rauhes Haus) for neglected children in Horn,[2] near Hamburg, in 1833, a beginning was made which was destined to extend its influence over every phase of human distress or danger which organization could possibly tend to relieve. The idea of Wichern was broader than that of Fliedner, whose deaconess work is really a part of the Inner Mission. For his work Wichern found it necessary to establish an order of lay brothers whose duties correspond in part to those of the deaconess. In order to the proper development of the Brotherhood, the Brüderhaus[3] (Brother House) is necessary. The system of work thus brought into existence is the most comprehensive known to any land. In the main it has the support of all classes of the people, although at first it had to contend against the prejudices of many, both of the clergy and the laity.

WICHERN AND THE INNER MISSION.

[1] For full information concerning this interesting movement see Theodor Schäfer's Leitfaden der inneren Mission, 2d ed., Hamburg, 1889. That work is a valuable repository of facts concerning the origin, aims, departments, agencies, means, and benefits of the domestic mission work of Germany.

[2] Wichern was born in 1808 and died in 1881. He is known as the "Father of the Inner Mission." Rauhes Haus is not to be translated Rough House, as some think. It received its name from a previous inhabitant by the name of Rauhe. See Schäfer, Leitfaden, pp. 52, 53.

[3] Sometimes called also Diakonenhaus (Deacon House).

The Ritschl school[1] occupy a middle position in theology. To the formal principle of independence the Ritschlians add adherence to the material principle of the Ritschlian theology. Albrecht Ritschl, the unintentional founder of the school, was originally a Tübingenite. Further study, however, convinced him of the errors of that school, and he has probably contributed more than any other to the overthrow of the system. In the effort to find the true contents of the Christian faith and the true nature of the Christian religion, he was guided by two important principles which negatived the prevailing theory both among the orthodox and rationalist wings of the theologians. The first is the worthlessness of the so-called natural theology for the Christian. The second is the worthlessness of metaphysics in Christian theology. Both of these elements are regarded as not only without value but as actually harmful. Both may be summed up in the positive assertion of the sufficiency of the Christian revelation for Christian faith and practice.[2] In accordance therewith he rejects all the ordinary proofs of the existence of God—the ontological and the teleological[3]— and also all elements of Christian dogmatics which have their origin in the content of any metaphysic. He would let the metaphysician and the natural scientist go their ways, but he would claim for the theologian the right to go his own way also; and the way of the theologian is as legitimate as that of the metaphysician and scientist, and must be as logical as the one and as scientific as the other. Ritschl's theory of knowledge is essentially that of Lotze, that in knowing the phenomena we know the thing only so far as its phenomena reveal it to us.

THE RITSCHL SCHOOL.

Having renounced all the deductions of natural theology and metaphysics we are shut up to the phenomena of experience, or, which is the same thing, revelation. As God reveals himself in Christ, so is he. We may not add to nor subtract from the God of revelation, for the purposes of Chris-

RITSCHLIAN THEOLOGY.

[1] On the Ritschlian theology, in German, we recommend Nippold, iii, 1, pp. 439–465; and Frank, Zur Theologie A. Ritschls. They give an estimate from two distinct and opposing standpoints, both unfavorable. Mielke, Das System Albrecht Ritschls dargestellt, nicht kritisirt, is valuable because it states briefly and clearly the system, without an attempt to estimate it. In English see Stuckenberg, Tendencies, pp. 163–184, and Rishell, The Ritschlian Theology, in Methodist Review, March–April, 1891.

[2] Ritschl, Die christliche Lehre von der Rechtfertigung und Versöhnung, 3. Aufl. iii, 6, 184 ff.; Theologie und Metaphysik, p. 16; Unterricht in der christlichen Religion, 4 Aufl. § 1; Mielke, Das System Albrecht Ritschls, 7–14.

[3] Ritschl, Rechtfertigung und Versöhnung, iii, 203 ff.

tian theology.[1] As a consequence we may not express ourselves dogmatically concerning the essential nature of Christ; that would be a metaphysical (ontological) speculation.[2] But since Christ had the attributes of the God of revelation, he is God, and must be worshiped as such.[3] Through the Christian revelation we know that Christ founded the kingdom of God, which was, therefore, the great end of God in all his creation. This kingdom is the object of God's love, and each individual is included therein by his adoption of this great end as his own. Within the kingdom the ideal is loving service to one another and the widening or spread of the kingdom among those who are without.[4] Sin is universal:[5] the redemption is also universal, although available only for those who will to become members of the kingdom. Sin consists in indifference to God or mistrust of him on the one side, and selfishness on the other. The reconciliation wrought by Christ was not an effect produced upon God, but one produced upon men.[6] God did not need to be appeased, but man needed to have his indifference to God taken way. Redemption, or the forgiveness of sin, or justification, is designed to accomplish this removal. The perfection of the Christian life,[7] which must be held as a goal to be striven after, consists in faith in the providence of God, humility, patience, prayer, and morality in the civil and social life. The distinguishing signs of the Church[8] are prayer in common, the public proclamation of the word of God, and the administration of the sacraments. The unity of the Church is found, not in externals, but in the above-named characteristics.[9] The teaching of the Church must be in accordance with the Holy Scripture;[10] but must not be regarded as an official confession, adherence to which shall be made a condition of membership in the Church. This condition is rather to be sought in the Christian perfection of evangelical doctrine.

[1] Ritschl, Rechtfertigung und Versöhnung, iii, 217–225; Mielke, Das System Albrecht Ritschls, 18–24.

[2] Ritschl, *Idem*, iii, 380 ff., 429 ff.; Unterricht in der christlichen Religion, § 23; Mielke, *Idem*, 24–27.

[3] Mielke, *Idem*, 26. [4] *Ibid.*, 27, 28.

[5] Ritschl, Rechtfertig. und Versöhn., iii, §§ 40–43; Mielke, *Idem*, 30–32.

[6] Mielke, *Idem*, 33–38.

[7] Ritschl, Die christliche Vollkommenheit; Rechtfertigung und Versöhnung, iii, §§ 63–68; Mielke, *Idem*, 50–57.

[8] Mielke, *Idem*, 57, 58. [9] *Ibid.*, 58, 59. [10] *Ibid.*, 59, 60.

CHAPTER III.

THEOLOGICAL SCIENCE IN THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH OF GERMANY.

In the latter part of the seventeenth and the first part of the eighteenth century the Roman Catholic Germans fell into gross theological darkness. The belief in witches continued, and numberless victims were burned. Here and there one was found to cry out against the cruelty and superstition of the times, but as late as 1729 a nun supposed to be a witch was burned in Würzburg. Maria Theresa put an end to the burning of witches in Austria. In Bavaria the practice continued to a much later period, but before the end of the eighteenth century the witch superstition was practically extinct.[1]

EXTINCTION OF WITCH SUPERSTITION.

In 1740, in connection with the University of Salzburg, a remarkable dispute relative to mariolatry occurred. The Virgin was here adored, and faith in her immaculate conception was unquestioned. Some young priests who had been in Italy returned to Salzburg and brought with them more enlightened views. They disseminated Muratori's book, De ingeniorum moderatione in religionis negotio, in which he defends and defines the limits of freedom of religious thought. Through this book and by the efforts of the society the worship of Mary and the doctrine of the immaculate conception were endangered.[2] This stirred the anger of the theologians, who, confusing the name of Muratori with the *liberorum Murariorum*, took him for the founder of the Free Masons. The discovery of their error robbed them of their influence. They were removed from the professorships, and men of more intelligent views took their places.

DISPUTE ON MARIOLATRY.

During this period the institutions of learning were controlled by members of monastic orders, especially by Jesuits. As a result there was no literature of value produced, unless one may except polemical works against Protestantism. In 1773 Pope Clement

[1] Nippold gives a valuable and readable account of the persecution of supposed witches. Neueste Kirchengeschichte, i, 97–106.

[2] The book took the position that the oath, required of all who aspired to academic honors, to defend the doctrine of the immaculate conception with their property and lives if necessary, should not be demanded, since the doctrine was one of human opinion, not of divine revelation.

XIV complained that the priests and monks of Germany were exceedingly ignorant and, as a result, blindly superstitious. He urged the study of the fathers of history, philosophy, and theology, declaring that all the best books were written by Protestants, and commending what the king of Protestant Prussia was doing for the education of his Roman Catholic subjects.

EDUCATION RETARDED.

Under the reign of Maria Theresa a period of more free inquiry began. She determined to exercise her rights as a sovereign and at the same time to advance the cause of theological education. Her efforts were rendered more effective by the gradually declining influence and final abolition of the order of Jesuits; so that a decided impetus was given to theological learning during her reign and that of Joseph II. Von Hontheim (Febronius) by his book, De Statu Ecclesiæ, contributed not only to the introduction of reforms, but set an influential example of independence. The appointment of Stephan Rautenstrauch, a Benedictine of Prague, as director of the theological faculty at Vienna was a long step in advance, affecting as it did all faculties of theology in Roman Catholic Germany. He required all theological students to pursue their studies for a period of five years, beginning with the Oriental languages, especially Hebrew, church history, hermeneutics, and exegesis. These were to be followed by dogmatics, ecclesiastical law, and pastoral theology.[1]

EDUCATIONAL ADVANCE UNDER MARIA THERESA.

Joseph, even during his co-regency, aided all these more liberal measures, and his brother Maximilian, the elector of Cologne, labored to the same end in his own territories, encouraging freedom of investigation and protecting those who were accused. The secularization of many of the spiritual princedoms in 1803 by the treaty of Lunéville placed them under the control of Protestant princes, thus giving freedom of investigation and affording the clergy leisure for the work.

FURTHER FREEDOM OF INVESTIGATION.

It was a characteristic of the learning of the German Roman Catholics that it aimed more directly than in some other countries at practical results. Throughout it strove to do away with old prejudices in favor of the canonical rights of the pope, to limit papal encroachments, and to enlarge the jurisdiction of the national rulers and bishops. It also endeavored to clarify the religious conceptions of the people and to give the public religious services a less antique form. On the other hand, the archbishop of Vienna (1750) and the bishop of Gurk (1751) labored to secure a more correct statement of the doc-

PRACTICAL RESULTS.

[1] Comp. Nippold, Neueste Kirchengeschichte, i, 395–399.

trines concerning repentance, the forgiveness of sin, and indulgences, together with a correction of abuses with reference to the reverence of saints, the use of pictures, processions, and other usages. Certain dogmas which had been distorted by later thinking were reduced by the more independent theologians to their original contents, pastoral conferences were held, and, in Cologne, the public religious services were conducted in German.

But these liberalizing tendencies were not carried out without opposition and many hindrances. The papacy was opposed to the spirit of national independence, to the abolition of abuses, and to the rationalizing of doctrines. To the extent of their power the Jesuits aided the popes in this opposition. In some instances the change of secular rulers affected these reforms. On both sides the press was utilized. The Obscurantists exerted every effort, and often with only too great success, to humiliate and to deprive of their influence the men of progress. As illustrations of the effect of the change in secular rulers Austria and Bavaria may be mentioned. In Austria, under Francis I, the reforms of Joseph were in many instances abolished, and theologians placed under strict scrutiny, thus gradually leading that country back to the darkness of the past, a result which has only been prevented from complete fulfillment by the light which has broken in from surrounding countries.

ADVANCE NOT WITHOUT OPPOSITION.

In Bavaria, under the Elector Max Joseph (1745–77), a ruler of liberal ideas, there was a degree of freedom and progress. This was especially marked by the founding of the Academy of Science at Munich (1759), an institution which has done much for Bavarian scholarship, and has enjoyed from the beginning the patronage and the protection of the elector. Under Elector Carl Theodor (1777–99), however, a change of attitude toward the spirit of progress took place in the government. Carl was completely under the influence of the Jesuits and was directly opposed to the measures of Max Joseph. At Carl's death and upon the accession of Maximilian Joseph to the throne, monasticism and superstition were at an end. The processions and pilgrimages which Carl had recommended were now discouraged, freedom of doctrine and of the press were permitted, and the rights of the secular rulers as against the hierarchy were emphasized. Protestants were also tolerated, and Protestant scholars were even offered such attractions as allured them to the country. As a result the institutions have themselves been improved and learning has been advanced.

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CHAPTER IV.

THE GERMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

THE mystical influences which affected the Protestantism of Germany and Switzerland in the early years of the nineteenth century also spread widely within the Roman Catholic Church and affected deeply those whom it touched.[1] The type was that of the Protestant pietists, and had an origin somewhat similar to the Protestant pietistic movement, namely, in a reaction against mere external form and authority in religion. Owing to the restraints placed upon them, many Romanists became Protestants. Gradually the stricter Romanist party gained control of the Church, and Roman Catholic Pietism was crushed out.

ROMAN CATHOLIC PIETISTS.

Parallel with this ran the so-called liberal movement.[2] It tended away from Roman domination, and was as much opposed to the superstitions and externality of the Church as was Pietism; but it lacked the religious impulse which actuated the pietists, and offered no positive substitute for its proposed changes. Besides, it was in the interest of a political idea antagonistic to Rome, and was therefore a menace to the hierarchy.

LIBERALISM.

To these troubles from within were added disasters from without. The war between the German Empire and the French Republic resulted in the cession of the lands on the left bank of the Rhine to France;[3] and it was arranged that the secular princes of those territories should be compensated by the secularization of the Roman Catholic spiritual princedoms and sovereignties on the right bank and their partition among the secular princes, most of whom were Protestants. The sovereigns were permitted to secularize all religious foundations and monasteries, and even the properties of the cathedrals, and to do with them as they would.

NEW TERRITORIAL ADJUSTMENTS.

These arrangements, all of which were inimical to the interests

[1] See Nippold, i, 516–522. Gieseler gives a detailed account of the phenomenon, v, 332–342.

[2] Compare Sohm, 174–180; Gieseler, v, 316–332, and Nippold's treatment of Wessenberg's part in the movement, i, 524–531.

[3] Gieseler, v, 301 ff.

of the pope, were opposed by him, though to no effect. Both Protestant and Romanist princes, in the readjustment which was slowly brought about, availed themselves of the opportunity to deprive the pontiff of much of the authority he had theretofore exercised. With the Romanist rulers he made treaties whose contents were made public under proper forms. The treaties with the Protestant princes were secretly made, while the pope preserved his outward appearance of authority over them by making known the contents of the treaties in the form of bulls. In all cases concessions were made to and by the pope, thus bringing about the possibility of an understanding. In every land both sovereign and pope had a part either directly or indirectly in the nomination or confirmation of bishops.[1]

ADJUSTMENTS WITH THE PAPACY.

The dominion of so many Protestant princes over Roman Catholic territories might, it would be supposed, have been favorable to the growth of the liberal party in the Church. But two circumstances counteracted this tendency and brought about an increase in ultramontane sentiment. The first was the natural suspicion of the Romanists that the Protestants would employ their power for the suppression of Romanism. This fear, though ill-grounded, had sufficient force to cause even liberal Romanists to take ultramontane ground when they had to deal with Protestantism.[2] The second occasion of increased ultramontanism was the controversy which sprang out of the three hundredth anniversary of the German Reformation and the Protestant literature which the anniversary provoked.

INCREASED ULTRAMONTANISM.

The Kulturkampf[3] was in reality but a result of the Vatican Council, and especially of the newly promulgated dogma of the infallibility of the pope. The ultramontane party could not tolerate the State supervision of schools exercised by Germany in return for its endowment of the Church of Rome as one of the State Churches. When certain German Roman Catholic teachers refused to accept the dogma of infallibility they were deposed by authority from Rome. Bismarck objected, and the conflict was precipitated. The party of the center—Roman Catholic—was to be annihilated. In 1873 the so-called May Laws, or Falk[4] Laws, were enacted. They took the education of the Roman clergy

THE KULTURKAMPF.

[1] See the able treatment of this whole subject in Gieseler, v, 304-316.

[2] Nippold, ii, 536; Gieseler, v, 303.

[3] The name was given to the struggle by Professor Virchow, of Berlin, who said it was a Kulturkampf, that is, a fight for civilization.

[4] Named after Falk, then Minister of Public Worship and Instruction.

from the hands of the Church and placed it in the hands of the State; deprived the Church of the right to appoint clerical inspectors of the schools, or members of religious orders as teachers; made all ecclesiastical appointments subject to confirmation by the State, civil marriage obligatory, a royal court the final arbiter in ecclesiastical questions, and required from the clergy of all ranks a declaration of submission to State laws. All the Roman Catholic feelings of resentment against the German Empire, the symbol of Protestant power in continental Europe, were aroused to the highest pitch. Windhorst rallied the entire Roman Catholic population, and consolidated the party of the center. Nearly all of the May Laws have been repealed. Falk was obliged to resign in 1879, and the victory, though in its completeness somewhat delayed, was with the Roman Catholic Church, and came before Windhorst died.[1] Probably at no period since the Thirty Years' War has Romanism been so confident in Germany as now.

Another direct result of the dogma of papal infallibility is the Old Catholic movement.[2] Many learned and loyal sons of the Church protested against the discussion, and against the promulgation of the infallibility. A small but conscientious party, whose scholarly exponent Döllinger became, met and organized the Old Catholic Church. Their influence has been small. The movement was too much negative in tone. A Church cannot be built upon a denial, however monstrous the error denied may be. The Old Catholics were the successors of the liberals of the early part of the century. They were not moved, like the Reformers, by positive religious convictions, but, like the Humanists, by repugnance for the excesses and abuses of the papal system. Furthermore, the true goal of the Roman Catholic Church was reached, so far as its principle of authority is concerned, when the new dogma was proclaimed. The Old Catholics assaulted rather the fruit than the root of the difficulty. Though this movement was not confined to Germany it had its stronghold there. Switzerland has proved a more favorable climate for Old Catholicism.

THE OLD CATHOLICS.

Much of the strength of the Roman Catholic Church of Germany is due to the apparently opposite yet really harmonious policies of the two popes, Pius IX and Leo XIII; for the popes always harmonize in this, that they employ the times in which they live in the interest of the Church they rule.

[1] Nippold discusses the Kulturkampf with his usual ability, ii, 729–737. See also Sohm, 186–188, and Hurst, Short History of the Christian Church, 390 f.

[2] Nippold, ii, 737–749; Sohm, 185 f.; Hurst, Short Hist. of Chr. Ch., 399–401.

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CHAPTER V.

THE STRUGGLE OF JOSEPH II AGAINST THE PAPACY—OTHER ATTEMPTED REFORMS.

THE German lands which remained Roman Catholic subsequent to the peace of Westphalia were, with but little interruption, under strict subjection to the pope. This was chiefly due to the efforts of the Jesuits and their success in influencing the various German courts in favor of Rome. Toward the middle of the eighteenth century, however, a movement began in many countries looking toward a greater degree of ecclesiastical independence. In order to save the papacy those popes who were wisest yielded somewhat to the tendency of the time, not opposing too vigorously the disposition of the sovereigns to rule the Church in their own domains.

EFFORTS FOR ECCLESIASTICAL INDEPENDENCE.

In 1763 appeared the first volume of a work which more accurately defined, and at the same time more fully developed, the spirit of the age. It was entitled De statu ecclesiæ et legitima potestate Romani Pontificis.[1] It taught that the true form of ecclesiastical government is not monarchical, but that the power of the keys is the possession of the entire Church, to be exercised by all bishops alike; that the pope is not the universal bishop with the bishops as his officials, receiving and exercising their rights in his name, but that the bishops are the successors of the apostles, and that the episcopal dignity is of divine origin. Notwithstanding the primacy of Peter the apostles were all equal; the papal primacy is the gift of Peter and the Church, and if the Church will it can connect the papacy with some other bishopric than the Roman. The foundation of the papacy is the unity of the Church; the duty of the pope is to preserve unity of faith and to care for the observance of the laws of the Church, but only by means of advices and reminders, not by commands within the bounds of other dioceses than his own. All those rights over the Church which the pope obtained during the Middle Ages must be abolished.[2]

THE BOOKS OF FEBRONIUS.

[1] The pseudonym of the author was Justinus Febronius. His real name was Johann Nicolaus von Hontheim.

[2] Comp. Gieseler, iv, 78, 79.

Upon the appearance of the first volume, Pope Clement XIII, who had been particularly presumptuous in his claims, strove with all his power to suppress it. His efforts were vain, and only served to deepen the impression made by the work, which was soon translated into German, French, and Italian, while new editions in the Latin were issued, and the work was read with approval even in Portugal and Spain.

PAPAL OPPOSITION TO FEBRONIUS.

The reforms attempted by Emperor Joseph II followed closely the principles laid down by Febronius. Joseph became the sole ruler of the Austrian hereditary lands in 1780, upon the death of his mother, the famous but bigoted Maria Theresa. He had cherished plans of reform, and his purpose was to do away with every power of the papacy in Austria except such as pertained to the unity of the Church and to uniformity of doctrine.[1] In so doing he did not even take the trouble to consult the pope, but proceeded solely by virtue of his authority as national ruler. The opposition of the pope was prompt and strong, and Joseph himself proved too lacking in persistence and foresight to carry out his purposes in the face of increasing difficulty.

JOSEPH II AND HIS REFORMS.

Joseph distinguished between the exercise of public worship and the external forms of the Church, all of which belonged to the sphere of the secular ruler, and affairs purely spiritual, which pertained to the bishops, and concerning which each bishop in his own diocese was the final authority. No papal bulls or briefs were to be made public without the consent of the secular ruler, and the famous bulls, In Cœna Domini and Unigenitus, were to be extracted from all books of ritual, on pain of severe penalties. Newly elected bishops and archbishops were no longer to take oath as vassals of the pope, but only the oath of canonical obedience in the original sense. The bishops had full power of absolution and the exclusive right to decide concerning marriages, and no recognition was granted of reserved cases nor of recourse to Rome. Gifts to religious establishments might not exceed fifteen hundred florins, monasteries were forbidden to send money to Rome, the connection of monks with foreign superiors was forbidden, their exemptions were abolished, and they were placed under the oversight of the bishops; all orders which did not have to do with pastoral, educational, or hospital duties were disbanded, and their properties were united in a fund for the establishment of additional schools and pastoral charges, while for each monastery

JOSEPH II VERSUS ROME.

[1] Gieseler, iv, 83. Nippold furnishes a most able discussion of Joseph and his times, i, 409–426. Wolf gives in vol. iii a summary of the original documents.

the numbers of members was fixed and monks were forbidden to travel as such from place to place. Joseph forbade study in Rome, and established general seminaries, in which the future clergy were to be educated, while he ordered the careful examination of all candidates and monastic clergy. He also abolished a number of the more glaring superstitions in use in public worship.

Many of the bishops strenuously opposed the new measures. The pope, Pius VI, was extremely vain and self-satisfied. Upon such external matters as his handsome personal appearance and manners, and upon deeds which called attention to himself, he relied for success in his undertakings.[1] In this spirit he journeyed to Vienna, in March, 1782, expecting to dissuade Joseph from his more extreme reforms. Joseph gave him a splendid reception, but referred him to his minister, Prince Kaunitz, in the matter of the reforms which even during the visit of the pope were further extended.

JOSEPH'S VISIT TO ROME.

Pius saw that his visit had been in vain, and soon returned to Rome. He now undertook by correspondence to alter Joseph's mind; but the effort was futile. The pope grew more and more intense in his appeals, and, finally, in 1783, demanded the cessation of several of the innovations. Joseph returned this letter without answer and was about to break away altogether from the pope, when it was thought best first to take counsel with Cardinal Bernis, the French, and Azara, the Spanish ambassador to Rome. Under the pretense of returning the pope's visit and of disposing of the difficulty with his holiness, Joseph went to Rome. There these two counselors called his attention to the unpreparedness of his people for these reforms and the possibility of political difficulties connected therewith. Persuaded of the correctness of their representations Joseph began to yield to the wishes of the pope, and while he did not abolish the new laws he did not insist on their enforcement. Under such a spirit of hesitation and inconsistency he could do nothing against the pope, who practically had his own way. While the reforms which Joseph undertook met with bitter opposition, both from clergy and secular authorities in the Belgian provinces,[2] leading to open rebellion in 1789, the reforms attempted in the Austrian hereditary lands made so favorable an impression in other German Catholic countries that these strove to introduce similar changes.

[1] Compare Baur, iv, 489.

[2] The circumstance which was particularly offensive was the order closing all episcopal seminaries and establishing one general seminary, the action being taken in order to provide for the better education of the clergy.

The papal nuncio in Cologne had disregarded the rights of the clergy, and on his return from Vienna to Rome the pope had granted the request of Carl Theodor of Bavaria, who, influenced by the ex-Jesuits,[1] had besought the pope to send a nuncio to his court. As the four German archbishops had exercised jurisdiction over Bavaria they saw that the presence of a nuncio in Munich meant the curtailment of their jurisdiction and the diminution of their power. As a consequence they appealed to the emperor, who pledged himself to protect them in the exercise of their rights and to recognize the nuncios only in so far as they represented rights which he acknowledged the pope to possess.

THE ISSUE IN BAVARIA.

CONGRESS OF EMS.

The archbishops called a congress at Ems at which they adopted a declaration to the effect that the pope was primate and the center of Church unity, but denying all the privileges which had been based on the pseudo-Isidorean decretals.[2] The bishops should exercise the right of loosing and binding within their own dioceses, and papal interference, whether direct or through nuncios, must cease. The power to fill ecclesiastical positions from Rome and the sending of such vast sums of money to the pope must be limited. In all spiritual affairs the bishops have the first and the archbishops the second right of decision without any interposition on the part of nuncios; but the final appeal may be to papal judges in Germany, provided the judges are themselves Germans.[3]

Unfortunately the archbishops had acted without the cooperation of the bishops who feared that they would be more oppressed by their immediate superiors than by the pope. Not only did the pope have the support of the bishops, but also of the Bavarian court, which claimed that if Joseph had the right to determine the affairs of the Church in his own hereditary lands the elector of Bavaria had the right to receive the nuncio in his domains and that the emperor could not interfere. Supported by the Bavarians, and by the bishops, the pope was more than a match for the archbishops and the emperor, and in 1789 the affair was ended by the pope who severely rebuked the four archbishops for their conduct. The emperor and the archbishops had been outgeneraled and defeated.

PAPAL VICTORY OVER ARCHBISHOPS AND EMPEROR.

[1] The Order of Jesuits had been disbanded in 1773 by papal command.

[2] Baur gives an excellent outline of this so-called Emser Punktation (points to be embodied in a treaty), iv, 494 f.

[3] The elector and archbishop of Cologne was Maximilian, the brother of the emperor, and shared his views as to the relation of the pope to the Church.

CHAPTER VI.

THE SALZBURGERS—OPPRESSION IN HUNGARY, SILESIA, POLAND, AND THE PALATINATE.

THE persecution which has attracted most attention, because of its peculiar hardships and its great extent, is that in Salzburg, Austria, where, on account of the Waldensians and Hus-ites, a certain freedom had existed prior to the time of Luther, whose reforms had taken special hold upon the inhabitants of the mining districts. It was the custom of these Protestants to join in public worship with the Romanists, but in secret they read the Bible and other devotional works. In spite of their outward conformity to Roman Catholic usages their true beliefs were occasionally discovered, and persecution was sure to follow. About 1684 they manifested indifference toward Roman customs, and a persecution ensued in which they were arrested and banished, not even being permitted to take with them their children. Under the archbishopric of Franz Anton, during twenty years, the Protestants grew strong again. But upon the accession of Leopold Anton, count of Firmian, to the archbishopric in 1729, a merciless oppression began. By the aid of a group of secret Jesuits he was able to discover them. They were distinguished by their nonuse of a special greeting,[1] recommended by Pope Benedict XIII, with the employment of which indulgences were connected. The Protestants could not use it because of the indulgences. When they could not be discovered by their secret prayers or their devotional books, this sign was sufficient, and it was public. But to make the proof more sure Jesuits were sent to search the houses of those who refused to employ the greeting. Upon refusal to give up the prayer books thus found and to retract their opinions they were thrown into prison and treated as rebels. The archbishop even appealed to the emperor for soldiers to aid him, and no appeals for an investigation were heeded. A dramatic incident occurred on a Sunday morning in August, 1731, when one hundred of the elders met in a rocky valley near Salzach and solemnly kneeling about a table on which stood a vessel filled with salt dipped into it their moistened fingers, stretched

THE PERSECUTION IN SALZBURG.

THE COVENANT OF SALT.

[1] The greeting was "Blessed be Jesus Christ;" the response, "Forever, Amen."

their right hands toward heaven, and swore never to yield the evangelical faith, pledged unity of feeling and action, faithfulness and brotherliness, and then swallowed the salt.

This was the Covenant of Salt. In October, 1731, all Protestants were ordered to leave the country on pain of severe punishment. More than twenty thousand had the courage to declare themselves Protestants. The three years provided for by the peace of Westphalia were reduced to two or three months.[1] It was impossible in so short a time for them to sell their lands, and in midwinter they were compelled to leave their homes and property and go they knew not where. The wanderers constituted about one tenth of the entire population. Their journey through Protestant lands was a triumphal march, and as they sang their hymns of praise to God the effect upon the observers was tremendous. Even England and Holland contributed to the fund which was raised for their relief. King Frederick William I of Prussia received about seventeen thousand of the refugees, whom he cared for and settled in Littau and other parts of Prussia. Others of them emigrated to Georgia, where they built the city of Ebenezer, and where Whitefield found them sympathetic helpers. The authorities did not prevent their voluntary emigration, but demanded a small recompense per head for all who joined in the exodus. They settled in Berlin, in Hanover, and elsewhere, and, being skilled artisans, became valuable citizens wherever they went.[2]

THE MARCH AND DISPERSION OF THE SALZBURGERS.

Of all the Austrian territories Hungary was in some respects most unfavorable for the Protestants. The peace of Vienna (1606) and again the peace of Linz (1647) had granted them full religious freedom. But since Hungary was not named in the peace of Westphalia (1648) as one of the countries in which Protestantism should be tolerated, the authorities ignored all previous treaties. Leopold I and Joseph I were emperors who would naturally have dealt mildly with their Protestant subjects, but the Jesuits, by their misrepresentations, prevented such weakness. During the twenty-nine years of the reign of

PERSECUTION IN HUNGARY.

[1] To all appeals on the part of Protestant princes the authorities had replied that the Salzburg heretics did not belong to any one of the three religions provided for by the peace of Westphalia.

[2] Strobel, P. A. The Salzburgers and their Descendants. Balt., 1855. Dannappel, E. Die Literatur die Salzburger Emigration. 1731–35. Stuttg., 1886. Weitbrecht, R. Die Evangelischen Salzburger. 2 pts. Barm., 1888. Bodemann, F. W. Die Evangelischen Salzburger und Zillerthaler. Berl., 1889.

Karl VI (1711–1740) the Protestants were bitterly treated. The plan of operations was to deprive them of their churches and thus prevent the holding of public services. From 1715 to 1721 no less than one hundred and forty churches were taken from them. This state of affairs continued, in spite of the protest of Frederick the Great, until the time of Joseph II, whose reign brought to the Protestants a period of rest, which, however, was ended by the accession of Francis I.

SILESIA A REFUGE.

Silesia was one of those territories, the only one in Austria, to whose Protestant population toleration had been expressly granted by the peace of Westphalia. But notwithstanding this provision Protestants were early oppressed, and their disadvantages grew until remedied by Charles XII of Sweden, who in the treaty of 1707 compelled the emperor to restore the religious privileges guaranteed the Protestants in 1648, to return to them all the churches of which they had been deprived during the preceding fifty years, and to permit the erection of six new churches. Oppressions began once more, and the activity of the Jesuits became a cause of alarm. At this critical juncture the peace of Breslau bestowed the government of Silesia upon Frederick the Great. As a Prussian territory it became the refuge for the oppressed of many lands.

CONDITIONS IN UPPER AUSTRIA.

In Upper Austria no provision was made by the peace of Westphalia for the toleration of the Protestants, and earlier treaties were disregarded. Even the right of emigration had been denied. But during the period of the Salzburg exodus the Austrian Protestants were promised freedom of departure, a promise which, on account of the large numbers who gave notice of their purpose to forsake the country, was soon recalled. Beginning with 1733 it became the custom to transport families of Protestants to Transylvania, where the conditions were much more favorable. In Vienna certain Protestant families had been protected as a reward for a money payment. But in 1737 the archbishop of Vienna called the attention of the emperor to the corruption of doctrine which resulted from the importation of forbidden books smuggled through the customs in bales and boxes. Thenceforth, in order to secure protection they were compelled to turn Romanists, at least in external form. Their disabilities continued throughout the reign of Maria Theresa, who denied that she was in any way guilty of violence to the consciences of men, but affirmed that she only strove to oppose the growth of religious indifference and the causes of religious dispute.

Under Joseph II a much improved condition for Protestantism was introduced. According to his edict of toleration issued in 1781, to all his subjects, whether Romanist, Greek, Lutheran, or Reformed, was granted the right to choose their confession. Whenever one hundred families of non-Romanists were found in the same neighborhood they were permitted to have a church, though without tower, bell, or public entrance from without. The number of Protestants who had yielded to the compulsory external forms of Romanism was now, however, found to be so great that the Romanist clergy in alarm sought and secured certain limitations of Protestant rights. Those who wished to become adherents of another confession were required to receive in cloisters instruction in the truth of the Roman Catholic faith for a period of from four to six weeks. The instruction often took the form of threats and abuse. Protestants were not only required to pay for their own churches and the expenses of their support, but also to bear much of the burden of Romanism. Nevertheless, during the reign of Joseph II, Protestantism flourished, though after his death the situation was gradually altered in favor of Rome.

FAVORS TO PROTESTANTS FROM JOSEPH II.

From the time of the expulsion of the Socinians the other Protestants of Poland enjoyed very little religious liberty. The diet of Warsaw did much to the disadvantage of the Protestants. For example, Protestants were not allowed to erect new churches, nor even to hold those already built from a given time forward. In the city of Thorn, which then belonged to the kingdom of Poland, a tumult arose because Jesuits undertook to compel Protestants to remove their hats upon the occasion of a Romish procession. Upon complaint of the Jesuits a commission was appointed whose investigations resulted in the beheading of the mayor and nine citizens, and the replacing of one half the magistracy with Roman Catholics, together with the loss to the Protestants of their principal church. Oppressive laws continued to be enacted and enforced whereby the Protestants lost large numbers of their churches. The first successful efforts to secure a mitigation of the prevalent religious conditions were in the federation of dissenting nobles under the protection of Russian troops. In 1768 the Russian ambassador, in the interest of the oppressed Greek Christians, secured a treaty according to which the laws against the dissenters should be revoked, while dissent was not to be regarded as heresy. Protestant and Greek Christians might exercise freedom of worship, be relieved of the

SUFFERINGS OF PROTESTANTS IN POLAND.

support of the Roman Catholic clergy, guaranteed fair trial, and be admitted to civil offices. Nevertheless Romanism was to be the established religious faith, and to adopt any other was punishable by expulsion from the country. Only with the division of Poland did the troubles arising from the mixed laws relative to religious freedom cease. In Prussian and Russian Poland Protestantism was perfectly free. In Austrian Poland Protestants enjoyed such liberty as was allowed them in Austria proper.

By the extinction of the Reformed line of electors in the Palatinate the Roman Catholic line of Neuberg came to rulership in 1685. Louis XIV of France laid claim to several parts of the Palatinate, and in the war which was waged about the dispute the French succeeded in overthrowing Protestantism in many places and in giving the churches to Roman Catholic priests. In the peace of Ryswick, 1697, Louis secured the insertion of a clause to the effect that in those portions of the country then occupied by the French the Roman Catholic religion should not be disturbed. This was in direct violation of the provisions of the peace of Westphalia, which took 1624 for its normal year. Although the great majority of the population were Reformed, the Roman Catholic rulers gave ear to the Jesuits and by appealing to the provisions of Ryswick began a systematic oppression of the Protestants. Elector Johann Wilhelm forcibly undertook to administer Protestant church property, and required the Lutherans and Reformed to give the Romanists equal right to the use of the churches, and children of mixed marriages were required to be instructed as Roman Catholics.

ROMISH AGGRESSIONS IN THE PALATINATE.

Even in the Reformed University of Heidelberg several professorships were filled by Jesuits who made themselves most obnoxious by their constant charges of heresy against the Reformed professors. They even strove to have the Heidelberg Catechism forbidden as heretical and as an insult to the person of the elector. In Heidelberg the Protestants far outnumbered the Roman Catholics, yet the latter had seven churches while the Protestants had but two, and of these the principal one, the Church of the Holy Ghost, was taken from them. Not until the beginning of the reign of Maximilian Joseph (1799), who refused to follow the path pursued by his bigoted predecessors, did the persecuted Protestants receive any recognition of their rights. Upon the accession of the Grand Duke of Baden, who was a Protestant, to the rulership of the Palatinate, the rights of the Reformed were fully restored.

JESUITS IN HEIDELBERG.

CHAPTER VII.

THE CHURCH IN AUSTRIA SINCE THE TIME OF JOSEPH II.

Essentially the same problems arising from the relation of Church and State on the one hand and of Romanism and Protestantism on the other had to be met in Austria as in other lands. One of the principal of these is the marriage question. The State asserted its right to regulate marriages, a right which the Roman Church would gladly have preserved for itself.[1] Growing out of this was the question as to the religious confession to which the children of mixed marriages should belong. The Romanists demanded that only Roman priests should solemnize marriages, and that all children of mixed marriages should be under Roman Catholic training. Relative to this point there was much disturbance and jealousy. In some cases it was agreed that when one parent was Protestant the children of the same sex should be Protestants, those of the other, Romanists. The priests not infrequently resorted to violence to secure the children for Rome.[2]

REGULATION OF MARRIAGE.

The education of the Protestant clergy was likewise a point in dispute. At first the theological students were permitted to pursue their studies in foreign universities. When this permission was withdrawn a Protestant theological faculty was established in Vienna as a substitute. But as foreigners were not permitted to occupy professors' chairs the faculty was limited to the comparatively incapable theologians at home. There was also lacking the necessary philosophical faculty as an adjunct to theological education, and in accordance with the laws of the land the text-books were prescribed by the secular authorities.[3]

PROTESTANT CLERICAL EDUCATION.

In respect of all these points the struggle for even justice was long and painful. Many suffered imprisonment, which was inflicted chiefly with a view to compelling an exchange of Protestantism for Romanism. Not everything has been gained as yet which religious equality demands, but most of the matters to which reference has been made have undergone a change for the better in the interests of the dissenting religious bodies.

[1] Gieseler, v, 363. [2] *Ibid.*, 362. [3] *Ibid.*, 364 f.

With the accession of Francis I the policy of the government toward the Roman Catholic Church was somewhat modified. Joseph II had been compelled to relax his measures against Roman domination; Francis I positively favored the advance of churchly authority by legal enactment. All books published within his dominions or seeking entrance from without were subjected to a strict examination, and were, if objectionable, either forbidden altogether or allowed only to those to whom special permission had been granted. In 1818 all public officers were commanded by the emperor to attend the services of the chief church of their respective towns on Sundays and festivals.[1] The Order of Redemptorists were favored with every mark of imperial approval, and in a short time thereafter the Order of Jesuits, having been reestablished, were admitted to Austria and permitted to establish institutions of learning. These facts show how favorably everything was arranged in the interest of the purely religious phase of Church life. Nor were any influences inimical thereto tolerated. A Hungarian Bible Society, founded in Presburg in 1812, was suspended, and its stock seized, while the distribution of foreign Bibles was forbidden.[2]

EMPEROR FRANCIS I.

It will be observed, however, that none of these things affected the rights of the State as such in opposition to the authority of the Church of Rome. Even the ameliorations afforded the Protestants in the matter of marriage and the like were not so much in the interest of religious equality as in that of the right of the State to deal with such affairs regardless of the Church. This may be seen in the fact that the Protestant Church was dealt with in essentially the same way. In Hungary the Protestants were compelled to wait until 1844 for partial justice.[3] In Transylvania the conditions were more favorable owing to the fact that all the different religious confessions were represented in the government, thus tying the hands of the emperor.[4] As the century has advanced progress has been made in the direction of larger religious toleration; but even now under the comparatively enlightened reign of Francis Joseph religious freedom is an unknown reality. The great question at present agitating the Austrian religious world is that of the relations of the Jews to the State. The antisemites are ostensibly a political party. Their repressive demands, however, are so framed as to bear hard upon the non-Semitic Protestants.

RIGOROUS STATE SUPERVISION IN AUSTRIA.

[1] Gieseler, v, 358. [2] *Ibid.*, 357–359. [3] *Ibid.*, 361 f. [4] *Ibid.*, 363.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE CHURCH IN HOLLAND AND SWITZERLAND.

THE theology of the Protestant Church in Holland was distinguished in the seventeenth century by its scholastic character.

BOETIUS AND COCCEIUS.

Gisbert Boëtius, a strict Calvinist, was the leader of the orthodox forces. Their chief opposers were the adherents of the Cartesian philosophy, and John Cocceius with his followers. Cocceius[1] adopted the typical method of scriptural interpretation and rejected the philosophical elements of the current dogmatics. The covenant of grace, he taught, had followed the covenant of works, or of nature, which had existed previously to the fall. In the covenant of grace there were three economies: that which existed prior to the law, that under the law, and that under the Gospel. The Cocceians were far more free in their views than were the Boëtians, and were drawn to the Cartesians by the bond of a mutual opposition and certain congenial philosophical principles.

The developments of German theology were not without influence on the theology of Holland, although the national character together with the form of church government then in vogue hindered its progress. Not until the middle of the eighteenth century was the grammatico-historical interpretation of Scripture introduced through the writings of Semler and Ernesti. On the other hand the inaccessibility of the Netherlanders to philosophical ideas has limited them to verbal exegesis.

GERMAN THEOLOGY IN HOLLAND.

A new ecclesiastical constitution permitted by the king in 1816 gave the State an increased authority over the Church. The strict obligations of the creed statements were somewhat relaxed and the different Protestant parties assumed a more friendly attitude toward each other. Against these more liberal movements there arose a party led by Wilhelm Bilderdyk, Da Costa, and Abraham Capadose.[2] These men accomplished little, however, in the way of restoring the strict Calvinistic régime. Nor was the attempt of Hendrik de Cock a little later (1832) much

INCREASING LIBERALISM.

[1] Comp. Hurst, History of Rationalism, 336 f.

[2] Capadose was a physician and opposed vaccination as an attempt to thwart the purposes of God. Comp. Gieseler, v, 286; Hurst, Rationalism, chap. xv.

more successful. At first they brought about the introduction of a stricter requirement of subscription for ministers, but they soon separated from the main body of the Church, which went forward in its chosen path of liberalism.

THE FORMULA CONSENSUS IN SWITZERLAND.

In Switzerland[1] the spirit of independence developed to such an extent through the influence of Swiss youth who studied in France that an attempt was made to check its further growth. Heinrich Heidegger of Zurich, and Franz Turretin of Geneva, together with other theologians of like mind, prepared (1676) what was known as the Formula Consensus,[2] a new creed, which was adopted by most of the Protestant cantons. To this preachers were required to subscribe. Friends of the Reformed faith in other countries, particularly the elector of Brandenburg, pointed out the danger of division in the Reformed ranks as well as the chasm which the creed formed between the Reformed and the Lutherans. But excepting Basel, which did away with the formula in 1685, the cantons paid no attention to these warnings. Geneva maintained the formula until 1706, and Berne until 1722. By 1725 it became customary to require no subscription to creeds on the part of the clergy. Gradually the views of the ministry became more lax until many had practically given up faith in the divinity of Christ, the doctrine of original sin, and of predestination.

Basel was for a long period completely under the theological influence of Germany, first in adopting the general principles and practices of Pietism, and afterward through De Wette, who was called to the university in Basel in 1822, in accepting the principles which prevailed in modern biblical and theological study. While Zurich became rationalistic, Berne remained orthodox.

RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS IN SWITZERLAND.

Throughout French and German Switzerland the changes of condition followed each other with great rapidity. The religious life of the Church failed to satisfy large masses, who, as a result, became infected with fanaticism, leading to serious consequences for the faith. Modifications in the form of government prepared the way for neglect not only of the Church, but of the private exercise of religion, and had the effect of a moral degeneration among the people, which has improved, however, until together with the general life of the Church it equals the best ecclesiastical conditions of the Continent.

[1] On Rationalism in Switzerland, see Hurst, History of Rationalism, chap. xviii, and Nippold, Neueste Kirchengeschichte, i, 204–224.

[2] It may be found in Schaff, Creeds of Christendom, vol. ii.

CHAPTER IX.

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH IN THE NETHERLANDS AND SWITZERLAND.

By the establishment of the kingdom of the Netherlands through the union of Holland and Belgium, in 1814, two countries with opposing religious traditions and interests were brought into immediate contact. But while Belgium profited greatly thereby, the dissolution of the kingdom, twenty-five years later, demonstrated how impossible it was to reconcile the conflicting tendencies of the two nations.[1] The Roman Catholic party could not tolerate the Protestant house of Orange; nor was it at all suitable to their wishes that religious equality was vouchsafed to all ecclesiastical parties alike.[2] They carried their opposition so far as to refuse the usual prayers for the Princess of Orange in view of the expected birth of an heir to the throne. Neither the efforts of the pope to secure peace nor the banishment of the bishop of Ghent,[3] the principal agitator, on the charge of high treason, brought about a cessation of hostilities. Priests preached from the pulpits in a tone adapted to stir up ill feeling and through the use of the press, and the organization of societies for the purpose, ultramontanist ideas were widely spread among the people.

FRICTION OF ROMAN CATHOLICS AND PROTESTANTS.

Schools were established by secret Jesuits, who had come into the country under the name of *freres ignorantins*.[4] The organization of these schools and the custom of sending the youth to France to the Jesuit institutions there, led to an open struggle between the government and the ultramontanists, in which the former was defeated.

FERMENT ON EDUCATIONAL QUESTIONS.

The revolution of 1831, by which Belgium became an independent kingdom, though it was not finally agreed to by Holland until 1839, was carried out by two entirely opposing factions, the ultramontanists and the liberals, who were opposed to religion. Having united to win their cause these two parties have continued in existence with alternating control of the government.

INDEPENDENCE OF BELGIUM.

[1] See the able discussion in Nippold, Neueste Kirchengeschichte, ii, § 30.
[2] *Ibid.*, ii, 400, 401. [3] *Ibid.*, 401. [4] *Ibid.*, 401.

The same influences, essentially, which determined the Church history of the Roman Catholic Netherlands, have also molded that of Roman Catholic Switzerland during the same period. The aristocracy which gained the supremacy subsequent to the adoption of the new constitution in 1815 favored the ultramontane party because it was most retrogressive and hence less likely than any other to tolerate the spirit of democracy so detrimental to the interests of the aristocrats. But the Roman agents, not discerning the danger of their course, carried their efforts to such extremes as led their aristocratic rulers to put a check upon them. Particularly did the papal nuncio make himself obnoxious by his extraordinary assumptions of authority. While negotiations were in progress looking toward the erection of that portion of Roman Catholic Switzerland which had been under the supervision of the see of Constance into an independent bishopric, the nuncio took matters into his own hands and appointed an apostolic vicar for Switzerland. The Swiss appealed to their history in proof of their ecclesiastical freedom; but the pope supported the nuncio and condemned the Swiss claim.

ROMAN CATHOLIC AGGRESSIVENESS IN SWITZERLAND.

The spirit of the French July Revolution bore fruit in Switzerland in the abolition of the aristocratic, and the introduction of a democratic form of government. At first it seemed as though the change would operate disadvantageously to Romanism. But the popular suffrage of democracy gave the church authorities the opportunity to gain everything for themselves. By taking advantage of every act of the Reformed and of the liberal party to impress their subjects with the fear of losing their religious liberty, the priests and Jesuits succeeded in stemming the tide of democratic influences and in bringing the masses back to the ultramontane ideas. The excesses of the strict Romanists at length led to a reaction which endangered their power. To prevent this result they formed a special league (Sonderbund) of Roman Catholic cantons, seven in all, and even proposed secession. The diet declared the special league incompatible with the articles of confederation, and, when the Romanists refused to yield, a brief war, in which but little blood was shed, brought them into subjection. The liberal party again came into power, but unfortunately showed themselves little more tolerant than the Romanists. The recent developments of Swiss Church history have been more peaceable. The election of a Roman Catholic president of the republic in 1894 shows that the spirit of animosity between the two confessions has largely died away.

THE PRESENT POLITICAL EQUILIBRIUM IN SWITZERLAND.

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CHAPTER X.

LATER CHURCH HISTORY OF FRANCE.

About 1700 the Catholic Church of France, says Dr. Döllinger,[1] possessed more learned theologians than all the rest of Christendom together. At the head of these stood the great Jacques Benigne Bossuet, "The Eagle of Meaux," famous alike as preacher, bishop, theologian, historian, controversalist, and a marvel of perfection in the French tongue. Above him in religious genius, though inferior in style and learning, stood the younger bishop, Fénelon. But by 1715 the triumph of the Jesuits was complete, and they thrust their wretchedly inferior partisans into all the high places of the Church, which by the middle of the century had become the center of intellectual feebleness and ignorance.

DEGENERACY OF THE JESUITIZED FRENCH CHURCH.

The immeasurable detriment sustained by France in the loss of half a million of her Protestant subjects, including the whole body of their clergy, needs no comment. That larger fraction of the Huguenots, about two thirds, that had been unable or unwilling to flee, remained behind in an apathy of dull despair. Most of them, in view of certain ruin, offered for a while a hollow abjuration, and were enrolled by the priests as "the new converts," but continued to hate Catholicism, and clung to their ancestral religion as stubbornly as ever. Protestantism, open or slightly concealed, was not only maintaining itself, but was actually extending. There were not infrequent instances of original Catholics who had become Protestants, moved by compassion and edified by the Christian demeanor of the persecuted Huguenots. Even some priests became Protestants after attending Protestants at their execution or in the galleys.

PERSISTENCE OF PROTESTANTISM.

The attempt to compel the Huguenots not only to attend the mass, but to take the communion from the priests, was denounced by Madame de Maintenon, as well as by Cardinal de Mailles and Cardinal Le Cannes, and various other bishops, as a sacrilege, and was finally given up. Yet in the very year of his death Louis XIV issued a savage edict, providing that, if anyone refused the sacraments at death, his goods should be forfeited and his body cast

[1] Akademische Vorträge, vol. i, p. 414. Nördlingen, 1888.

into the common sewer. The hideous scenes often involved are portrayed by Baird.[1] After a few years these loathsome exposures were given up for very shame. Yet death remained the penalty for any minister venturing to exercise his office. From 1685 to 1762, when the executions ceased, eighty-seven Protestant ministers perished on the gallows or were broken on the wheel. As to the laity, scores, perhaps in all hundreds, remained dead on the ground in the wilderness where the soldiery had detected them worshiping God.

CRUEL EDICT OF LOUIS XIV.

The French Protestants, bereft of all their accredited teachers, and of a great part of their educated laity, were wrought up into a state of enthusiastic, and even of fanatical exaltation. Many thousands, all over France, declared that for many days together they heard angelic voices in the air singing the familiar Huguenot psalms. In their stolen assemblies men, women, and even children would fall on the ground in half-conscious ecstasies, during which all their ejaculatory commands were received with implicit obedience as of the Holy Ghost.

In 1702, under the pressure of the persecution and under the incitement of these imagined prophesyings, there broke out, in the mountain region of the South known as the Cevennes, the war of the Camisards,[2] which for two years exercised all the skill of the marshals of France, and of many thousand soldiers, before it could be quelled. Languedoc, especially this mountain district, was the chief seat of French Protestantism. Whole parishes had scarcely any other than Huguenot inhabitants. These brave peasants, acquainted with all the intricacies of the wilderness in which they dwelt, were a cause of infinite perplexity and dismay to the royal troops, and to all the Catholics of the South. Abhorring plunder, and almost wholly guiltless of offenses against female honor, they soon, under the provocation of suffering and the fury of strife, became more murderously cruel than even their antagonists.

THE PROPHETS.

Their main leader was the young peasant, Jean Cavalier, a mere boy of the age of twenty, but full of military vigor and resource, and, though of no real greatness or tenacity of character, having a great power of influencing those about him. After two years of brilliant exploits, the king himself made flattering offers, which Cavalier accepted with a somewhat selfish eagerness. He did, how-

[1] The Huguenots and the Revocation, ii, 425 ff.

[2] So called probably from the white *camise* (chemise) which they were said to wear at night over their other clothes. for mutual recognition.

ever, secure the release of the Protestants who had been sent to the galleys. Well-warranted misgivings soon led him to escape from France. His more devoted companions held out a little longer, but surrendered at last, the leaders being allowed to withdraw from the kingdom. Thus ended the brief Camisard War, which at least showed all the world how ridiculous a fiction it was to say that Protestantism had been extinguished in France.

JEAN CAVALIER.

After the Camisards came the long era of "The Church of the Desert." Antoine Court became, from 1713 onward, the restorer of French Protestantism. He was but seventeen years of age when he began among the Huguenots of the Desert—the one comprehensive name given to all the secluded retreats of their worship—to preach sermons of his own composition. Boy as he was, his judgment was ripened into soundness and strength. He soon became persuaded that two things were indispensable if French Protestantism was not to perish. One was that the prophesyings should cease. By steady calmness of appeal to the Bible as the one authority for Christians and for Protestants in place of all imagined private revelations, he at last succeeded completely.

ANTOINE COURT.

The other pillar of continuance for the reviving Church was to be found in a thorough organization. The wise and stable youth of nineteen, on August 21, 1715, held, in a deserted quarry near Monoblet in Lower Languedoc, the first Synod of the Desert, composed of nine persons. Court presented a number of searching and far-reaching principles of action, all of which were accepted, thus banishing anarchy, unseemliness, and fanaticism from the reconstituted Church, which now reentered upon the possession of its local consistories, rising grades of presbyteries,[1] and local and general synods. These meetings were always conducted with the utmost precision of ecclesiastical regularity. Corteiz, an older preacher, was sent to Switzerland to obtain ordination. On his return he ordained Court, and thus the succession of Reformed pastors in France was reestablished.

RESTORED PROTESTANTISM.

After the Revocation the law refused any longer to accept as evidence of baptism or marriage the certificate of a Huguenot minister. All who were not married before a priest were legally esteemed concubinaires, and their children illegitimate. Yet as the churches of the Desert multiplied, the Protestants again flocked to the ministers for the baptism of their children and the benediction of their nuptials. They ultimately com-

PROTESTANT MARRIAGES.

[1] Called in France, *colloquies*.

pelled the State to give its tardy sanction to the moral validity of their marriages as well as once more to accept their baptismal registrations. Progress was steady. Court says: "What a comfort it was for me to be present, in 1744, at meetings of ten thou sand souls, on the identical spots where, in the first years of my ministry, scarcely had I been able to bring together fifteen, thirty, sixty, one hundred persons."[1]

In 1729 Antoine Court, having provided a sufficiency of ordained pastors and finding the pursuit after him so hot as to make it hardly prudent to remain, withdrew into Switzerland, where, at Lausanne, he founded a divinity school, which long continued to supply the French churches with preachers. Court lived until 1760, but occasionally revisiting France. His son, Court de Gébelin, was a marvel of erudition and talent, and was universally esteemed one of the ornaments of France. When he published Le Monde Primitif, the king and the archbishop of Paris, on two occasions, voted him one of the highest honors, in the most flattering terms. Yet he was as much devoted to the Church of the Desert as his father. Wretchedly provided for, and in constant dan

COURT DE GEBELIN.

gers, he yet never withdrew from his ministry. His high standing in the learned world enabled him to work with great influence for the mitigation of the persecutions, and it was only three years after his death, in 1784, that the long-desired Edict of Toleration appeared.

"The relentless pursuit of the ministers of the Reformed Church," says Baird,[2] "did not come to an end until 1762, with the execution at Toulouse, on February 19, of François Rochette, the last of the martyred pastors. The long list of noble confessors of the faith could not have closed with a worthier name than this." Before the great Church of Saint Stephen, as if the judges were swayed unconsciously by the will of God to make a parallel between

EXECUTION OF ROCHETTE.

the elder and the later martyr, Rochette, attired in a simple shirt, bareheaded and barefooted, holding in his hand a great yellow taper, with the label on his back, "Minister of the Pretended Reformed Church," was condemned, before mounting the ladder, to ask pardon of God, the king, and justice. "Of God," said he, "I do ask forgiveness. Of the king I have none to ask, for I have ever obeyed him, save when to obey him was to disobey God. I have done no wrong to my judges, but may God forgive them."

[1] The Huguenots and the Revocation, ii, 431.
[2] Baird, ii., 496–498.

Young Louis XVI, who succeeded his vile grandfather, was dull and weak, but thoroughly kind, spotless in life, profoundly conscious of his duty to make his subjects happy, and deeply religious, but with no tincture of persecuting malignity in his religion. His wife, Marie Antoinette, was enthusiastically engaged in favor of Protestant emancipation. His able minister, Turgot, encouraged these royal dispositions. Lafayette, who devoted himself to the Protestant cause, found gracious audience at the court. Indeed, the young king in 1787 most willingly subscribed the Edict of Toleration. It simply declared that the great Louis could never have meant to deprive myriads of his subjects of essential social and civil rights, but that he had been misled into supposing that all had become Catholics. Time had refuted this assumption. His majesty therefore ordained that all baptisms and marriages of the Desert, duly attested by the parties, should be registered by the parish priests as of full force and effect from the first. Thenceforward marriage might be contracted indifferently before the judges or the curates. Baptism the Church had always pronounced valid by whomsoever conferred.

LOUIS XVI.

In 1789 the Constituent Assembly, finally, while providing exclusively for the support of the Roman Catholic worship, assumed the civil equality of all citizens, and the right of all Christians and Jews to freedom of worship. But its ill-advised Civil Constitution of the Clergy, completely disregarding the whole historical development of French Catholicism, threw the consciences of the priesthood into such perplexity that most of them finally rejected it. This refusal, supported by Louis XVI, enraged the revolutionists, and emboldened them in their course of destruction. At last atheism was proclaimed, a harlot adored on the high altar of Notre Dame as the Goddess of Reason, the statue of Eternal Sleep set up in the cemeteries, the Sunday abolished, and the profession of any religion treated as involving at least the suspicion of treason. The deistic reaction under Robespierre soon sent the atheists to the guillotine, to which the deists speedily followed them; but even under the Directory Christianity remained proscribed, if no longer actively persecuted. At last, Bonaparte, by his famous Concordat of 1801, reestablished Roman Catholicism in France, and also provided for the public support of Protestantism and Judaism. However, he reduced all three religions into an abjectness of dependence on the State which has never since been essentially relaxed.

FINAL BUT AMBIGUOUS ACTION OF BONAPARTE.

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CHAPTER XI.

THE POPES AND ITALIAN UNITY.

MACHIAVELLI represents the temporal kingdom of the popes in Middle Italy as the great cause why Spain had remained, throughout the ages, disjointed and helpless before the foreigner. Dante, before him, intensely orthodox as he is, but also intensely patriotic, is thoroughly possessed of the same opinion. It is much to the credit of Rome that, while she has condemned some of Dante's statements in his prose works, she has never suffered a word of his Commedia to be put under censure. The Jesuits, indeed, when they arose, soon set about organizing a "conspiracy of silence," under which the fame of Dante suffered an eclipse of generations in his own land. Most of them still hate him, and, according to Gioberti, lose no opportunity by which they can furtively discredit him.[1] Yet even they do not venture to claim for the pope's immediate temporal authority in Italy anything more than a human and historical right. They allow expressly that not only has it never been, but that it never can be defined as an article of faith. On the other hand, the eminent Luigi Tosti, Abbot of Monte Cassino, the mother-house of Benedictinism, declares the ecclesiastical State and Rome itself essential to Italian unity, and incapable of being retroceded to the pope. The Benedictines do not favor the temporal dominion.

DANTE ON TEMPORAL POWER OF PAPACY.

The grant of lands to the Roman see by Pepin and his great son differed only in extent from similar grants to any other bishop. In Teutonic view an estate carried with it jurisdiction. This explains female sovereignty, which was a rare exception. A queen governed because she was supreme proprietress. The express title of Isabella and her daughter in Spain was *reina proprietaria*. The ancient view of sovereignty as an office has suffered eclipse, and female succession has disappeared from Germany, Belgium, Italy, Greece, and Scandinavia, and is only admitted as a last resort in Austria and Russia.[2]

SOVEREIGNTY AND OWNERSHIP.

[1] Il Gesuita moderno, Tome Terzo, p. 236.

[2] Queen Victoria protests against it as an unnatural and unsexing thing, but has herself rendered it so popular in England that if there is any change, it is likely to be the other way, as Freeman proposes.

In like manner, as sovereignty became more and more detached from ownership, one prelatical principality after another disappeared, until the great shock of the French Revolution broke them all up, including the ecclesiastical State. The revival of this, and its continuance until 1870, was only a part of the general reaction following the fall of Napoleon, which has now exhausted itself.

GROWTH OF PAPACY AND ITS TEMPORAL SWAY.

The unequaled greatness of the papacy, however, and its œcumenical character reduced and crushed the Roman burghership to a mere shadow of power. Milan or Florence could easily bring its bishop to reason, but the Roman pontiff had, in extremity, all Western Christendom to fall back upon. Arnold of Brescia, and Rienzi, and all other popular tribunes were broken against this adamantine wall. They fell the more easily because of their futile endeavors to reassert for the rude and shrunken mediæval town the old rights of universal dominion. Europe understood the papacy, but laughed at the weak mimicry of the Senatus Populusque Romanus. And when the papacy had destroyed the mighty Hohenstaufen and crushed the empire into impotency, forcing it at last to resign even the pretense of sovereignty over Rome, all hope fell that the Roman bishop, like other Italian bishops, could ever be reduced within the bond of national unity. Whether Italy without the papacy would have knit together in the Middle Ages may be doubtful; with the papacy it was quite out of the question.

STATES OF THE CHURCH.

The prevalence of the papacy over the tribunes and the empire, however, by no means implied the existence of the ecclesiastical State, as we have known it. It was, before the time of Julius II, little more than a wavering, turbulent agglomeration of free cities, lordships, counties, dukedoms, baronies, each having its immemorial and jealously guarded liberties. Over those the popes exercised a vague suzerainty, varying all the way from effective sovereignty, which had finally been established in the city of Rome, to the mere shadow of it in the prosperous and virtually independent dukedom of Urbino, or in the illustrious city of Bologna. Even the personal exemption of the chief pontiff from civil authority, although the Italian law of guarantees fully concedes it, and although Roman Catholics talk as if it was as self-evident as gravitation, is no article of faith. Every Roman Catholic, of course, is bound to hold the pope entitled of divine right to such civil exemptions as are essential to the free exercise of his spiritual authority. But the Roman bishops for a

thousand years exercised the widest attributes of their office, without ever denying their civil subjection to the emperor, whether at Rome, Constantinople, or Aachen.

The simple truth is that the popes exercised civil authority in the Middle Ages only because other bishops did. They exercised it in a much greater measure because they were incomparably greater than all other bishops, and because the territories of Middle Italy easily reverted into subordination to them. They knew how to maintain their possessions, because they were fortified in the awful reverence of the nations, and because they, above all the Powers, had the instinct of government. Besides, they could always sanction an alienation of episcopal lands, but who could sanction an alienation of papal territory? The present papal obstinacy against this is not purely ambitious self-will; it is largely mingled with conscientious perplexity. Rome moves slowly, but as she, after hesitating more than a generation, finally swung over from the luxuriousness of a Leo X to the Puritan severity of a Pius V, so she will now, after a long delay, finally learn that civil sovereignty has been merely a variable and very questionable incident of her long history, and that the thirty years since she has lost it have, for the first time in generations, introduced her into what may really be called spiritual freedom in the exercise of her functions.

CIVIL STATUS OF POPES.

The reign of Julius II (1503–1513) witnessed the transformation of the previous loose agglomeration of papal possessions to the ecclesiastical State as an administrative unity. Cæsar Borgia had prepared the way for it, and Julius virtually completed it. The result was distinctly unfavorable to the prosperity of the populations. All their busy local life was suppressed, and they were submitted to the worst of all possible governments, a government of priests. If the pope is wise he will conclude, like Paul at Corinth, that he "has no more place in these parts," and will boldly anticipate the future by transferring himself from the banks of the Tiber to those of the Thames. In England he would find a frankly accorded and fully guaranteed freedom in the use of his spiritual functions which he would find nowhere else in the world. If the papacy is to have a continuing office in Christendom it will only be as an institute imbued with that spirit of reasonable leadership of which England is the great example. If it cannot accommodate itself to this its good and evil days alike are done.

TEMPORAL POWER OF PAPACY FOREVER PAST.

CHAPTER XII.

THE LATER SWEDISH CHURCH.

RETURNING to Gustavus Vasa, it is sad to relate, that in 1539 his two great instructors in Protestantism, Lars Andersen and Olaf Petersen, were supplanted in his favor by a Dutchman, Conrad Peutinger, and a German, George Norman. The work of reformation was now pushed with a heedless precipitancy showing how little the newcomers understood the true interests or temper of the Swedes. A great deal of their work therefore came to naught. Gustavus now procured the condemnation of Petersen and Andersen to death on a charge of high treason.[1] One great count in the indictment was that they had not been willing to lay the Church absolutely at the feet of the king. Their condemnation was therefore a species of martyrdom. They were pardoned, but never recovered the royal favor. Gustavus Vasa was a great and beneficent king, but had no small share of imperious harshness in his temper, sometimes passing over into decided tyranny.

PETERSEN AND ANDERSEN SET ASIDE.

We owe an infinite debt to Sweden, for when continental Protestantism was in straits, and almost in despair, before the rapidly advancing military forces of the restored Catholicism, whose conquest of Lower Germany would apparently have brought with it the downfall of the Reformation everywhere, Sweden, on July 4, 1630, descended like a thunderbolt from the North, under her heroic young Gustavus Adolphus, the grandson of the great Vasa, and, sweeping down almost to the Alps, in victory after victory crushed and broke up the ultramontanist forces, and showed the Jesuits and their disciples that God had set a limit to their proud hopes.

DEBT OF PROTESTANTISM TO SWEDEN.

Gustavus Adolphus is perhaps the most fascinating king in history. Possessed of the heroic beauty of the North, of its fair complexion, blue eyes, and sunny hair, he had the warmth and simplicity of the Swedish heart, and the God-fearing Swedish temper, and, although doubtless his zeal for his persecuted religion was largely mingled with the instinct of

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS.

[1] A conspiracy against the king's life, confided to Andersen and Petersen under seal of confession, formed part of the charge.

dominion, yet it was deep and true. The very spirit of Luther breathes in his famous words:

> "Fear not, O little flock, the foe
> Who madly seeks your overthrow,"

dictated by him in prose and rendered by his chaplain, Fabricius, into German verse, the evening before the heroic king crowned his course by falling on the victorious field of Lützen.

ITS MIXED POLITY.

In Swedish Christianity, the lay parishioners have always had an undoubted right, out of the episcopally accredited clergy, to choose and refuse pastors. This right, for many ages, was largely overborne by the chapters, the bishops, the noble patrons, and the kings, yet it was never extinguished or denied, and it seems now, with certain counterchecks, to be fully established. Socially the bishops still have the first rank, yielding precedence after royalty only to the great nobles. About 1750 they resumed the Roman Catholic usage of wearing the pectoral cross. This, however, did not signify the slightest divergence from the Lutheran doctrine of the universal priesthood, while it has been coincident with a final abandonment of the former absoluteness of their authority over the clergy.

THE PROVOSTS.

From of old the dioceses have been divided into provostships, or a sort of rural deaneries. The provosts, however, or *prostar*, have had much greater authority than rural deans. They have been sometimes the rivals, but much more commonly the efficient helpers and deputies of the bishops, extending a vigorous supervision from the cathedral center throughout the diocese. The cathedral chapters were dissolved by Gustavus Vasa, as in Denmark, but were soon reconstituted on a new basis, and have been, since the Reformation as before it, efficient factors in the diocesan administration. They, too, have sometimes impeded, but more commonly strengthened, the bishop's authority.

EPISCOPAL HELPERS.

The bishop has the right also of appointing in his diocese a number of honorary provosts, having the rank, though not the jurisdiction of the contract or district provosts. This is a simple but very effective way of securing to the bishop a strong influence over his leading clergy. Except in certain rare contingencies, the bishop alone can ordain. The diaconate has been abolished, the presbyterate and the episcopate only being retained.

Church discipline has always been vigorous in Sweden, as in Scotland, and although originally exercised in forms too harsh and

crude to be any longer applicable, it seems to have been on the whole a beneficial and educating influence for Christian living.

CHURCH DISCIPLINE.

In the eighteenth century it was almost or altogether detached from civil penalties, and rendered purely spiritual. The pastor was very commonly aided and controlled by lay assessors or elders.

The Swedes have suffered vastly from intemperance, and even a special form of alcoholic disease has been developed among them. Yet it should be known that this national vice dates back only to about 1785, the evil time of Gustavus III. He established royal distilleries throughout the kingdom and even enjoined on the clergy to preach brandy drinking as a duty of loyalty, for the sake of the king's revenues. Of late years there has been a powerful temperance movement, greatly aided by the increasing numbers of Baptists and Methodists, and of Waldenströmians. Swedish Lutheranism is in little danger of subversion, yet it had been so long settled on its lees, in exclusive possession of power, that it is likely to be incalculably benefited by a free infusion of regenerating elements from the great Reformed wing of Protestantism, in both its Calvinistic and its Arminian forms.

VICE OF INTEMPERANCE.

The Swedish Church has, in its time, passed through all the mutations of German Lutheranism, but usually in a mitigated form. Having no rivals, and being remote from the centers of controversy, and under the steadying influence of a well-digested polity, its controversies, though often not lacking in vehemence, partook, on the whole, of the mildness of the national temper. With these mitigations it had, like German Lutheranism, its epoch of rigid orthodoxy, of efforts after union with the Reformed, of partly persecuted and partly prevailing Pietism, of dreary and shallow rationalism, of reviving and deepening faith, now enlarged by a more generous culture and a broader charity. It now exhibits a warm and growing interest in interior and foreign missions, and in all the familiar forms of pious and philanthropic effort.

MODERATED CONTROVERSIES.

The narrowness and bigotry which too much High Lutheranism, aided by long seclusion, has developed in many leading persons, have by no means disappeared, but are declining. In the seventeenth century several persons were beheaded for secret Catholicism, and later several more for secret Calvinism. As late as 1844 a Swedish painter was deprived of his civil rights and of his rights of inheritance for becoming a Roman Catholic, and banished to Copenhagen, where

INCREASING RELIGIOUS LIBERTY.

he died the next year in penury. Now, however, full religious liberty is established. The evil influence of Gustavus III over the upper classes has been largely redressed by the moral soundness of the Bernadottes. French and Roman Catholic in origin, they have long shown themselves thoroughly Protestant and perfectly Swedish.

As against the hierarchy and ritualism of Rome, Lutheranism was long marked by an excessive, not to say arid, intellectualism. Every shade of doctrinal opinion had its embittered, and even mutually persecuting adherents. While the compacter structure of the Swedish Church kept these disputes more within bounds than in Germany, they at least stirred up the mental powers of the clergy, and even of the cultivated laity, to great activity.

ENCOURAGEMENT TO INTELLECTUAL ACTIVITY.

Sweden has given birth to one very remarkable and influential aberrant type of Christianity, Swedenborgianism. It has, however, prevailed much more over English and American thought than over Swedish. It strongly resembles some of the better forms of the early Gnosticism, and seems destined, like them, to be absorbed into œcumenical Christianity, helping to give it a greater interior depth than its forensic and juridical theologies have encouraged, necessary as these have been to sustain the fabric of Christian thought. Emmanuel Swedenborg's father, Jasper Svedberg, was, perhaps, the most eminent and beneficently active bishop of Sweden during a long episcopate.

SWEDENBORGIANISM.

The grisly superstition of the witchcraft trials seems to have been beyond comparison more appallingly destructive in the Roman Catholic and Lutheran world than in the Calvinistic countries, even including Scotland. Its victims within this range, between about 1450 and 1750, were numbered by hundreds of thousands, even millions. Of course Lutheran Sweden in this, too, followed after Lutheran Germany. A woman was burnt about 1690 because she did not weigh a hundred pounds.

WITCHCRAFT.

There is very little illiteracy in Sweden, and primary education seems of late years to have come rapidly forward. The famous University of Upsala, and its eminent sister of Lund, have lately welcomed a third associate, the new University of Gothenburg. The Swedish gymnasia, instead of being, like the German, something between our academies and colleges, are true provincial universities. They cannot give degrees, and they have not so many teachers in each department as the universities, but there is hardly anything taught in these which is not also taught in the gymnasia.

EDUCATION.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE LATER DANISH CHURCH.

The history of the Danish Church since the Reformation has not been so picturesque as that of Sweden. Yet Denmark in the nineteenth century developed a great religious movement which has powerfully affected the general national life. The name of this movement, Grundtvigianism, is a token of its intense national peculiarity, indeed, particularism, which renders it very difficult for a foreigner to understand, and much more to explain it. Even the Norwegians, although speaking the same language and having nearly the same ecclesiastical constitution as Denmark, appear to have been only moderately affected by it, while on the Swedes it seems to have made scarcely any impression.

GRUNDTVIGIANISM.

Nicolai Fredrik Severin Grundtvig[1] was the son of a parish priest of Udby, on the island of Zealand, and was born September 8, 1783. He was endowed with extraordinary religious insight, and, what is closely akin to it, keen poetical vision. He had also a wonderful power of influencing and impelling men, and of transforming them into his firm and loyal disciples, in this resembling Loyola or Wesley, although hardly possessed of their organizing power. Though of a more deeply creative genius than Wesley, he fell short of his sunny sanity.

GRUNDTVIG.

Grundtvig's literary development antedated his spiritual. He was profoundly attracted by the ancestral Northern myths, partly evolving out of them and partly imagining into them deep truths of nature and the spirit. His efforts developed in him, and through him in the Danes, an intense revival of national feeling, which helped to restrain the flood of German influence that had through the ambiguous union with Schleswig-Holstein partly submerged Danish literature. However, he did not find rest for his spirit in the Eddas, and was more and more drawn to the Bible. He became at last convinced that the redemption of the world can be found only in Christianity, and, as his faith deepened, only in Christ. Thenceforward he preached the Gospel of the personal Redeemer with a

GRUNDTVIG'S RELIGIOUS DEVELOPMENT.

[1] Paul Pry, N. F. S. Grundtvig, Copenh., 1871; J. Kaftan, Grundtvig, der Prophet des Nordens, Basel, 1876.

regenerating effect throughout Denmark far exceeding, in the apparent fruits of individual transformation, all that appears to have been seen at the Reformation.

NEW EMPHASIS ON THE CHURCH.

This experience renewed to Grundtvig the apprehension of the truth which had been obscured in the Protestant reaction against the overvaluation of tradition and the hierarchy, namely, that the Church is not founded on the Bible, but the Bible on the Church. The written word is not living in itself, but becomes living only as interpreted and applied by a community of living, regenerate souls, or, rather, it comes forth from the midst of such, and is not meant to be otherwise interpreted and understood.

FUNDAMENTAL CHARACTER OF THE APOSTLES' CREED.

Grundtvig's fundamental conviction was that the innermost Gospel lies, as at the first, in proclaiming the facts concerning Christ, his miraculous birth, his incarnate godhead, his sinless life, his divine teachings, his redeeming death, his victorious resurrection, his continued intercession, his bestowment of the Spirit, and his return to judgment. These truths he found most immediately expressed or implied in the Apostles' Creed. He therefore gave to this symbol eminently the title of the Word of God. The Scriptures he regarded as essentially an inspired commentary upon it. Into this faith, he said, Christians have been baptized from the beginning, and he who is not baptized into it has not been baptized into the universal Church.

OPPOSITION FROM STRICT LUTHERANS.

So far there was not much more than a very strong expression of a profound and regenerating truth. However, the opposition of the traditional Lutheranism irritated him, and still more his disciples, into the most extravagant and untenable positions. All would allow that very early, perhaps even from apostolic times, it was usual for converts at baptism to make a brief profession of their faith in the facts of the Gospel, and that the so-called Apostles' Creed is the expansion of such early baptismal formulas. However, the Grundtvigians were not contented with this. They affirmed that the whole Apostolicum, article for article, just as we have it in words and order, was communicated by our Lord, between his resurrection and his ascension, to the apostles, and by these, in oral tradition, to the first converts, and so on, through all the ages, to us. Nay, they questioned whether a priest who doubted of a single article could give an authentic baptism, and some even questioned whether, in Denmark, the change of an archaic to a modern phrase

did not endanger the validity of baptism. Out of this sprang all manner of distressing scruples of conscience.

As the creed mentions the Church, but not the Bible or atonement, the Church again, in Grundtvigian eyes, sprang into a conspicuousness which almost rendered it the rival of the Lord, and quite pushed biblical authority into the background. The party began to desire the reintroduction of the continuous succession from Sweden, and a few, we believe, became Roman Catholics outright. Yet the movement had proceeded from too profound an apprehension of the redeeming power of Christ, and was too completely Protestant in its root, to shed much of its ripened harvest into the bosom of Rome. Therefore, as Bishop Martensen and the clergy generally became more fully appreciative of the essential nobleness and beneficence of the movement, Grundtvig and his followers relaxed from their extravagances, and the two believing currents of the Danish Church joined their forces against the merely negative rationalism, and also against the malignant materialism of the Brandes brothers, men of Jewish origin, and, like so many Jews, implacably bent on destroying all faith in spiritual reality, in God, the soul, and immortality.

UNION OF THE TWO POSITIVE CURRENTS OF BELIEF.

What has been said under the head of Sweden of the growing influence of the Baptists and Methodists, and, it may be added, of the Catholic Apostolic movement commonly known as Irvingism, is equally applicable to Denmark. The Roman Catholics, also, have now a few thousand adherents. For some reason or other, the Mormons have succeeded in making a relatively large number of converts in Scandinavia, and especially in Denmark. Yet the overwhelming majority of the Danes still remain Lutheran. The recent religious literature plainly indicates that there is an aggressive Christian faith in the little kingdom.

OTHER DENOMINATIONS IN DENMARK.

Frederick Grundtvig, in consideration alike of his eminence as a Christian, a poet, and a patriot, was, on May 29, 1861, the fiftieth anniversary of his ordination to the priesthood, raised by the king to an equality of rank with the bishop of Zealand himself, the primate of Denmark. He was not, however, consecrated, nor set over a diocese, nor clothed with authority to ordain. The day was celebrated with great demonstrations of honor from all parties in the Church. The great and venerable man lived until September 2, 1872, and left behind him perhaps the most honored name in all the later history of Denmark.

PUBLIC HONOR TO GRUNDTVIG.

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CHAPTER XIV.

RELATION OF THE GREEK CHURCH TO ROME.

Rome, with her wonted haughtiness and contempt of all fact where her claims are concerned, sometimes speaks of the Greek Church as a revolted daughter. For Rome to call the Greek Church her daughter is mere midsummer madness. It is the culmination of High Church absurdity. The Gospel did not proceed from the West eastward, but from the East westward. The Roman Church itself, as a local body, is almost as ancient as any. It can hardly be called even the daughter of Antioch. It appears to have been the immediate daughter of Jerusalem. The "strangers of Rome" found in Jerusalem at the great Pentecost appear on their return to have developed into a growing brotherhood, which we find less than a generation later already renowned throughout the world for the energy of its faith and soon, also, of its beneficence, a reputation which it deservedly retained for a number of centuries. Yet Eastern Christianity was not derived from it. Rome was an eminent, and soon the most eminent, sister in a vast confederation of churches; to no Eastern church was she a mother.

GREEK NOT THE DAUGHTER OF ROMAN CHURCH.

Rome apart, Eastern Christianity has never lost the consciousness and pride of being elder than Western. Its episcopate, moreover, is wholly independent of the West. It questions whether the apostolic succession has been maintained in the Occident, but the Occident raises no question as to that of the East. Rome will not suffer even the heretical Monophysite or Nestorian bishops and priests to be reordained.[1] Nay, the doctors of the city of Rome, says Döllinger, concede to the Eastern bishops not merely a valid succession, but the power of the keys. Even Leo XIII, a few years ago, sent a congratulatory delegation to his venerable brother, the patriarch of Constantinople, on his accession, a courtesy which he has never dreamed of showing to the archbishop of Canterbury. The latter, in his eyes, is a mere rebel, and he has at last declared him to be an unordained layman; the former he cannot forget to be a great

ROME ACKNOWLEDGES GREEK SUCCESSION.

[1] The occasional reordinations of Abyssinian clergy rest on purely local grounds.

bishop, toward whom, even yet, he finds it expedient to use the language of fraternity rather than of command.

The council of Chalcedon,[1] which had been obliged to Leo for the luminous exposition of the points at issue between Eutyches and Nestorius, and which had declared, and this time sincerely, that "Peter had spoken through Leo," calmly proceeded to arrange precedence between Rome and Constantinople in utter neglectfulness of everything except the civil rank of the two cities. The council is not contemptuous of the Roman claims to a divine superiority. It is profoundly oblivious of them. Once the whole East was for thirty-five years out of communion with Rome, yet treated this fact as a mere incident of more important controversies. And at the second œcumenical council, that of Constantinople, in 381, the bishops called Meletius of Antioch to the presidency, entirely neglecting the fact that he was under the ban of Rome. Indeed, Chrysostom, until he was fifty-one years old, had never been in communion with Rome a day in his life. Yet this did not in the least stand in the way of his being made archbishop of Constantinople. When invested in this great see he at length arranged terms of accommodation with Rome, not by an act of submission, but of mutual oblivion.

INDIFFERENCE TO ROMAN EXCOMMUNICATIONS.

The transference of the seat of sole sovereignty to the East, after its extinction in Rome, adding political to the intellectual superiority of the Greeks, affected the Latins with a mixture of embarrassment and disgust. At last they determined on self-help. In crowning Charles the Great, the mighty Frank, with the Roman diadem, they took a final leave of the East. True, the bonds of religious communion were ostensibly acknowledged for two hundred and fifty years longer. Yet they were rapidly losing force, so that the final breach of 1054 did little more than confirm outwardly a schism already inwardly consummated. Thenceforward the Roman pope was to the Greeks a foreign phenomenon. His rapidly mounting greatness in the West astounded and sometimes dismayed the Easterns. Rome, while terming Constantinople schismatical, has never called her heretical. Inconsiderate Latin writers may have done so sometimes, but not the apostolic see. Never, we believe, has a Greek been sent to the stake in the West on a charge of unsound doctrine.[2]

LATENT ANTAGONISM BETWEEN EAST AND WEST.

[1] The fourth council here simply extended action already taken by the second.

[2] Even the rejection of the immaculate conception and of papal infallibility has not provoked Rome into calling the Greeks heretics.

From soon after 622 the crushing ravages of Mohammedanism were almost the death of the Eastern Church. Myriads of its members were massacred; myriads were lured or compelled into Islam; the flower of its youth was swept into the armies or the harems of the conquerors, and trained to abhor the faith of its fathers, while the merciless exactions of the Moslem masters, especially after the utterly barbarous Turks had succeeded to the much less tyrannical Arabs, reduced the Oriental Christians to such utter poverty, that it was all they could do to maintain, in a wretched way, their churches, priests, and bishops, and the mere elementary schools. The long stagnation of the Greek mind is sufficiently explained by the abject ignorance into which the Greeks were forced. Ignorance and immorality went together.

MOHAMMEDAN OPPRESSIONS.

The patriarchs, compelled by the Turks to pay enormous bribes for their places, and for restoration after the frequent depositions, oppressed the metropolitans, these the bishops, these the priests, and these the people. The pastors were accused of even encouraging wickedness in their people in order to find bread for themselves and their wives and children by the money paid for the mitigation of penances. This representation comes from a highly unfriendly source,[1] yet we can see it to have had a considerable foundation in fact.

The Oriental Church, before 500, had practically lost Egypt, and perhaps the greater part of Syria, while the Armenian nation had permanently withdrawn from its communion. It could reckon on little except Asia Minor, the Islands, Greece, Macedonia, Thrace, and Mœsia. Then came the teeming Saracen, and next the far more fearful Turkish hordes. Under this unspeakable oppression, it seemed likely to collapse altogether. Little might have been left but helpless and disjointed fragments, glad to hide themselves under the wing of the great Roman patriarch, but for the mighty event of the conversion of Russia, which closed the first Christian millennium. The almost despairing prayer of Christian Constantinople, "Let there arise from our bones some avenger,"[2] was thus more than answered. She herself has been kept alive, and religiously independent, and has had a growing barbarian strength at her disposal, which has been steadily advancing toward her deliverance from the Moslem, and even protected her against the murderous ravages which recently laid Armenia waste. In Russia a destiny

CONVERSION OF RUSSIA.

[1] Pichler, Protestantismus in der orientalischen Kirche, pp. 28, 29.

[2] *Exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor.*

of unknown prospects and expanding greatness awaits the Oriental Church. In a picturesque exaggeration, the time may yet come when Russian and Greek writers, in their turn, may speak with sarcastic disparagement of the popes as "the leaders of the great Italian schism."

ADVANCING POWER OF RELIGION IN RUSSIA.

The great mass of the Slavonic race, the Russian, is still essentially barbarous. What it will be, religiously, when thoroughly civilized, does not yet appear. Yet even now religion has a far more effective sway over its emotions than usually among the Greeks, and as its development proceeds, there is no reason to doubt that it will come to have a powerful control over conduct. The Slavonians may not have so fine a fibre as the Greeks, but they seem to have a much deeper nature. Christianity is quite as effective a principle in Russia as in America.[1]

Not much attention should be given to the occasional illusory successes of Rome, in persuading the Greek emperors and patriarchs, when peculiarly hard pressed by the Mohammedans, into a futile submission. The two principal were the Union of Lyons, in 1274, and especially that of Florence, in 1439, only fourteen years before the fall of Constantinople.[2] In every case the union was rejected by the priests and people almost before the ink of its documents was dry. Yet by opportunity of the Crusades, and free outlays of money among impoverished Easterns, by large concessions as to rite, discipline, administration, and even as to doctrine, and by the growing influence of the Western Powers, Rome has secured from among Greeks, Armenians, Syrians, and Copts, a following of many millions, perhaps more than one seventh of Oriental Christianity. These, being in constant communication with Western life, are said to stand much higher in intelligence and character than the rest. The rapidly advancing power and pride of Russia, however, seem likely to set a term to these encroachments, or even to cause a retrocession. Leo XIII, following Benedict XIV, has shown his good sense by assuring his Oriental brethren that he does not mean to interfere with their patriarchal rights, or with their ritual or disciplinary peculiarities. Very possibly a better understanding may some day ensue. Yet Latinism ought by this time to have learned that it never can conquer the Eastern Church.

ROMAN ACHIEVEMENTS IN THE EAST.

[1] Such movements as the Stundist, having served to vitalize the Russian Church, may eventually be reabsorbed into it.

[2] See above, vol. i, pp. 543, 544.

CHAPTER XV.

RELATION OF THE GREEK CHURCH TO PROTESTANTISM.

When Western Christendom found itself suddenly cleft into two warring halves, it was natural that the Reformers, who had bought their freedom by a breach with the immemorial traditions of doctrine, ritual, and polity, should consider the possibility of making these losses good by alliance with the Eastern Church. The orthodoxy of this was so indisputable that Orthodox had become a part of its very title; its succession was more certainly authentic than that of Rome; and every one of the undisputed councils of the whole Church had been held in its territory. To the hierarchical arrogance of Rome it opposed a calm assurance of doctrinal and ritual superiority. Could the Reforming North and the Orthodox East join their forces, Rome would sink into relative insignificance. The scheme, however, was an impossibility from the beginning. However much the Eastern patriarchs and their dependent bishops might resent the pretensions of Rome, they recognized themselves as belonging to the same great system. The continental Reformers, on the other hand, had broken altogether, not with Romanism merely, but with the Catholic Church. With the martyrs and the early fathers they had the fellowship of a common Christianity, but not of a common Catholicism.

THE REFORMERS MEDITATE ALLIANCE WITH THE EAST.

The two variant Christian systems agreed as to God, the Trinity, creation, providence, the fact if not the full nature of the fall, Christ, redemption, heaven, and hell. They agreed that without purity and righteousness no one can see God. They allowed that the word and sacraments are the principal channels of justification and sanctification, and that faith working by love infallibly justifies. But in almost all the specifications and proportions of these common principles concerning justification they differed irreconcilably. And at almost every point Greece sided with Rome and antagonized the Reformers. To the Catholic conception of the Gospel as a new law the Protestants opposed the Gospel as the free spiritual principle of a new life. Paul, in Catholicism, was little more than an august name; the Reformation first restored him to a vigorous and effective life.

POINTS OF UNION AND DISUNION.

To Catholicism the sacraments were the chief channels of sanctification; to Protestantism, the word. In the old system Bible reading had become a carefully guarded luxury; in the new it was a daily necessity. Catholicism made the sacraments seven; Protestantism retrenched them to two. The former made them the channels of grace *ex opere operato;* the latter only *ex opere operantis.* The former made the Lord's Supper a propitiatory; the latter would not even acknowledge it to be a eucharistic sacrifice. Except for baptism and matrimony, Catholicism made the validity of the sacraments to depend absolutely on the ministry of a priest of apostolic succession; Protestantism declared this at most only important for regularity. Catholicism made the episcopate essential, and alone competent to confer the priesthood; continental Protestantism either abandoned the succession, or declared it of only historical worth. And lastly, while Catholicism, though allowing justification to be the free gift of God, maintained it to be capable of increase by works done in a state of grace, Protestantism denied this. Protestantism universally rejected masses for the dead, denying the propitiatory character of the eucharist, but only Calvinism seems to have formally condemned prayers for the dead, which, however, Lutheranism has abandoned almost altogether.

CONSTANTINOPLE ON THE WHOLE SIDED WITH ROME.

Not in one of these points did Constantinople agree with Wittenberg and Geneva. In every one she sided with Rome. Heartily as she disliked the great Western patriarchate, she was sensible that here it was fighting her own battles. Her system of doctrine, not so far developed as the Roman, or so sharply defined, differed in nothing vital. Perhaps she came nearest to the Protestants as to the value of the vernacular Scriptures, yet she too has always had great misgivings about making the Bible too free to the laity. Rome tolerates criticisms on the presentation of doctrine, if not affecting the substance. And as to her own great doctrinal quarrel with Rome, over the procession of the Spirit, the Eastern Church was infinitely disgusted to find that the Protestants, at the very time that they were wooing for an alliance against Rome, distinctly announced that here they sided with Rome.

FIRST RELATIONS OF CONSTANTINOPLE WITH LUTHERANISM.

The learned Melanchthon and his scholarly fellows could not fail to see that their hopes were very slender of negotiating a union with the East. Indeed, the attempt was only an incidental matter and the first occasion was given by the Greeks. In 1559, the patriarch Joasaph II sent the deacon Demetrius Mysius to Wittenberg, to inform

himself as to the new doctrine. Mysius staid at Wittenberg half a year, and on his return carried with him a Greek copy of the Augsburg Confession. This is exceedingly conciliatory toward Catholicism. Yet the patriarch did not even condescend to answer the reassuring letter which Melanchthon had committed to Mysius.

Fourteen years later Martin Crusius and Jacob Andreæ, of Tübingen, after writing three times to the patriarch of Constantinople, obtained from him a disdainful answer, in which he simply summoned them to profess steadfastly the true faith of the Greeks, and not to deviate from the Bible, the seven synods, and the holy fathers, maintaining also traditions, written and unwritten.[1] The two divines replied that they accepted the true faith as propounded by the seven synods, and only differed from the Greeks in some local usages of no great account. After about two years' delay Jeremiah returned a formal reply, rejecting everything in which the Protestants differed from the Greek orthodoxy, and accepting only those points in which the Greeks too differed from Rome. He closed with a solemn adjuration to the Protestants, as they valued their eternal salvation, to enter into the bosom of the true Oriental Church. The Lutheran divines now at last set forth more distinctly their points of divergence from the East. After long delays and repeated attempts of the Lutherans to conciliate the patriarch, Jeremiah at last returned a decisive and angry reply, showing the impossibility of reconciling Protestantism with Oriental orthodoxy, and reproaching the Reformers with their arrogance in thinking themselves wiser than the fathers, whose faith had been attested by miracles, wiser than the churches of Old and New Rome together, while yet they were divided among themselves into innumerable parties. He entreats, in conclusion, that they would importune him no longer with their theological correspondence. To a new dissertation Jeremiah returned no answer. Thus ended the second attempt to establish a good understanding between Lutheranism and the East.

AN UNSUCCESSFUL ISSUE.

SECOND LUTHERAN ATTEMPT ALSO FAILS.

Protestantism, however, was destined to have a temporary triumph in the East, and that in the predominant see, at Constantinople itself. Moreover, this victory was reserved, not for Lutheranism, whose attitude toward Catholicism, in externals, at least, was comparatively conciliatory, but for the absolutely irreconcilable system of Calvin. The agent of this temporary triumph was

[1] Pichler, pp. 33 ff.

the patriarch Cyril Lucar. Lucar was born in 1572, at Candia, the capital of the island of Crete. He sprang of a Greek family of old nobility, akin even to the imperial house of Palæologus. Yet it had gradually sunk into deep poverty, and Cyril's father was a day laborer. Religiously the family was of the Orthodox Church, but, as being then the subjects of Venice, familiar with the Latin Church. When about eleven the boy Constantine (Cyril was his later monastic name) made his way to Alexandria, where his countryman and kinsman, Meletius, was patriarch. He could not yet read or write, but his engaging aspect and promising parts induced his kinsman to receive him as a monk, and to see to his education. He then sent him to Italy, where for eleven years he studied at Venice and Padua.

CYRIL LUCAR.

Cyril's long sojourn in Italy, while intensifying his hostility to Rome, had broken his prejudices against the West, and thereby predisposed him to view Protestantism favorably. And since, after his return East, in 1595, his patron Meletius, who was just then administrator of Constantinople, sent him into Poland, to have a part in the repeated but always futile negotiations for reunion between Roman Catholics, Greeks, and Protestants, he became more and more favorable to the last as allies against the first. He was yet only a boy of twenty-three, and discovering in the course of the complicated disputations that his knowledge of theology was very insufficient, he resolved to visit Wittenberg and Geneva. He seems to have stayed there, principally at Geneva, for nearly three years. Geneva was then much more eminent than Wittenberg, and thus Calvinism made the deeper impression on his mind. In 1601 Meletius died. His cousin Cyril, not yet thirty, was chosen his successor.

Cyril, like his predecessor, does not appear to have been particularly devoted to the little flock of the Orthodox in Egypt. Constantinople drew them both to herself with irresistible attraction. Once, on allegations of intriguing against the chief patriarch, Cyril was banished to Mount Athos, and when released was forbidden even to say mass in Constantinople. He then retired to Wallachia, but finally returned to Egypt, where he issued a flaming admonition against the Roman emissaries. He now entered into a most intimate correspondence with the Puritan archbishop of Canterbury, George Abbot. At Abbot's suggestion he sent to him as a student, to be supported by the king, a young Alexandrian priest of eminent descent, Metrophanes Kritopulos.

CORRESPONDENCE WITH CANTERBURY.

Cyril Lucar became patriarch of Constantinople in 1621, and, with several mutations of banishment and recall, he maintained himself in this second bishopric of the Christian world until his violent death in 1638. His constant correspondence with the Reformed while still at Cairo shows a rapidly developing inclination to Calvinism, until at last he became in theory a Calvinistic Protestant out and out. This appears fully in his confession of faith, first published in Holland, in 1629. In 1633 he himself published it at home. He obtained for it the sanction of a small synod of his personal adherents, but never ventured to publish it, by an encyclical, throughout his patriarchate, or even in his immediate diocese.

GRADUALLY BECOMES A CALVINISTIC PROTESTANT.

The confession is completely Protestant and Calvinistic. It subordinates tradition and the Church emphatically to the Scripture, declaring that the Church can always err in doctrine, and must be set right by the Scripture. It teaches election and reprobation in Dominican and Calvinistic severity, against the more Arminian bent which has always distinguished the Greek Church. It describes Christ not only as the supreme but as the sole mediator. It explicitly teaches justification by faith alone. It virtually denies the hierarchical, though not the administrative power of the bishops. It maintains that all the works of the unregenerate are sinful. It teaches two, not seven sacraments, and implies that their efficacy is *ex opere operantis*. It explicitly denies transubstantiation, and allows only the spiritual presence of Christ in the eucharist. It denies purgatory explicitly.

CYRIL'S CALVINISTIC CONFESSION OF FAITH.

This creed, so utterly contradictory at so many points to Catholicism, Eastern and Western alike, passed for five years without action by the bishops of the great Constantinopolitan patriarchate, or by the other Eastern patriarchs. An ultimate explosion, however, was inevitable. The Jesuits were indefatigable in calling attention to the new danger. The pope himself wrote, adjuring his Eastern brethren, if they must be schismatics, at least not to disgrace themselves by turning heretics. For a while the influence of England and Holland kept Cyril in his place, but at last the much stronger influence of France, the special ally of the Turk, overcame theirs. The metropolitan clergy, in the end, however unwillingly, came to perceive that their patriarch was a thorough Calvinist, and was bent on giving over the whole East to Calvinistic Protestantism. Finally, by secret order of the Sublime Porte, Cyril, in the evening of June 26, 1638, having been already

imprisoned, was put on board a boat, which was rowed out into the Bosporus, where the executioners, allowing him a little time for prayer, strangled him and threw his body overboard. The corpse was cast on shore, and reverently buried by friends. Thus perished the first and only Protestant patriarch of Constantinople.

MURDER OF CYRIL.

In the year following the murder of Cyril Lucar, his successor, Contari, convened the patriarchs Metrophanes of Alexandria, whose earlier patron Cyril had been, Theophanes IV of Jerusalem, twenty-one metropolitans and other bishops, and twenty-three other clergymen, including the learned Cretan, Meletius Syrigus, in synod at Constantinople, to examine Cyril's confession of faith. The synod condemned this almost from beginning to end, anathematizing, indeed, in the precipitancy of its zeal, some statements which, however they may be meant, are in themselves, as the Roman Catholic Pichler remarks,[1] perfectly sound. They also anathematize the person of Cyril Lucar, as not merely teaching heresy, but as being in full personal intent a heretic. The well-known synod of Bethlehem, in 1672, repeats in full detail all the anathemas against the confession, and to the best of its power commits the Oriental Church against every aspect of Protestantism.

Since learned studies, however, have revived among the Greeks and Russians, they have shown an increasing hospitality to Protestant thought and scholarship. They say: "We are glad of your help in furnishing our house more richly, but pray do not burn it down over our heads." Nor does the Græco-Russian Church, like the Latin, claim to be the whole Catholic Church of Christ. It regards itself as only a part, incompetent, without the West, as she esteems the West incompetent without her, to hold an eighth œcumenical council. The occidental synods since 1054, Trent included, it views as having been merely general councils of the West. Since Canterbury has risen to be a world-wide patriarchate, having some two hundred and fifty bishops subordinate or at least loyal to it, Constantinople regards it less decidedly than once as a mere rebel against Rome. Anglicanism, too, now that it advances its Catholic elements of doctrine and worship more to the front, and remands its Protestant polemics more to the rear, is less offensive to the East than when it was simply a Calvinistic Episcopal church. Whether the Orientals and the Anglicans will ever form a close conjunction as against Rome is wholly uncertain, but it is at least not an impossibility.

GREATER FRIENDLINESS AT PRESENT.

[1] Pichler, pp. 216 ff.

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VIII. THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH AND NONCONFORMIST CHURCHES.

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II. GREAT BRITAIN.

CHAPTER I.

THE PRELUDE TO METHODISM.

WHAT was the cause of that religious and moral decline which marked England in the eighteenth century, and which threatened to issue in a total destruction of Christianity as an aggressive power? Humanly speaking, this would have been the issue had the check not come by the evangelical revival. But more than one factor must be taken into the account. There was a natural reaction from the burning controversies and intense religious movements and politico-religious upheavals of the preceding century. As calm succeeds storm so the calmness of death settled down on the Church, wearied with the strife and turmoil of that fearful and yet epoch-making century. Further, by the voluntary withdrawal of the nonjurors, on the accession of William and Mary in 1688, the Church lost her most earnest and pious ministers.

CAUSES OF RELIGIOUS DECLINE.

Besides, the influence of the court and the connection of the State must be mentioned. No State-endowed Church can for any long period maintain purity and zeal. It will be often persecuting and tyrannical, but its energy in that direction will be not so much an expression of its concern for pure religion as jealousy for its own power. The silencing of convocation in 1717 also had its effect. Even with the very limited power possessed by that body, the opportunity for discussion and of initiating measures for internal relief was helpful toward keeping the Church alive, if nothing more. In fact, it might be contended that even the disgraceful disputes which preceded the dissolution of convocation were better than stagnation. But, whatever the causes, there can be no doubt that there prevailed in England a very low moral and religious tone in the era preceding the Titanic Wesleys.

Before we speak of the actual religious condition of England, a word is due to the Deists whose work might be considered both a cause and an effect of the decline of faith. Herbert of Cherbury, Blount, Toland, Shaftesbury, Collins, Woolston, Tindal, Thomas Morgan, Wollaston, Chubb, and Bolingbroke were the chief Deists. God is an infinite divine person,

ENGLISH DEISM.

who is to be worshiped by virtue and piety. The Deists took of Christ either a Socinian or a low Unitarian view. Man is either perfect in himself or may become perfect, and to that end needs no divine aid. On the Bible the Deists divided, some, as Shaftesbury, claiming that divine revelation is not necessary, the light of nature being all that is required, while others held that it was useful for religious instruction, though not inspired in any special sense. They pointed out the discrepancies in the narratives, and Morgan anticipated some later speculations in his view of Paul as a daring freethinker, much in advance of other biblical writers.

Hobbes made the State the supreme authority in religion, but he is hardly to be classed among the Deists proper. God's revelation in nature is all-sufficient, and the reason or intuition of man is all that is needed to discover what that revelation is. The Deists held that there were no miracles, and that what purported to be such are mere allegories. There was no resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead. The Deists generally believed in a future life, in which men would be rewarded or punished.

The writings of the Deists produced one good effect in that they broke the lethargy of the Church, and provoked replies which for intellectual power and effectiveness have rarely been surpassed. Some of these have taken a permanent place in the literature of apologetics, like Lardner's Credibility of the Gospel History, Sherlock's On the Resurrection of Jesus, Law's Case of Reason, Butler's Analogy, and Leland's View of Deistical Writers. Besides the tremendous effectiveness of the Analogy for its immediate purpose, it has exerted an immense influence in the quickening of mind and the broadening of religious thought, and bids fair to enter its third century in 1936 in undiminished reputation.[1]

When we come to England in the eighteenth century we find, first of all, widespread immorality. Some of the prominent statesmen were not only unbelievers in Christianity, but gross and immoral in their lives. The frivolousness and selfishness, the drunkenness and foul talk of Horace Walpole were thought to be no discredit to him. The other prime minister, the Duke of Grafton, used frequently to appear with his mistress at the play. The marked contrast in the times appears

GENERAL IMMORALITY.

[1] An excellent account of the Deistical controversy is found in Sheldon, Church History, iv, 9 ff., and longer accounts in Cairns, Unbelief in the Eighteenth Century, lect. iii; J. H. Overton in Abbey and Overton, The English Church in the 18th Century, i, 177 ff.; and in Hunt, Religious Thought in England to the End of the Eighteenth Century, ii, 225 ff., iii, 377–378.

when we compare the security of public men like Grafton with the suddenness with which, like a shooting star, the light of Parnell went out—one of the most powerful personalities in the politics of the nineteenth century. Lord Chesterfield instructs his son in the immoral arts as though he were imparting to him one of the essentials in the education of a gentleman.[1]

On the lower scale, the people were sunk in ignorance and drunkenness. The brutal and criminal classes were so many that they frequently rose *en masse* and terrified a town. They flung open prisons, burnt houses, and sacked and pillaged at will. The futile dread of society manifested itself in the most absurdly extravagant penalties, which were as much an expression of the callousness and cruelty of the age as a determination to awe the criminal classes. It was a capital offense to cut down a tree, as well as to steal, twenty young thieves being strung up one morning in front of Newgate Prison. Drunkenness was fearfully prevalent. Men were invited into the ginshops to get drunk for a penny and dead drunk for sixpence. The philosopher Hartley thought such a state of things if continued could only lead to revolution. He did not live long enough to see that his forecast was justified as to France, though the evangelical revival, as Lecky admits, saved England from that fate.[2]

In regard to religion and the Church there was a brighter prospect, but with many dark lines. The great evil of plurality and nonresidence continued through the whole of the century. Bishop Burnet, who died in 1715, calls this practice "scandalous," and adds: "This is so shameful a profanation of holy things that it ought to be treated with detestation and horror. Do such men think on the vows they made in their ordination, on the rules in the Scriptures, or on the nature of their function, or that it is a care of souls? How long, how long shall this be the peculiar disgrace of our Church, which for aught I know is the only Church in the world that tolerates it!"

THE CHURCH AND THE CLERGY.

[1] Cf. Green, Hist. of the English People, iv, 121.

[2] "England alone escaped the contagion [of the French Revolution]. Many causes conspired to save her, but among them a prominent place must, I believe, be given to the new and vehement religious enthusiasm which was at that very time passing through the middle and lower classes of the people, which had enlisted in its service a large proportion of the wilder and more impetuous reformers, and which recoiled with horror from the antichristian tenets that were associated with the Revolution in France."—Hist. of England in the Eighteenth Century, ii, 691-692.

The best of the clergy complained that they had not more benefices by which to enrich themselves. For all this, vast numbers of the clergy were miserably poor, especially the curates. Owing to poverty, the low moral standard of the age, and other causes, many of the clergy lapsed from morality. Even Overton allows that disreputable ministers formed an exceptionally large class at the close of the seventeenth and during the first half of the eighteenth century.[1] The drunken fox-hunting parson has long since disappeared from the English Church, but for a long period he marked and marred its good name and holy work. Burnet characterizes the clergy of his day as the worst in Europe, "the most remiss of their labors in private and the least severe of their lives." Overton speaks of the position of the "parson who was simply the boon companion of the ignorant and sensual squire of the Hanoverian period." For this reason the clergy—or many of them—were held in contempt in the Georgian era. In 1738, Secker, the bishop of Oxford, says: "Christianity is now railed at and ridiculed with very little reserve, and the teachers of it without any at all." "Since the Lollards," says Pattison, "there had never been a time when the ministers of religion were held in so much contempt as in the Hanoverian period, or when satire upon Churchmen was so congenial to the general feeling. There was no feeling against the Establishment, nor was Nonconformity ever less in favor. The contempt was for the persons, manners, and characters of ecclesiastics."[2]

The sermons of the time reveal the common degeneracy. At the best they were good moral essays and amiable disquisitions, not to speak, of course, of the great and noble discourses of Butler, Sherlock, and men of that stamp. But of plain, practical sermons which seize the conscience, and of sermons which deal faithfully with the Gospel, the eighteenth century was lamentably deficient. The great lawyer Blackstone went from church to church in London to hear every clergyman of note, and he said it would have been impossible for him to determine whether the preacher was a follower of Confucius, Ma-

DEGENERATE PREACHING.

[1] Abbey and Overton, *l. c.*, ii, 19.

[2] Tendencies of Religious Thought in England, 1688–1750, in Essays and Reviews, 5th ed., 1861, p. 315. Pattison says that this strain of contempt for the clergy runs through the whole literature of the period. "The unedifying lives of the clergy are a standard theme of sarcasm and continue to be so till a late period in the century, when a gradual change may be observed in the language of literature."

homet, or of Christ. There may have been some exaggeration in this, but Overton speaks soberly when he says that the typical eighteenth century sermon was tame and colorless, stiff and formal, cold and artificial.[1] In a charge delivered in 1709 Bishop Horsley says that sermons have been reduced to mere moral essays. "We make no other use of the high commission we bear than to come abroad one day in seven, dressed in solemn looks and in the external garb of holiness, to be the apes of Epictetus." Preaching is the spiritual index of an age.

Over the whole period might be written, Beware of enthusiasm. Bolingbroke, though a Deist, was in full sympathy with the spirit of the time when he said that it was blasphemy to affirm that man partakes of the divine nature, and that God breathes upon our spirits. The cynical Dean Swift claimed that all "violent zeal, even for truth, has a hundred to one odds to be either petulancy, ambition, or pride."[2] That God speaks to the soul to-day to give it assurance of salvation and other blessing was considered by the whole Church as fanaticism. "Sir," said Bishop Butler to Wesley, "the pretending to extraordinary revelation and gifts of the Holy Ghost is a horrid thing, a very horrid thing." John Byrom's rhymes have a wider reference than the words indicate. He is speaking of Warburton and his fellow anti-enthusiasts:

A COLD AND SKEPTICAL AGE.

"They think that now religion's sole defense
Is learning history, and critic sense;
That with apostles, as a needful guide,
The Holy Spirit did indeed abide;
But having dictated to them a rule
Of faith and manners for the Christian school,
Immediate revelation ceased, and men
Must now be taught by apostolic pen.
To look for inspiration is absurd;
The Spirit's aid is in the written word:
They who pretend to his immediate call,
From Pope to Quaker are fanatics all."[3]

A characteristic judgment of the period is that of Bishop Lavington, who calls St. Francis of Assisi "at first only a well-minded but weak enthusiast, afterward a mere hypocrite and impostor." Ignatius Loyola he characterizes as an "errant, shatter-brained, visionary fanatic," and Methodists he claimed had a "similar texture of brain."

[1] *L. c.*, ii, 39.
[2] Thoughts on Religion, in Works, viii, 53.
[3] John Byrom, On Warburton's Sermon on the Operation of the Holy Spirit.

CHAPTER II.

JOHN WESLEY.

THE man whom God raised up to stem the tide of worldliness and wickedness and bring in a regenerated England was John Wesley. His ancestry is a mystery and a study. William de Wellesley, first baron of Wellesley, 1343, married Alice, daughter of Sir John Trevelyn. From him descended Arthur Wellesley, who became Duke of Wellington, and at Waterloo saved Europe from the grasp of Napoleon. From this same William de Wellesley descended Sir Herbert Wesley or Wellesley, of Westleigh county, Devon. Thence the line of descent is as follows:

WESLEY'S ANCESTRY.

Sir Herbert Wesley

Bartholomew..(about 1595 to about 1680), educated at Oxford, married daughter of Sir Henry Colley, of Carberry Castle; became rector of Charmouth, in 1650; ejected by the Act of Uniformity in 1662; practiced medicine; and preached in Nonconformist churches.

John.....(about 1636 to about 1670), educated at New Inn Hall, Oxford; married daughter of Rev. John White, of the Westminster Assembly; while a layman preached at Weymouth; minister of Winterbourne Whitchurch, Dorset, 1658; ejected by the Anglicans under Charles II, and four times imprisoned.

Samuel..... (1662–1735), educated among Dissenters; changed views and joined Church of England; entered Exeter College, Oxford; curate in London; married (about 1689) Susannah, daughter of Dr. Samuel Annesley, an eminent Nonconformist divine; rector of South Ormsby, in Lincolnshire, also chaplain to the Marquis of Normanby; and finally rector of Epworth, 1696–1735; a voluminous author, pious, learned, loyal, a Tory and High Churchman, but no bigot.

John..... the founder of Methodism.

The unbroken Wesley ancestry stood for piety, independence, and the love of learning, and it is not strange that these traits flowered out in John Wesley. His parents had nineteen children, of whom John was the fifteenth child and second surviving son. He was born at Epworth, June 17, 1703. His early training was under the care of his mother, one of the most remarkable women who ever lived, who for piety, character, and conscientious devotion to principle stands pre-eminent among the women of all history. Her methods were exacting yet kindly. However far they seem from the easy-going ways of American households, it can be said that they proved effective. The results amply justified her strictness. But there was so much of kindness and considerateness mingled with her sterner requirements that she had her children's profound love and respect to the end.[1] A dramatic incident in his boyhood was his escape from the burning of the parsonage, February 9, 1709, which left an indelible impression of God's care. In 1714–20 he was a student of the Charterhouse School, London, and in 1720–4 scholar of Christ Church, Oxford, graduating B. A. in 1724.

WESLEY'S BOYHOOD AND EDUCATION.

His parents desired him to study for the ministry, and though he had not thought of this at first he consented to do it. His mother joined in this advice though, as she said, "Your father and I seldom think alike," and urged him to study practical divinity. He immediately took up The Imitation of Christ and Jeremy Taylor's Holy Living and Dying, though his first impression of those books was less favorable than it afterward became. He also objected to the predestination doctrine of the 17th Article of Religion and the damnatory clause of the Athanasian Creed. Thus early were his convictions maturing. His mother's correspondence on these points is interesting, and its anti-Calvinism reveals one of the forces which was working toward making the new age Arminian and not Calvinistic. He was ordained deacon by Bishop Potter, of Oxford, in 1725, and preached his first sermon the 16th of October following at South Leigh, near Witney, Oxfordshire. In 1726 he was elected fellow of Lincoln College, and the same year was made lecturer in Greek, and moderator of the classes. Long afterward he showed proof of his attainments in correcting the classical quotations of Bishop

WESLEY'S EARLY MINISTRY.

[1] See a full description of Mrs. Wesley's methods of child training in Mary Clarke, Susannah Wesley, Bost., 1886 (Famous Women Series), pp. 48 ff., and a series of articles by Faulkner on Wesley's Early Life, in Zion's Herald, Bost., Jan. 26, Feb. 23, April 27, 1898.

Warburton's work against him (1762), a work which the bishop generously submitted to him in manuscript, and which he as generously corrected and returned.[1] This fellowship he held in residence, broken by visits to Wroote, where he acted for a year or two as his father's curate, until he left for Georgia in 1735.

Wesley's religious experience while a teacher in Oxford was a determining factor in his life. It gave the bent to his whole career and a name to the great movement which he inaugurated. The latest authority on the Wesleys shows that the name Methodist was first given to Charles Wesley at Oxford because he strictly followed the method for study laid down by the University.[2] It had no religious significance. But soon the Wesleys and their companions were as well known for their diligence in religious observance as for devotion to methodical study, and the nickname was soon used to cover this latter trait also. When Wesley returned to residence in November, 1729, he found the Methodists already existing. He soon became their leader. They met every night for the study of the Greek Testament, for religious examination, exhortation, and reading. They sought to reclaim students who were in moral danger, to relieve the poor, and to minister in both temporal and spiritual things to the prisoners. They were as earnest in philanthropy as in piety, Wesley often giving away his last penny. Wesley started day schools for poor children, and these Oxford Methodists took turns in teaching them, or hired teachers out of their own scanty purse. They thus became the prophets of the Ragged School Movement started in Portsmouth about 1819, when a poor shoemaker, John Pounds, gathered the children about his bench and taught them while at work. A young girl from one of his schools came to Wesley on a cold winter day. "You seem half starved; have you nothing to wear but that linen gown?" "That is all I have," said the girl. Wesley felt in his pockets, but they were empty. Then he looked upon the pictures which hung upon the walls of his chamber, and these now seemed to look upon him with accusing eye. "It struck me," he says, "will thy Master say, 'Well done, good and faithful steward, thou hast adorned thy wall with the money which might have screened this poor creature from the cold!' O Justice! O Mercy! Are not these pictures the blood of this poor maid?"[3]

THE NAME METHODIST.

[1] Everett, Adam Clarke, i, 244; Dict. of Nat'l Biog., lx, 304.

[2] Alex. Gordon, art. Charles Wesley, in Dict. of Nat'l Biog., lx, 298 (Lond., 1899).

[3] Wesley, Works, vii, 20.

The piety of the Oxford Methodists was on the Prayer Book model, and next to the Bible for doctrine they valued the Book of Homilies. Their religion was streaked with the asceticism of St. Paul (comp. 1 Cor. ix, 27); it was the "strenuous life" indeed—a warfare against the world, the flesh and the devil, pursued with a heroism which was not the momentary impulse of courage in a dramatic situation on which the world was looking, but the persistent self-dedication of consecrated spirits. To keep himself from lying awake at night, he arose earlier and earlier until four o'clock became his hour. From five to six every morning and evening he spent in private devotion. He studied the Bible thoroughly, and read carefully the practical writings of Law and other masters of the inner life as well as the divines of the Church of England. The Oxford Methodists "were tenacious not only of the doctrines of the Church of England, but of all her discipline, to the minutest points, and were scrupulously strict in observing her rubrics and canons. In short, 'they were,' says Wesley, 'in the strictest sense High Churchmen.'"[1] But the High Churchmanship of the Oxford students must not be understood in the present conventional sense, but in the sense of those who took their Christianity and Churchmanship seriously, receiving the communion weekly, and being attached to all the rules for the life of man laid down by the Prayer Book and Church divines.

STRICTNESS OF THE OXFORD METHODISTS.

Wesley's American experience, 1736–38, though apparently an episode without vital bearing on his history, was in fact most influential. It brought him face to face with a religious faith of which in its serenity and power he had never seen the like. For the first service he was indebted to the Moravians, whom he met on shipboard and whose calmness in storm impressed him deeply. To converse with them, he plunged into the study of German, an act characteristic of his lifelong diligence and scholarly enthusiasm. Wesley asked Spangenberg how to act in his new sphere of labor. "My brother," said the Moravian, "I must first ask you one or two questions. Have you the witness within yourself? Does the Spirit of God bear witness with your spirit that you are a child of God?" Wesley's Anglican training had left him unprepared to answer. He was silent. "Do you know Jesus Christ?" continued Spangenberg. "I know," said Wesley, "that he is the Saviour of the world."

WESLEY MEETS THE MORAVIANS.

[1] Tyerman, Life and Times of John Wesley, i, 74. Wesley, Works, viii, 333, 487.

"True," said Spangenberg, "but do you know that he has saved you?" Wesley was perplexed again. "I hope he has died to save me." Spangenberg still persisted, "Do you know yourself?" Wesley replied, "I do." It opened a glimpse of a new world to the ardent missionary, on which, however, he was not prepared to enter.

Wesley preached faithfully in Georgia, bearing down on the sins of the people without flinching, and was equally conscientious in his pastoral dealings. He magnified both his work and office in the spirit of a devoted High Churchman. He baptized infants by immersion, used the mixed chalice, had morning service at five, communion service at eleven, was very strict as to who should receive the Lord's Supper, and excluded dissenters as unbaptized. But nothing came of this ritualistic earnestness but trouble and vexation of spirit—trouble increased by a lack of tact, and perhaps of propriety, in dealing with one of his communicants, a married woman to whom when single he had paid attentions. For his harsh overzeal as pastor he found himself a defendant at a lawsuit. Before the case was settled Wesley left Georgia for England, dispirited at the hatred of men, disappointed over the results of his mission, and disillusioned in regard to the power of his ritualistic Gospel, to which, however, he still clung.

WESLEY IN AMERICA.

Wesley now associated more and more with the Moravians and under one of their bishops, Peter Böhler, who did excellent missionary work in both England and America, was led into the full freedom and assurance of faith. Böhler convinced him that true faith ought to bring dominion over sin and a sense of peace, and that this could be obtained instantaneously. After long debating he was convinced of this from two sources, Scripture and experience. "Here ended my disputing" said Wesley; "I could only cry out, Lord, help thou my unbelief. I was now thoroughly convinced; and by the grace of God I resolved to seek the faith unto the end, by absolutely renouncing all dependency, in whole or in part, upon my own works of righteousness, on which I had really grounded my hopes of salvation, though I knew it not, from my youth up; and by adding to the constant use of all other means of grace a continual prayer for this very thing—justifying, saving faith, a full reliance on the blood of Christ shed for me, a trust in him as my Christ, as my sole justification, sanctification, and redemption."[1] The great blessing came to him May 24, 1738, at the Moravian meeting at Aldersgate Street,

WESLEY'S CONVERSION.

[1] Works, i, 102 (last Lond. ed.).

London, "where one was reading Luther's preface to the Epistle to the Romans. About a quarter before nine, while he was describing the change which God works in the heart through faith in Christ, I felt my heart strangely warmed. I felt I did trust in Christ, Christ alone for salvation, and an assurance was given me that he had taken away my sins, even mine, and saved me from the law of sin and death."[1] Here Methodism, as history knows it, was born. In the emergence of Wesley into the fullness of faith which gave him freedom from sin and the assurance of the Spirit, Methodism began. It is that experience which has given it its power—a free, full, and present salvation from sin by the power of the Holy Spirit, and the witness of that Spirit to the believer's sonship in Christ.

And now began that itinerant evangelism through England, Scotland, and Ireland, which lasted with hardly an interruption for nearly fifty-three years. In the world's annals that has never been paralleled in its work and in its results. The story of that life as told in Wesley's own Journal is the most interesting and vital of contemporary or later records. Boswell's Johnson is tame beside it. An impartial critic calls it the "most amazing record of human exertion ever penned or endured. If you want to get into the last century, feel its pulses throb beneath your fingers, be content sometimes to leave the letters of Horace Walpole unturned, resist the drowsy temptation to waste your time over the learned triflers which sleep in the seventeen volumes of Nichols,[2] nay, even deny yourself your annual reading of Boswell or your biennial retreat with Sterne, and ride up and down the country with the greatest force of the eighteenth century in England. No man lived nearer to the center than John Wesley, neither Clive nor Pitt, neither Mansfield nor Johnson. You cannot cut him out of your national life. No single figure influenced so many minds, no single voice touched so many hearts. No other man did such a life's work for England."[3] WESLEY'S EVANGELISM.

Wesley's prodigious energy is one of the marvels of all history. He traveled about five thousand miles a year for fifty

[1] Works, i, 103.

[2] He refers to the Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century, 9 vols., and Illustrations of the Literature of the Eighteenth Century, 8 vols., begun by John Nichols in 1812 and completed by his son in 1859. Nichols conducted the Gentleman's Magazine for nearly half a century (died 1826).

[3] Augustine Birrell, John Wesley, in Scribner's Mag., Dec., 1899, pp. 755, 761.

years, and preached about forty-two thousand sermons. He crossed the Irish Channel forty-two times. He penetrated into the wildest and most dangerous parts of the country, where rough, godless communities lived almost outside of the reach of law. His calm, fearless eye and his serene face, full of the peace of God, became well known in all parts of the country. After the first trying period of persecution, when mobs were sometimes incited and even led against him by Anglican clergymen, no man in England was more respected and beloved of all classes. He was the embodiment of Goethe's motto: Without haste, without rest. He said himself, "Though I am always in haste, I am never in a hurry."[1] He preached plain, incisive sermons, usually on doctrinal and ethical subjects, in clear vigorous English, full of the marrow of the Gospel, and brought home to the conscience without flinching. Under his calm manner there burned a soul on fire with the love of God and man, and it is no wonder that marvelous physical, not to speak of spiritual effects, followed his preaching.

WESLEY'S LABORS.

Always cheerful, "it was impossible to be long in his company without partaking his hilarity."[2] Wesley was not without wit, a lover of exercise, a good swimmer, a great walker, and a lifelong horseback rider. He was abstemious in his habits, rose at four, preached at five—though he seldom preached longer than twenty minutes—and retired early and slept like a child. Even a fault-finding, jealous wife (for he had a brief experience in married life, 1751–76, fortunately broken by long intervals of absence) could not disturb the evenness of his temper or the unconquerable cheerfulness of his spirit. At seventy-seven he had "not felt lowness of spirits for one quarter of an hour since he was born," and at eighty-five he had "never lost a night's sleep." He was an interesting conversationalist, but Samuel Johnson complained that he "was never at leisure." He read on horseback, kept himself abreast of current literature, studied the masters, and wrote, edited, and translated two hundred books. He recognized the defects of King James's Bible and prepared a new translation of the New Testament, 1754, with notes, for his societies.

WESLEY'S HABITS AND LITERARY INDUSTRY.

[1] Journal, December 10, 1777.

[2] Hampson, Life of John Wesley, iii, 178, (Lond., 1791).

CHAPTER III.

OTHER LEADERS OF THE EVANGELICAL MOVEMENT.

As Luther's hymns helped the Reformation almost as much as Luther's doctrines, so Charles Wesley's hymns were of incalculable service in the great work that his brother inaugurated. Born in 1707, the eighteenth child and third surviving son of Samuel Wesley, he was educated by his mother, and then sent to Westminster School. He entered Christ Church, Oxford, in 1726, and graduated B. A. in 1730. Here he became the center of some earnest-minded young men who united zeal for religion with zeal for study, the first "Methodists." After graduating he became a tutor. He was ordained deacon by Potter, of Oxford, and priest by Gibson, of London, in 1735. He joined his brother in Savannah in 1736, but his High Churchly zeal and moral strictness made him enemies, and he soon left in impaired health. His vessel put in at Boston, where the rest restored his health, and where he preached several times in King's Chapel. He landed at Deal on December 3, 1736.

CHARLES WESLEY.

Charles Wesley also owed his conversion to the Moravians. Technically, the experience of the brothers was not conversion, for they were sincere and even ardent Christians before. But the experience of 1738 might really be called a conversion because they were turned from a legal and ritualistic piety—though perfectly genuine and sincere—to a free, happy, conquering experience of divine peace and power through simple faith in Christ. As Luther's preface to the Epistle to the Romans was the instrument of John Wesley's conversion, so his Commentary on Galatians helped Charles Wesley into the light—the same commentary against which John subsequently turned in a moment of violent reaction as not sufficiently guarding good works.[1] Charles threw himself with fervor into the evangelistic work of his brother, and until 1756 itinerated throughout England and Wales, in delicate health and amid bodily infirmities, but with a zeal which hardships never abated, and with a courage which opposition never quelled. He was no muscular Iron-heart; his spirit was gentle, his sensibilities tender; yet, near to martyr-

CHARLES'S COOPERATION WITH JOHN.

[1] See Journal, June 15, 1741.

dom, he many times faced mobs and held his ground "until his clothes were torn to tatters, and the blood ran down his face in streams."[1] His marriage, in 1749, to a pious and wealthy Welsh lady, Sarah Gwynne, made no difference with his itinerating. His wife accompanied him, riding behind him on a pillion, and her fine voice led the singing at his meetings. His marriage was singularly happy, unlike John's foolish match with widow Vazeille, of whom it is related that once, when giving her husband in Charles's presence one of her periodical scoldings, she was abruptly silenced by Charles repeating from memory, in his loud, clear voice, page after page of Virgil's Æneid. For the younger Wesley was a proficient classical scholar, and was acquainted with Hebrew and French, though he did not know also, as John did, German and Spanish.

In 1756 Charles Wesley retired from the itinerancy and settled as Methodist pastor first in Bristol and afterward in London, where he died March 2, 1788. He remained earnestly attached to the evangelical movement to the last, though he was bitterly opposed to those measures of his brother John which, however intended, meant complete separation of the Methodists from the Anglican Church. His own course, however, in relation to the Church was even more inconsistent than his brother's. Thomas Jackson states the matter admirably. "For thirty years he made more noise on the subject of the continued union of the Methodists with the Church than any other man of the age; and all this time he was beyond comparison the greatest practical separatist in the whole connection. John Wesley spent most of his time traveling throughout Great Britain and Ireland, often preaching twice every day, and two or three times on the Sabbath. Rarely, however, did he preach in church hours except when he officiated for a brother clergyman. He attended the church where he happened to be, and pressed the people to accompany him thither. Many of his itinerant preachers pursued the same course. This was the recognized plan of Methodist practice. But this was not the state of things in London under the administration of Charles Wesley. He preached twice during church hours every Sabbath, and indulged the society with weekly sacrament at their own places of worship."[2] It was a wise providence

CHARLES DIFFERS IN PRACTICE FROM JOHN.

[1] Daniel, Hist. of Methodism, p. 326; Faulkner, art. Charles Wesley, in McClintock and Strong, Cyclopædia, x, 909, where a statement of all the aspects of his lifework may be found.

[2] Life of Charles Wesley, ii, 404, 405.

that placed the control of the evangelical movement in the hands of John, who, with all his sincere attachment to the Church of his father, had a statesmanlike grasp of the situation and a discernment of the signs of the times, and therefore allowed the movement to go forward as God was leading it.[1] But no difference of opinion as to administration ever ruffled the strong, cordial friendship and love which the two brothers had for each other.

Charles Wesley's great service was his hymns. "His least praise," says his brother, "was his talent for poetry, although Dr. Watts did not scruple to say that that single poem, 'Wrestling Jacob,' was worth all the verses he had written."[2] Considering the fact that Charles Wesley was the most voluminous of all poets—having written no less than six thousand five hundred hymns[3]—it is almost a miracle that he did so much fine work. The fact that there are more of his hymns used than those of any other writer shows that his hymns, as a rule, reach a higher level than those of any other poet.[4] The ease, grace, rhythmical flow, and especially the religious power of his hymns, which all rest on a sound and positive substratum of thought, have not been excelled. Frederic M. Bird, who has made a profound study of Wesley's hymns, compares him with other hymnists in these words: "Doddridge and Steele are diluted reproductions of Dr. Watts. Montgomery, a professed and lifelong poet, is inferior to Wesley in all the qualities mentioned above, and in no respect above him in propriety, harmony, and grace of style. Heber, the most elegant and mellifluous of sacred poets, is not more polished and fluent than his Methodist predecessor, nor has he anything of his solidity, strength, and fire. Cowper is the greatest name in the hymn books, but Cowper's best poems, which are very few, are but equal, not superior, to Wesley's best, which are many. Toplady approaches most nearly the Methodist poet, but Toplady borrowed his inspiration from Wesley, and reproduced his style; and this is the Calvinist's highest praise that his finest pieces are undistinguishable from those of his Arminian neighbor. No other name in British sacred lyric poetry can be mentioned with that of Charles Wesley. And when it is remembered that all these counted their

CHARLES WESLEY'S HYMNS.

[1] See Stevens, Hist. of Methodism, ii, 275.

[2] Ministers of Conference, 1788.

[3] Overton, in Julian, Dict. of Hymnology, p. 1258.

[4] Alex. Gordon says that five hundred are in constant use.—Art. Charles Wesley, in Dict. of Nat'l Biog., lx, 301. The number is doubtless much less.

poems by the dozens and hundreds, while he by thousands; and that his thousands were in power, in elegance, in devotional and literary value above their few, we call him, yet more confidently, great among poets and prince of English hymnists."[1]

Of Charles Wesley's eight children five died in infancy. Charles (died 1834, aged seventy-seven) and Samuel (died 1837, aged seventy-one) were eminent musicians,[2] and Sarah, a woman of great culture, died, unmarried, in Bristol in 1828, aged sixty-eight.

GEORGE WHITEFIELD.

The greatest preacher of the evangelical revival was George Whitefield. His father was a tavern keeper, and his grandfather and great-grandfather were Anglican clergymen. His early surroundings were not conducive to either piety or morality, and he gives in his journals an account of his youthful indiscretions, which, like Bunyan, he unconsciously exaggerated into crimes. But he early felt the power of religious impression, which his brief experience as bartender did not destroy. When he went to Oxford in 1732 he resolved to live a pious life and joined the "Holy Club" of the Wesleys. He was the first among the Methodists to experience the joys of salvation (1735). He was ordained in the Church of England in 1736, and at once leaped into notoriety for his preaching. He joined the Wesleys in Georgia, and preached there with great acceptance. He soon returned to England, and then followed that marvelous life of itinerant preaching from 1739 until his death at Newburyport, Mass., September 30, 1770. He crossed the Atlantic thirteen times (seven visits), and his preaching poured new life into the Baptist, Congregational, and Presbyterian Churches from Georgia to Massachusetts. Similar results appeared in England. In one week he received a thousand letters from persons awakened by his sermons. He had a musical voice of great compass and power, over which he had perfect control. His spiritual intensity was overwhelming, and his dramatic gift was unexcelled. He once described a sinner as a poor blind beggar led by a dog. The dog escapes and the blind man is left only with his staff. He wanders to the edge of a precipice. His staff drops from his hand and falls down the abyss too far to send back an echo. He reaches forward to recover it, poises on the edge of a precipice, and— "Good

[1] Bibliotheca Sacra, Jan. and April, 1864, p. 318 (April). Bird was a Lutheran, but is now an Episcopalian, and professor in Lehigh University, South Bethlehem, Pa.

[2] See arts. by H. Davey and F. G. Edwards in Lee, Dict. of Nat'l Biog., vol. lx, and Stevenson, Memorials of the Wesley Family, Lond., 1879.

God," shouted Lord Chesterfield, as he sprang up in his place in Lady Huntingdon's pew, "he is gone!" Benjamin Franklin went to hear Whitefield in Philadelphia. He said that Whitefield intended to finish with a collection for his favorite charity, the orphanage in Georgia. But the frugal Franklin resolved to give nothing, though having gold, silver, and copper in his pocket. But as he came more and more under the power of the preacher, "I began," he says, "to soften, and concluded to give the copper. Another stroke of his oratory determined me to give the silver, and he finished so admirably that I emptied my pocket wholly in the collector's dish—gold and all." Whitefield was a strong Calvinist, and the Calvinistic controversy which broke out between him and Wesley estranged them, but only temporarily. They soon came together again in love and fellowship, and when Whitefield died no one paid him a more hearty tribute than Wesley.[1]

The name of Whitefield recalls that of Selina Shirley, daughter of Washington Shirley, Earl of Ferrers, and, by marriage, the Countess of Huntingdon. Under the influence of illness and bereavement she received the Gospel, while attending the meetings of the Methodists at Fetter Lane, London. She became the special patroness of Whitefield, whose theology she adopted. At her house he was wont to preach to dukes and duchesses and other titled dignitaries, and some of them received the faith. It was through her that the results of Whitefield's labors were garnered. She built churches for his converts, the first one by selling her jewels, appointed and partially supported pastors for them, and thus the Whitefield Methodists came to be called the Lady Huntingdon's Connection. In 1768 she founded Trevecca College in South Wales for the education of ministers, which later became a Congregational institution, and soon after her death in 1791 was removed to Cheshunt, Herts. At the time of her death there were sixty-four churches in communion with her, Congregational in polity, Calvinistic in doctrine, evangelistic in spirit. When she had read Wesley's dying ascription of his salvation to the blood of the Lamb, and learned from his fellow-

LADY HUNTINGDON.

[1] See sermon 53, On the Death of the Rev. George Whitefield, Lond. ed. Works, vi, 167 ff. In this sermon Wesley speaks of his "indefatigable activity, zeal, frankness, and openness, courage, intrepidity, great plainness of speech, steadiness, and integrity. Have we read or heard of any person since the apostles who testified the Gospel of the grace of God through so widely extended a space, through so large a part of the habitable world? Have we heard or read of any person who called so many thousands, so many myriads of sinners to repentance?"

laborer Bradford that such had ever been the tenor of his preaching, she lamented that a separation between the Calvinistic and Arminian Methodists had ever taken place.

The champion of the Wesleyan Methodists in the Calvinistic controversy was John William Fletcher (original name De la Flé-chère), as saintly a man as ever lived, and one of the acutest of controversialists. It must be confessed that this controversy was carried on, especially on the Calvinistic side, with a virulence and ferocity of language unbecoming Christian gentlemen. The pens of Rowland Hill and Augustus Toplady were dipped in gall. But no provocation could make the seraphic Fletcher descend to the arena of personal strife, where opprobrious epithets and harsh words were bandied about like clubs. He lifted the controversy into a purer air, and some parts of his work throb with religious fervor, over which plays the light of mystical devotion. Sections of his anti-Calvinistic polemic could be read as a means of grace. Fletcher was born at Nyon, Vaud, Switzerland, in 1729. He was educated at Geneva, taking all the prizes in his school, and becoming a fine scholar. When a young man he longed, like Frederick W. Robertson, for the army, but striking providential interferences prevented the consummation of his desires. He went over to England, was converted under the Methodists, joined them, was ordained priest in 1757 by the bishop of Bangor, declined the offer of a living at Durham with easy work and a good salary, and in 1760 accepted the church at Madeley. The parish was run down, the people ignorant, rude, and wicked, and Fletcher by his zealous ministry of preaching and pastoral work transformed the place. At first the people would not go to church. Fletcher arose early on Sunday, took a bell, and went through the streets calling the people to the sanctuary. He sometimes appeared at entertainments and among revelers, and like an angel of the Lord denounced their sins and unhallowed pleasures. No sinner could escape him. But to the needy he was most generous. He denied himself food, raiment, and furniture, that he might minister to the poor. He spent whole nights in prayer, though he afterward acknowledged that he carried his self-denial and religious exercises to an ascetic excess. Southey well says that "no age or country has ever produced a man of more fervent piety or more perfect charity; no Church has possessed a more apostolic ministry."[1] The name of Fletcher and that of his equally devoted wife, whom he mar-

JOHN FLETCHER.

[1] Life of Wesley, ch. 25.

ried four years before his death, devout hearts will keep green forever.

OTHER EVANGELICAL HELPERS.

Many others must be passed over with a mere mention—both Calvinists and Arminians—who helped forward the evangelical revival: men like John Nelson, the brave, great-hearted mason and evangelist, a man of heroic stature in Christ; Vincent Perronet, vicar of Shoreham, who used to welcome the Wesleys into his pulpit, though when they first appeared the people "roared, stamped, blasphemed, rang the bells, and turned the church into a bear garden," and who appreciated the Methodist movement so highly that he said, "I make no doubt that Methodism is designed by Providence to introduce the approaching millennium;" his two sons, Charles and Edward —Charles, of whom Wesley said when he died in 1776, "He was a living and dying witness of the blessed doctrine he always defended, entire sanctification;" and Edward, who at first traveled with the Wesleys, but afterward settled down as a stanch dissenting pastor, and who was the author of "All hail the power of Jesus' name!"—glory enough for one man; William Grimshaw, curate of Haworth, Yorkshire, a natural orator, of whom Wesley said, "He carries fire wherever he goes;" Rowland Hill, a Cambridge graduate and Whitefield Methodist, an eccentric but powerful preacher, whose wit sometimes verged upon buffoonery, who loved open-air preaching and itinerated even after his pastorates at Kingston and at Surrey Chapel (which he built) in London, and who had as large audiences as Whitefield;[1] Henry Venn, the great pastor-evangelist of Huddersfield and Yelling; John Berridge, vicar of Everton, who made that town the center of a widespread reformation, the friend of both Wesley and Whitefield, rich but liberal, who rented churches, supported lay preachers, and aided poor societies with an unsparing hand; Howell Harris, the Wesley of Wales, driven out of Oxford in disgust by its infidelity and immorality, who went through Wales, preaching from house to house and wherever he could get hearers, formed societies, suffered repeated persecution from mobs and the clergymen of his own Church, was repeatedly refused ordination, and therefore became the unintentional founder of the Welsh Calvinistic Church and the inspirer, if not creator, of Welsh dissent.

[1] Rowland Hill was the uncle of Lord Hill, one of the greatest soldiers of his time, who was called the "right arm of the Duke of Wellington," but his namesake, Rowland Hill, the founder of penny postage, belonged to another family.

CHAPTER IV.

METHODISM OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

THESE are perhaps the pivotal dates in the history of English Methodism until the death of John Wesley: 1738, John Wesley's conversion; 1739, the first class meeting, or the origin of the Methodists as a special body, and the beginning of open-air preaching and of lay preaching; 1740, Methodism becomes differentiated from Calvinism and Moravianism; 1744, the first Conference (six clergymen and five lay preachers), which fixes doctrine and polity on substantially the same basis as at present; 1747, a tract society formed; 1748, the first academy opened; 1763, a fund for superannuated ministers established; 1778, the Arminian Magazine started, which has continued to this day, the name changed to Methodist Magazine soon after Wesley's death, and to Wesleyan Methodist Magazine in 1822; 1784, all hope of amalgamation with the Church of England or any other denomination set to rest by Wesley entering in the Court of Chancery a deed for the permanent constitution of the Conference; 1784, Wesley ordains Coke superintendent and Whatcoat and Vasey elders—the climax to a long series of acts inconsistent with his identity with the Church of England; 1785, Wesley ordains Pawson, Hanby, and Taylor as presbyters to officiate in Scotland; 1786, ordains Keighley and Atmore for England and Warrener and Hammett for missions abroad, and consents to holding services in church hours; 1787–1789, ordains several presbyters and Mather as superintendent; 1788, death of Charles Wesley (his widow survived until 1822); 1790, further plans for the consolidation of Methodism—Wesley still presiding in the Conference session; 1791, death of John Wesley.[1] The ensuing Conference provided by districts and district chairmen for the oversight similar to that which was exercised by their late founder.

FIRST HALF-CENTURY OF METHODISM.

The Methodism of the nineteenth century has moved forward in many special directions. We have first its independent movements.

[1] The late George J. Stevenson, of London, gives an admirable chronological history of British and Continental Methodism in his articles in McClintock and Strong, Cyc., x, 921–953.

Wesleyan Methodism has been peculiarly unfortunate in dealing with her children. The lack of statesmanlike concession and large-minded consideration in critical junctures has repeatedly driven out many of her most earnest, pious, and progressive people. These have gone into the Established or Nonconformist Churches, or have built up independent Churches which have done a great work for England. Doubtless vastly deeper effect would have been produced on the life of the nation if the conciliatory and practical wisdom of Wesley had been given to his successors. The first trouble was in dealing with the natural and just demand for the sacraments and for the rights of the societies and of the laymen, which resulted in the expulsion of Alexander Kilham in 1796 and the formation of the Methodist New Connection in 1797. The new Church started out with four ministers and five thousand members from the old body, and has had an honorable, though not a markedly successful, history. It introduced the principle of lay representation, thus setting early a noble example which other Methodist bodies in England and America have—though late—followed. The Wesleyan Methodists have gradually adopted most of the features of the New Connection, and the union of these two Churches would be a happy consummation.

NEW CONNECTION METHODISTS.

Another act of the same kind was the excision of William Clowes and Hugh Bourne on account of their zeal in holding open-air meetings and camp meetings, which latter they had borrowed from America. The parent Conference condemned all such meetings in 1807, and in 1810 Clowes, Bourne, and others formed a Church fittingly called the Primitive Methodist Church. Its aim was to be true to the evangelistic and revival traditions which had been the glory of the old Methodism, and heroically has it carried out that program. The spirit of Wesley and his brave companions has passed into the Church of Bourne, which with apostolic zeal has preached the Gospel to the poor and evangelized the forsaken and the godless. Nor has this Church forgotten learning—another ideal of Wesley. When great Protestant Churches in England and Scotland cannot support a theological review, this noble band of Methodists still publish one of the best—the Primitive Methodist Quarterly. The Primitive Methodists have also been true to total abstinence. Wesley's excoriating words on the traffic in drink were the first notes of the modern temperance reformation.[1]

THE PRIMITIVE METHODISTS.

[1] See his sermon (50), The Use of Money. Works, Lond. ed., vi, 128, 129.

Another independent movement followed—that led by William O'Bryan, 1815, a zealous local preacher, who used to travel from place to place seeking the lost and outcast. He was expelled by his pastor, and formed the Bible Christian Society, which has done excellent work in the west of England.

BIBLE CHRISTIANS.

The Leeds organ dispute—forcing an organ on the congregation against the wishes of a majority of the leaders and stewards—led to the formation in 1828 of the Wesleyan Protestant Methodists. The Wesleyan Methodist Association, 1835, was the result of the dominating influence of Jabez Bunting, who led an educational scheme for young ministers. Samuel Warren, pastor in Manchester, fearful of the transformation of the Conference from a spiritual brotherhood into a coterie of personal followers of Bunting, and for other reasons, led an opposition to the scheme. He was supported by some of the oldest and most pious of the ministers. Dr. Warren was tried and expelled in 1835. This left Bunting and those who stood for him in greater power than ever. The free expression of opinion and the unhindered play of intellectual forces, the action and interaction of independent men, became impossible. While freedom was not specifically forbidden, in the atmosphere of an undefined absolutism it could not live. This led to the great disruption of 1849, when a system of inquisitorial questioning led to the expulsion of three of the best and ablest ministers, James Everett, Samuel Dunn, and William Griffith, Jr., followed by others. One hundred and twenty thousand members left the Wesleyan Methodist Church. In 1857 these amalgamated with the Protestant and Association Methodists in forming the United Methodist Free Church, one of the noblest Churches of England. All these offshoots from Wesleyan Methodism were organized on democratic principles.

PROTESTANT METHODISTS AND WESLEYAN ASSOCIATION.

UNITED METHODIST FREE CHURCH.

The first emphasis of Methodism was on the salvation of men. But education was not forgotten. In the first Conference, 1744, we read:

"*Question.* Can we have a seminary for laborers?

"*Answer.* If God spare us till another Conference."

At the next Conference the question was put:

"*Question.* Can we have a seminary for laborers yet?

"*Answer.* Not till God gives us a proper tutor."

As early as 1739 Whitefield began a school at Kingswood, Bristol, which he immediately turned over to Wesley, who collected money for it and started it in 1740. Its object was to teach both the

colliers and their children religion, and then to read, write, and cast accounts. It was to be a night school as well as a day school, and Wesley said that he expected scholars of all ages, some of them gray-headed, to come there early in the morning or late at night, and that the old would be taught separately from the children.[1] This school has continued to the present day, though not long after its foundation it was limited to the education of ministers' boys, and in 1851 removed to new and larger buildings at Landsdowne, near Bath. One school being found insufficient for the education of ministers' boys, another was opened in 1812 at Woodhouse Grove, at Appleby, near Leeds. Wesley's earnestness for ministerial education was illustrated in his collecting the preachers together at Kingswood in 1749, dividing them into classes and giving them instruction in theology, using Pearson, On the Creed; in logic, using Aldrich's text-book; and in elocution.[2] Whether this was done later than 1749 we do not know, but Wesley always insisted on his helpers reading the Christian Library and other books. This diligence in study made some of his preachers learned men; as, for example, Thomas Walsh, the ascetic young Irishman who became remarkably proficient in Hebrew and Greek;[3] Adam Clarke, the commentator; and Joseph Benson, also commentator and theologian. In 1835 a theological institution was opened at Hoxton, London; in 1839 another at Abney House, Stoke Newington, which places were used until buildings were erected at Richmond, London, and Didsbury, Manchester, when (about 1841) the students were removed to them. Various other institutions, theological or classical, have been opened since then.

EDUCATIONAL MOVEMENT.

English Methodism has reared many men of ability and influence in various fields. Henry Moore, the biographer of Wesley; Adam Clarke, one of the most learned, as well as pious, men of his time; Joseph Benson, the literary champion of the Methodists after Wesley's death; Alexander Kilham, an ecclesiastical statesman

[1] Tyerman, Life of Wesley, i, 269, 270. Charles Wesley in a letter dated March 3, 1749, says: "I spent half an hour with my brother at Kingswood, which is now very much like a college. Twenty-one boarders are there, and a dozen students, his sons and pupils in the Gospel. I believe he is now laying the foundation of many generations."—Tyerman, ii, 35, note.

[2] Tyerman, ii, 34. For an admirable historical account of the efforts for ministerial education in Methodism in England, and especially in America, see the late Daniel P. Kidder, in the Bibliotheca Sacra, July, 1876, pp. 558 ff.

[3] See a biography of this most remarkable man by Faulkner, in McClintock and Strong, Cyc., x, 870, 871.

who first united Methodism to a representative system of Church polity; Richard Watson, the theologian; Jabez Bunting, perhaps the most influential minister of his time in England; Samuel Warren, pious and able, whose wife was another Mrs. Fletcher, and who led a revolt against the rule of Bunting;[1] Robert Newton, the eloquent preacher; Thomas Jackson, author and editor; William Dawson, the great lay preacher and spiritual genius; William Carvosso, saint and hero of faith; James Dixon, preacher, orator, and antislavery advocate, who spent the last half of his life in blindness; Richard D. Waddy, of brilliant intellect, flashing wit, and great soul;[2] Luke H. Wiseman, the missionary secretary; Luke Tyerman, the author of three great biographies, which will remain permanent authorities for centuries; William B. Pope, who was the first to write a Systematic Theology for English-speaking Methodists from the standpoint of modern scholarship; these, and other men who have passed away, not to mention those living, have rendered notable service to the Church of Christ.

METHODIST LEADERS.

Methodism had so much home missionary work on hand that it could not at once address itself to the foreign field. Its first mission was to Africa. Some Methodists had gone to Sierra Leone, in 1792, where Mingo Jordan, a colored man, had gathered a society. They sent to England for a missionary, and in 1811 George Warren was sent as the first Methodist foreign missionary. Since then English Methodism has not only had a flourishing mission in Sierra Leone, with thousands of members, but has established missions on the Gambia, on the Gold Coast, Ashantee, and in other countries of the West, Cape Colony and Natal, among the Kaffirs, Hottentots, Fingoes, Bechuanas, Zulus, and other tribes, and in the South African republics. In 1812 Samuel Leigh was sent to Australia, where a class of Methodist emigrants had already been formed, and where he laid broad and deep the foundations of the Church.

MISSIONS.

Thomas Coke, who took an intense interest in missions, and begged from door to door for the Methodist missionaries in America, France, and the Jersey Islands, in his old age was consumed with longing to found evangelical Christianity in India. On June 18, 1813, he writes (he was then

THOMAS COKE.

[1] He was the father of Samuel Warren, the great novelist, who was the father of the Rev. E. Walpole Warren, rector of Holy Trinity Church, New York.

[2] See an article on him by Faulkner in McClintock and Strong, Cyc., sup. vol. ii, 843.

sixty-six): "I am now dead to Europe and alive for India. God himself has said to me, Go to Ceylon. I am so fully convinced of the will of God that methinks I had rather be set naked on the coast of Ceylon, without clothes and without a friend, than not to go there. . . . The fleets sail in October and January. If the Conference employs me to raise the money for the outset I shall not be able to sail till January. I shall bear my own expenses, of course. I shall probably be here till this day fortnight; then I set off for Liverpool."[1] In the next Conference Coke pleaded as a man for his life to be sent to India. The night before the day fixed for the official debate he spent in prayer for India. In the debate Coke told of the providential circumstances which had led him to this mission, the favor shown to it by some men of power, and the duty of preaching the Gospel to the millions of the East, and then offered himself and other ministers who had consented "to dare with himself the dangers of the enterprise," and added finally, "that if the Conference could not bear the expense he would himself defray the initial expenditure to the extent of six thousand pounds." The Conference passed a resolution in which it "authorizes and appoints Dr. Coke to undertake a mission to Ceylon and Java, and allows him to take with him six missionaries, exclusive of one for the Cape of Good Hope."[2] Thus began Methodist missions to Asia, in which some of the greatest triumphs of the Gospel, as well as of consecrated scholarship, have been realized. Methodist missions have also reclaimed from cannibalism and given to commerce and civilization many islands in the South Seas, and the story of the enterprise there is a romance of daring and heroism not surpassed in the annals of adventure or discovery.

Methodism has stimulated enterprises in other fields outside its own borders. Scotland received a fresh religious life; the Church of England received a new illumination; the New Connection of General Baptists, which has had a great and noble history, was formed by Methodists in 1770; Sunday schools were formed by the Methodists before Robert Raikes received his beautiful inspiration, and "Sophia Cooke, another Methodist, who afterward became the wife of Samuel Bradburn, was the first to suggest to Raikes the Sunday school idea, and actually marched with him at the head of his troop of ragged urchins the first Sunday they were taken to the parish church." The Methodists organized the first Bible Society. The London Missionary Society, a Congregational organization

METHODIST LEAVEN IN THE GENERAL LUMP.

[1] Ethridge, Life of Thomas Coke, pp. 478, 479. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 481.

which has had a glorious history, was started, it is said, in an appeal from Melville Horne, who for some years was one of Wesley's preachers, and became the successor of Fletcher at Madeley; the Church Missionary Society issued from a devout circle of evangelical clergymen in the Established Church; Wesley established the first tract society, at least seventeen years before the founding of the Religious Tract Society, itself the outcome of the evangelical revival; and Wesley established the first dispensary twenty-four years before the Royal General Dispensary opened at Bartholomew Close, London, in 1770.[1]

English Methodism has taken on new vigor within the last few years. The introduction of lay representation in the Wesleyan Conference in 1878; the work of public common school education by Methodist day schools led chiefly by James H. Rigg; the beautiful charity for orphaned and homeless children led by Thomas Bowman Stephenson; the Forward Movement in East and West London led by Hugh Price Hughes and Peter Thompson, and similar movements in other large cities; the great church building movement inaugurated by the munificence of Sir Francis Lycett; the proposition for the union of the New Connection and Wesleyan Methodists; the Ecumenical Conferences in London in 1881, and Washington in 1891; the Million Guinea Twentieth Century Fund movement, started in 1899, which has been taken up and carried forward with immense enthusiasm, and which has been characterized by many pathetic instances of sacrifice, the splendid service rendered by the London Quarterly Review for scholarship and literature, and the able books by English Methodist authors—these all show that if they are true to the spirit of their founder in evangelism and learning and doctrine a brilliant future awaits the Methodist Churches in the motherland.

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS.

[1] "I mentioned to the society my design of giving physic to the poor. About thirty came the next day, and in three weeks about three hundred. This we continued for several years till, the number of patients still increasing, the expense was greater than we could bear. Meantime, through the blessing of God, many who had been ill for months or years, were restored to perfect health."—Journal, Dec. 4, 1746.

CHAPTER V.

MOVEMENTS IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

THE evangelical movement, which sent its currents of warm life throughout Anglicanism, had not spent its force when the nineteenth century was born. It turned the religious and political life of the nation into new channels, and made a new type of clergyman. It is true that as to this last the kindly and sensitive pagan John Keats (d. 1821) gives a different impression. He says in one of his letters, "A parson is a lamb in the drawing-room, and a lion in a vestry. The notions of society will not permit a parson to give way to his temper in any shape; so he festers in himself till his features get a peculiar diabolical, self-sufficient, ironical, stupid expression. He is continually acting. He is a hypocrite to the believer and a coward to the unbeliever."[1] But this caustic description, though doubtless true of some, was by no means true of many Anglican ministers. John Newton (d. 1807) was one of the most devoted and exemplary of ministers, who, after a depraved and profligate life, became a shining light and gave comfort and hope to thousands. He was the pastor of William Cowper, with whom he wrote the Olney Hymns (1779), and whose poems powerfully helped the cause of morality and religion. Cowper's description of the false and true preacher has ever remained a beacon light of warning and of guidance.

A NEW TYPE OF CLERGY.

"I venerate the man whose heart is warm,
Whose hands are pure, whose doctrine and whose life,
Coincident, exhibit lucid proof
That he is honest in the sacred cause.
To such I render more than mere respect,
Whose actions say that they respect themselves.
But loose in morals and in manners vain,
In conversation frivolous, in dress
Extreme, at once rapacious and profuse,
Frequent in park, with lady at his side,
Ambling and prattling scandal as he goes,
But rare at home, and never at his books,
Or with his pen, save when he scrawls a card;
Constant at routs, familiar with a sound
Of ladyships, a stranger to the poor;

[1] Letters of John Keats, ed. by H. Buxton Forman, Lond., 1895.

Ambitious of preferment for its gold,
And well prepared by ignorance and sloth,
By infidelity and love of the world,
To make God's work a sinecure; a slave
To his own pleasures and his patron's pride:
From such apostles, O ye mitred heads,
Preserve the Church! and lay not careless hands
On skulls that cannot teach, and will not learn."[1]

THOMAS SCOTT AND THE TWO MILNERS.

The successor of Newton at Olney was his spiritual son and friend, Thomas Scott, who worked himself out of Socinianism and tells the story of his struggle in his famous book, The Voice of Truth: A Marvellous Narrative of Human Life (1779). It is hard to estimate the influence of Scott in the popular religious thinking of England. His Holy Bible, with Notes, 1788–92, has had a wider reading among the masses than any other English commentary. In estimating the forces which have kept the English populace measurably within the pale of evangelical Christianity, Scott's Bible must not be forgotten.

A devotional classic, which we also owe to Evangelicalism, is Cecil's Remains which had a beneficent influence over Protestants during the first half of the century. The great revival even made its influence felt in Church history. Joseph Milner (d. 1797), the head master of the Hull Grammar School, and his brother Isaac (d. 1820), a great mathematical scholar and Cambridge professor, wrote a History of the Church from the standpoint of piety, to show what men and what movements were faithful to the spirit and truth of Christ.

THE CLAPHAM GROUP.

A group of high-minded and devoted laymen worshiped in the Clapham parish church, London, when John Venn was its pastor (1792–1813) and later, and to their religious earnestness and philanthropic spirit we owe far-reaching reforms. Never perhaps in the history of the world has a company of men of one faith, living in one locality at one time, done so much for mankind. Their prominence and their fidelity in representing the evangelical ideal caused Sydney Smith to nickname the whole evangelical party "The Clapham Sect." "On Sunday," says J. C. Colquhoun, "they [the Thorntons] sit in the old church with the Wilberforces', and Macaulays', and Stephens' pews close to their own, and in the first gallery the Teignmouths', and listen to the wise discourses of Venn, or sit enchanted under the preaching of Gisborne."[2] Wilberforce's book, A Practical View of the

[1] The Task, bk. ii.

[2] William Wilberforce, his Friends and his Times, p. 309.

Prevailing Religious System of Professed Christians in the Higher and Middle Classes in this Country, contrasted with Real Christianity, 1797, exercised an influence over thousands of thoughtful readers similar to Law's Serious Call two generations before. The Thorntons, father and son, bankers who held their gold in trust for God, were a bulwark for aggressive Christianity for many years. Zachary Macaulay, father of the great essayist, and James Stephen, the first of a name high in the roll of men of letters and of law, were the active supporters of every interest for the benefit of man.[1]

As Oxford University has generally represented High Anglicanism, so in the first half of the nineteenth century did Cambridge University become the center of Evangelicalism. Here the great dean Isaac Milner stood as a tower of strength, doing in Cambridge for vital Christianity what Benjamin Jowett did in the last half of the century in Oxford for rationalistic Christianity. Here Charles Simeon (d. 1836) was pastor of Trinity Church, and helped on the cause in a thousand ways. Here William Farish, Jacksonian professor of chemistry, exercised a similar influence, and Scholefield, regius professor of Greek, from whose pulpit at St. Michael's earnest evangelical preaching was wedded to intellectual power, and the two Jowetts, Joseph and William, did also a great work.

CAMBRIDGE AN EVANGELICAL CENTER.

Nor should the influence of Hannah More (d. 1833) be forgotten. Her work was twofold: in writing stories, sketches, essays, and treatises which had a vast circulation, were extravagantly praised as the product of a literary genius, and which really raised the moral tone of the age; and in her philanthropic work among the Cheddar Hills near Bristol, where, by her own self-sacrificing life and the help of her sisters and the money of Wilberforce and Thornton, she "turned a moral wilderness into a fruitful garden."[2]

HANNAH MORE.

Of the general influence of the great revival and the evangelical movement Lecky speaks fairly when he says: "The Evangelicals gradually changed the whole spirit of the English Church. They infused into it a new fire and passion of devotion, raised the standard of clerical duty, and completely altered the whole tone and preaching of its ministers."[3] Now the question is, Why did not

[1] For further information on the Clapham episode in Church history see Pennington, Recollections of Persons and Events, and Sir James Stephen, Essays in Eccl. Biography, 523 ff., and the biographies of the Clapham men.

[2] Overton, The Church in England, ii, 281.

[3] Hist. of England in the 18th Century, ii, ch. ix.

this leaven leaven the whole lump? Why did the Church, or at least large parts of it, sink back into formalism and inactivity until it was stirred again by the Catholic Reformers of Oxford? In other words, why did not Evangelicalism conquer the Church of England for Christ and make it truly Protestant? In answer to this it may be said: (1) Some sections of the Church were not only not transformed into higher life by the evangelical movement, but were profoundly opposed to it. This was true of the Broad Church represented by the brilliant Sydney Smith (d. 1845), who for twenty years (1809–1829) at Foston, Yorkshire, was the "village parson, village doctor, village comforter, village magistrate, Edinburgh reviewer," and in that Review poured out the phials of his wit, sarcasm, and denunciation on the heads of the poor Methodists and other Evangelicals. The other section that was opposed to Evangelicalism was the High Church, which had never ceased to exist even in the eighteenth century, and which only waited its opportunity once more to assert itself with vigor. (2) The Church of England was not simply a Protestant Church. It was a Catholic Church with Protestant characteristics, and these great Catholic elements—the threefold ministry, the necessity of Episcopal ordination, the liturgy, baptismal regeneration, the "consent of the Fathers" as a subordinate rule of faith—could not fail to bring about an evolution toward a deepening Catholicism. (3) The Evangelical school itself became narrow and intolerant, dwindled into a party, lost the fervor and Christian breadth of its better days, and what was worse, perhaps, failed to add to its piety knowledge, and thus was gradually detached more or less from the intelligence and scholarship of the country. Besides, the Evangelicals allowed their old-time ethical and social enthusiasms—those splendid reforming energies which had made a new England—to pass into the Broad Church camp, and Charles Kingsley and Frederick Denison Maurice became the leaders in the new Christian socialism.

OPPOSITION OF BROAD AND HIGH CHURCH.

CATHOLIC ELEMENTS OF ANGLICANISM.

NARROW EVANGELICALS.

As the nineteenth century wore on it brought new interests to the front. One was liberalism. Continental and American movements, as well as the lifting up of the masses by the great revival into thrift, independence, and a larger vision, had brought a wave of political liberalism of which politicians had to take account. It showed itself in the various Catholic Emancipation Bills, in the Reform Bill, and in the Repeal of the Corporation and Tests Acts in 1828. An attitude of criticism

POLITICAL LIBERALISM.

to the Established Church became pronounced, which did not always stop there, but took in also historic Christianity. In 1824 the Westminster Review was founded to voice this wider liberalism, and James Mill, the father of John Stuart Mill, became one of its leading lights. The relation of the Anglican priests as the official representatives of the libertine head of the Church, George IV, to the Queen Caroline case turned many against them, and brought out the powerful pen of Henry Brougham in the Edinburgh Review.[1] Jeremy Bentham was another opponent whom the Church had reason to fear, and William Cobbett in the Weekly Register and in his books and pamphlets was an advocate of radicalism who wielded the most biting pen in the raciest style.

RELIGIOUS LIBERALISM.

Oriel College at Oxford gathered within its walls some bright spirits—the forerunners of the Broad Church school. Whately, who taught Newman how to reason, was rational in temper and had left the evangelical position as to predestination, future punishment, and the Sabbath. Hampden greatly outraged the High Churchmen by the supposed Arian tendencies of his Bampton Lectures for 1832 on the scholastic philosophy, and was condemned by the university and by convocation. Those in authority were not daunted by this, however, and made him regius professor of divinity in Oxford in 1836 and bishop of Hereford in 1847, though in the face of determined and even factious opposition. This preferment and that of Whately to the archbishopric of Dublin in 1831 could not but advance the prospects of rational Christianity in the English Church. More influential, perhaps, was Thomas Arnold, who was suddenly cut off in the prime of his fruitful and promising career in 1842. His work at Rugby School, his correspondence and religious writings, and his History of Rome (1838 ff.), in which he was the first in England to bring the modern critical methods to bear on ancient history, all combined to make him a wonderfully quickening power. In 1829 Milman's History of the Jews was published; a book which now would not cause a ripple, but which then made a sensation because it was a new thing to apply German criticism to the Bible. So great was the scare created by Milman's book that its sale was stopped, and the Family Library in which it was issued by Murray was discontinued. In the same direction, some useful work was performed by two Cambridge students, Connop Thirlwall and Julius Hare, men of no small name in the history

HAMPDEN, WHATELY, AND MILMAN.

[1] Art. by Brougham, The Durham Case, in the Edinb. Rev., Nov., 1822 (vol. xxvii, 350 ff.).

of English religion and learning. Their publication in 1825 of a translation of Schleiermacher's Essay on St. Luke, with a remarkable introduction, and their translation (1828–32) of Niebuhr's History of Rome had no small part in ushering in the new critical scholarship.

THE OXFORD MOVEMENT.

A reaction was inevitable not only to the effort of the Evangelicals to Protestantize England, but to the vigorous liberalism in both Church and State. That reaction is known in history as the Oxford movement, or later as the Catholic revival or the Anglo-Catholic movement. Its starting point was: (1) A sermon preached by John Keble from the University pulpit, Oxford, July 14, 1833, entitled National Apostasy. "I have ever considered," says Newman, "and kept the day as the start of the religious movement of 1833."[1] It was a mild, calm, but outspoken and effective protest against what the preacher considered the internal and external dangers of the Church. (2) A meeting of three comparatively humble clergymen with Hugh James Rose, at the Hadleigh rectory, July 25, 1833, for the purpose of discussing the affairs of the Church and hitting upon some plan of remedying them. The three were William Palmer, author of Origines Liturgicæ (1832, 4th ed. '45), which was itself a manifesto of the movement; A. P. Perceval, of the "Tory Aristocracy" (to use Newman's description), who soon dropped out; and Richard Hurrell Froude, brother of the historian. But the most important man there was the host, Rose, a man of learning and enterprise and a stanch High Churchman. Keble and John Henry Newman, though in close correspondence with Rose and others, were not present. The outcome was the formation of the Association of the Friends of the Church, the objects of which were: "1. To maintain pure and inviolate the doctrines, services, and discipline of the Church, that is, to withstand all change which involves a departure from primitive practice in religious offices, or innovation upon the apostolic prerogative, orders, and commission of bishops, priests, and deacons. 2. To afford Churchmen an opportunity of exchanging their sentiments and cooperating together on a large scale."

JOHN HENRY NEWMAN.

The life and soul of the movement in its earliest stages was Newman. His enthusiasm and fresh sympathetic nature drew to him young men, and so ardent was the devotion which he inspired that the historian Froude, who was there at the time, says that it was like a Newman cultus. But no man could be more unconscious of such worship or care less for it. By

[1] Apologia pro Vita Sua, ch. i, near end.

his sermons at St. Mary's, with their bewitching style and their penetrating unhackneyed thought, and his lectures in the chapel of the same Church, where he formally expounded the High Church principles, he exercised an immense influence. Newman stood with Hurrell Froude in believing that the times needed bold, frank action, individual initiative, an uncompromising exposition of Catholicism, and a bold endeavor to realize it in Church and State. "Living movements," he said, "do not come of committees. I want to bring out a living Church of England, made of flesh and blood, with voice, complexion, and motion, and action and will of its own. . . . There is something greater than the Established Church—the Church Catholic and Apostolic." On the other hand, Rose, Palmer, and Perceval were old-fashioned High Churchmen—"safe, sound men"—who would not do anything daring or rash.

Newman and his bolder fellows made their appeal through the Tracts for the Times, 1833–41, the aim of which was by a direct appeal, after the fashion of Wesley, to the conscience and intelligence of the nation, to show that the Catholic principles of the Church of England, such as the real presence, apostolic succession, value of tradition as a rule of faith, and grace objectively bestowed in the sacraments, are the doctrines of the fathers; that these principles are also the doctrines of the old divines of the English Church; that the Disciplina Arcani of the ancient Church ought to be revived; and that the Thirty-nine Articles did not intend to deny the Catholic teaching of the pre-Reformation Church, but only the abuses and extravagances with which that teaching was popularly confounded. It was in Tract 90, written by Newman, that the last proposition was defended, and it stirred up such a furor that, at the request of the bishop of Oxford, Newman suspended the series. There was much plausibility and even truth in the contention of Tract 90, but, looking beneath the surface, it was a monstrous thesis. On Newman's principles any creed or legal paper in the world could be interpreted as meaning the opposite of what it manifestly teaches. Newman's mind was revealing its kinship to Catholicism by verging on that region where the specious insinuosities of evasion, explanation, and suppposition obscure the straight and narrow road to truth.

TRACTS FOR THE TIMES.

Newman joined the Roman Church in 1845, and many in the movement followed him—Oakley, Ward, Faber, Dalgairns, and others. But the larger number of Anglican Catholics remained in their own Church, in which they were encouraged by the example of their most illustrious guide (after Newman), Edward Bouverie

Pusey, a man of great learning, especially in patristics, a diligent and voluminous author, a brave teacher, and of saintly life.

RESULTS OF THE OXFORD MOVEMENT.

The results of the Oxford movement were: (1) A vastly increased love of the Church and zeal in her service. New churches were built, old ones were restored, services were held more frequently, communion was administered weekly, singing and music were cultivated, and both the external and internal life of the Church was revived and strengthened. (2) Development of personal piety, publication of manuals of devotion, fervor in religious observances and in keeping of fasts and holy days. (3) Ritualistic enthusiasm. The Catholic thought of the communication of grace through objective media involved emphasis on the instruments of devotion and of worship. This has led to a variety of appliances and parts to the Church worship upon which the old-time High Churchmen would have looked in dumb wonder. (4) Approach to Roman Catholicism both in doctrine and worship, in morals and method. This approach in some Anglicans is so extreme that the thin line of papal infallibility is perhaps the only barrier.[1] (5) Desire for reunion with Rome as a venerable and larger part of the Catholic Church. The Anglican Society for Corporate Reunion is ostensibly working for this, and many secret and quasi-secret societies, with which Anglicanism is now honeycombed, are seeking in various ways for either a spiritual or actual communion with the Papal Church.[2] (6) Disturbance of the order of the Church by Catholic practices has gone so far that guardians of the Church's orthodoxy have been compelled to institute legal proceedings against the ritualists. Sometimes the decisions were in favor of the ritualists, sometimes in favor of the Protestants, although the court of last resort, the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, has invariably held that the extreme methods of the Catholics in worship were illegal. But no decision has permanently affected the Catholic party. Secure in their harmony with the Catholic Church and with some basal principles of

[1] For evidence of the approach to Rome in worship see The Roman Mass in the English Church, Lond., 1899.

[2] Walter Walsh, in the most valuable book which has been published on the Catholic movement since Dean Church's posthumous Oxford Movement (1891), has furnished abundant evidence, not only of the existence of numerous secret ritualistic societies in the Church of England, but also of the work of these societies to bring Anglicanism into conformity with Rome in doctrine and service, if not into actual communion with her. Secret Hist. of the Oxford Movement, Lond., 1897, 6th ed., 1899, p. 38. High Church reviewers have not seriously touched the strength of Walsh's remarkable showing of damaging facts.

their own Church, they have gone on with their auricular confession, their mass, their quasi-monastic orders, and their Catholic doctrinal teaching. The last trial, or rather hearing, was that of 1899, before the archbishop of Canterbury, as to the legality of incense and processional lights. The decision of Dr. Temple was adverse to the Catholics, but as his opinion was purely advisory and had no legal sanction, it is the less likely the ritualists will respect it. Unfortunately law has not been the only weapon used, as riots and mobs have been a too-frequent feature of the ritualistic history. Witness especially the repeated and fearful tumults in the church and parish of St. George's-in-the-East, London, 1859–60.[1] (7) Numerous converts to Rome. A book published in London (4th edition) in 1881 is entitled Rome's Recruits: List of Protestants who have become Roman Catholics since the Tractarian Movement. It contains the names of about twenty-two hundred people, all of whom belong to Great Britain except a hundred more or less.

The Catholic movement has caused a reaction which has accentuated the progress of rationalism. What Newman and Hurrell Froude did for Catholicism their brothers, Francis W. Newman and James Anthony Froude, did for infidelity. The Broad Church has done magnificent work under the very shadow of ritualism, as witness the names of Frederick W. Robertson, the most quickening preacher of the nineteenth century, Charles Kingsley, Christian socialist in a noble sense, and Frederick D. Maurice, the Christian philosopher and mediator between Jesus and the intellectual and social conscience, who denounced the party system as tending to divide Christ's body both in the Church and State, and who lifted up the Cross as the ruling power in the universe and the touchstone of political economy and sociology. The influence of these men was never more regnant than now. That is in part the secret of the Toynbee movement and the numerous university and other settlements, as well as the Institutional Church movement, which in the case of thousands of souls have made the desert blossom as the rose.

ROBERTSON AND MAURICE.

[1] Full accounts of these riots in St. George's-in-the-East will be found in Harper's Magazine, Nov., 1881, 914 ff.

CHAPTER VI.

THE FREE CHURCHES.

THE history of the Presbyterian Church in England during a large part of the last two centuries and that of Unitarianism are almost identical, because the Calvinistic Church suffered the same Socinian evolution in the old country as in the new, and as in its cradle city, Geneva. What were the causes of the Unitarianizing of English Presbyterianism? These, among others: First, a natural reaction from the severity of Calvinism. Second, a cast of worship, religious life, and preaching exclusively intellectual. The intuitions, the feelings, and all the rich experiences of the heart were overshadowed by intellectualism. Third, the quiet, perhaps unconscious, appropriation by the minister of the functions of the Church, the laymen taking more and more a position of irresponsiveness and irresponsibility. The minister elaborated his theories in his study, and the people allowed themselves to be led into the pleasant pastures of his easy-going theology.[1] Fourth, the dearth of revivals in Presbyterianism. The breath of the Holy Spirit alone can counteract the tendency of men to naturalism and keep the Church close to truth. A Church spiritually dead will be a Church heretically alive. Fifth, a dry, cold method of preaching. "No greater contrast," says the Congregational historian Stoughton, "can be imagined than that between the Methodist and the Presbyterian preacher, the Methodist and the Presbyterian people. The unction, the fire, the moral force, so visible in the one case is absent in the other. Methodism laid hold of the conscience of England; Presbyterianism did not. The sympathy elicited there is found wanting here; and no culture, no intellectual power, no respectability of position could make up for the lack of earnest Gospel

PRESBYTERIANS AND THE UNITARIAN DOCTRINE.

[1] "A Presbyterian congregation claimed and exercised no such republican rights [as the Congregational]. The people chose their pastor, and when they had done so, they left the management of Church business very much in his hands. They did not hold meetings for discussion, or to admit and suspend communicants. . . . Guidance being implicitly left to the man of their choice, he had free scope for his theological inquiries and plenty of room for the sway of his opinions. . . . The shepherd went before, the flock followed."—Stoughton, History of Religion in England under Queen Anne and the Georges, ii, 265.

preaching and warm-hearted spiritual life."[1] Sixth, the fierce conflicts of the seventeenth century made many thoughtful and peace-loving men dread the conflict and battle to which God calls those who are set for the defense of the faith once delivered to the saints. If the orthodox Christology is true, it is to be fought for as for the citadel of Christianity; but the heats and excesses of that elder age had made many indisposed to strenuous action. The Socinian leaven worked unhindered. But whatever the causes, the slow transformation or petrifying of English Presbyterianism into Unitarianism is one of the most instructive things in Church history.

PURITANISM ALIVE.

The old evangelical Puritanism, however, had never died utterly, but had always retained pure and able defenders. These, reinforced by Scotch immigrants, reclaimed the heritage. They reorganized the Presbyterian Church of England in 1876, which has done noble work. In 1889 it readjusted its doctrinal basis, adopting a new creed, which has the merit of stating Christian truth in terms so catholic that it might almost be taken as a symbol of a reunited Christendom. No Arminian could object to its doctrine of decrees.

ENGLISH UNITARIANS.

Unitarianism itself always had notable adherents in modern England, even although it was a criminal offense to deny the divinity of Christ until 1813. Milton was an Arian in his last days. Sir Isaac Newton was inclined the same way, and Locke's Reasonableness of Christianity was written in the same spirit. Lardner, author of that impregnable apology, The Credibility of the Gospel History (1727–55), as invaluable for certain large results as when first published, might be considered a kind of Unitarian of the extreme orthodox wing, who held to a real doctrine of Christ's divinity, though not in the full Nicene sense. Many of the old Unitarians, indeed, would have looked with horror on the amiable and shallow neo-paganism which goes under the name of Unitarianism to-day. Theophilus Lindsey may be said to have inaugurated modern Unitarianism. In 1774 he resigned his place in the Establishment, and became pastor of a Unitarian Church in Essex Street, London.

PRIESTLEY.

The greatest English Unitarian was Joseph Priestley, the founder of pneumatic chemistry, who discovered oxygen in 1774 and the composition of water in 1781. When in Paris some scoffing men of science told him that he was the only man of understanding they had ever known who be-

[1] Stoughton's History of Religion in England, vi, 314.

lieved in Christianity, which was either a reflection on their candor or on the intelligence of Catholic France. "But while laughed at in Paris as a believer, at home he was branded as an atheist." Priestley believed in God, in his revelation in Scripture, and in a future life. He was a minister in three different charges, but on account of his unpopularity he removed to America in 1794, and died at Northumberland, Pa., on February 6, 1804. He replied to Burke's Reflections on the French Revolution, and was made a citizen of the French Republic. This so enraged the people that a mob broke into his house at Birmingham, sacked it, and destroyed his books, manuscripts, and instruments. He was a man of beautiful spirit and noble character. English Unitarianism has reared many men of fine intellectual gifts, notably James Martineau (d. 1900), the greatest exponent of a spiritual philosophy.

THE CONGREGATIONALISTS.

Of all Free Churches the Congregationalists have perhaps taken the palm in England as a religious power. Their comparative freedom from Unitarianism—not entire, of course, for Socinianism has been the weakness of all branches of Dissent except Methodism—their firm, distinct attitude toward the Established Church, their noble stand for freedom and equality before the law, the glorious memories of their heroic age when their martyrs ascended to heaven from Anglican scaffolds, their great work for education and literature, their missionary zeal in foreign lands, have all served to give them distinction and influence out of proportion to their numbers. Long-continued Anglican intolerance, lasting far on into the nineteenth century, has made it impossible for the Free Churches to do their full work. Much energy has been consumed in fighting for their political and religious rights, and they have had neither the opportunity nor the strength for the work to which God had called them. Step by step one disability after another has been removed, though so long as there is an Established Church in England, with its vast resources and its political and social prestige, the Free Churches can never enter into the fullness of religious liberty.

LITERARY FRUITS OF CONGREGATIONALISM.

To Christian literature the Congregationalists have made notable contributions. They were the first to publish the works of Wyclif, and, by the researches of their historian, Robert Vaughan, to place him in his true light as the precursor of Puritanism. By their Congregational Lectures (the Free Church Bampton established in 1833) they have made permanent additions to theological literature, the last being the learned and convincing book on Apostolic Succession, by Dr. John

Brown, published in 1898. They have given us the best biography of Bunyan, and their numerous Church Histories of England, by Calamy, Neal, Bogue and Bennett, Wilson, Brook, Waddington, Halley, Vaughan, Davids, Stoughton, and others, have greatly enriched our knowledge. Through their brilliant Robert Alfred Vaughan, they first opened up the treasures of mediæval and later Mysticism in a book, Hours with the Mystics, which, though published in 1856, entered its sixth edition in 1893.

One of their greatest intellectual gifts to England, the British Quarterly Review, which they published from 1845 to 1886, was fully equal to the Quarterly and the Edinburgh in the learning and the permanent value of its articles, and gave a needed voice to the highest intellects of Nonconformity. They removed one of their great schools, Spring Hill, Birmingham, to Oxford in 1886, and formally opened it in its new buildings in 1889—to be henceforth called Mansfield College, from a family in Birmingham whose beneficence rendered the college possible.[1] There one of the greatest religious thinkers and leaders of the times, Dr. A. M. Fairbairn, teaches apologetics and the philosophy of religion, and stands as a strong fortress for a positive and orthodox, yet large and liberal, Christianity. In 1898 he visited India as lecturer on Christianity, and in 1899 he published one of the most valuable discussions of the age, Catholicism, Roman and Anglican. The influence of Robert W. Dale, scholar, statesman, and theologian, on the life of his time exceeded, perhaps, that of any other minister in England in the

FAIRBAIRN AND DALE.

[1] In commenting on this removal the Andover Review said: "The occasion is one of no ordinary significance and interest. It emphasizes and illuminates the legislation which has opened the universities to dissenters. [The Universities of Oxford and Cambridge were not opened to non-Anglicans until 1871, when amid violent opposition from many Churchmen Parliament passed the Act for the Abolition of University Tests. The House of Lords, filled with Anglican bishops and laymen, had twice defeated a similar measure in 1869 and 1870, but finally were compelled to allow this one to pass.] It marks especially the Puritan return to Oxford. Nothing was so dear to the Puritan as his religion, and no science in his esteem so sacred and ennobling as divinity. In no true and worthy sense, therefore, could it be said that he had gone back to Oxford if he were not there authorized and free to teach theology. In its eminent principal Mansfield College has a head and Congregationalism a representative worthy to follow Owen, Goodwin, and John Howe, and his reception at Oxford, as we read the signs, has been most encouraging."—Editorial, the Opening of Mansfield College and the Puritan Return to Oxford, Oct., 1889, pp. 419, 420. Mansfield College is not recognized in any way by Oxford University. It has no official connection with it.

last half of the nineteenth century, and no one can understand the currents that affected Nonconformity without reading his invaluable Life published by his son in 1898. In all the beneficent reforms accomplished by Gladstone the Nonconformists stood by him shoulder to shoulder, and in their center were the Congregationalists. The only danger for this noble body of Christians is that in their responsiveness to all that is best in modern thought they may also take in much that is destructive. The inroads of Universalism and aspects of Unitarianism give us fear, and ought to give them pause.[1]

THE BAPTISTS — WILLIAM CAREY.

The English Baptists have also had an honorable history. Perhaps their greatest name is William Carey, who eked out a scanty living as pastor by making shoes, and at the bench learned Latin, Greek, natural history, and botany, all of which he turned to good use later in life. He became thoroughly interested in missions—an interest that was not cooled by Dr. Ryland's famous remark, "Young man, when the Almighty is ready to convert the heathen he can do it without your instrumentality or mine." He read Edwards's Life of David Brainerd and was still more stimulated. Finally, through his exertions and those of Andrew Fuller, the Baptist Missionary Society was formed in the back parlor of a little house at Kettering, on October 2, 1792, and John Thomas, who even anticipated Carey, and himself were sent to India.[2] "We saw plainly," said Fuller, "that there was a gold mine in India, but it was as deep as the center of the earth. Who will venture to explore it?" "I will go down," said Carey, "but remember that you must hold the ropes." "We solemnly engaged him to do so, nor while we live

[1] Moral Evolution (1897) by Professor Harris, of Andover, now President of Amherst College, was hailed by Unitarian reviewers as a book after their own heart and as giving up the divinity of Christ, an interpretation, however, which Professor Harris disowned. In Dec., 1899, Professor Gilbert, of Chicago Theological Seminary, was brought before the directors to be examined concerning his alleged denying of the preexistence and divinity of Christ in his book, The Revelation of Jesus, 1899. One of the organs of the English Congregationalists, and perhaps the most interesting and quickening religious weekly in England, The Christian World, seems to hover between Unitarianism and orthodoxy, hardly daring the ventures of the one nor willing to bear the reproach of the other.

[2] The Baptist Missionary Society was the first of the societies that were the outcome of the evangelical movement of the eighteenth century. John Thomas, who was really the precursor of Carey, was a consecrated and able man, and has been described in a brief but excellent biography by Arthur C. Chute, Halifax, N. S. (Halifax, 1893).

shall we desert him." But Carey, with a faith and a heroism like Paul and William Taylor, only stipulated for payment of his expenses out. The receipts of the society were to be used for sending and supporting more missionaries. He sailed on June 13, 1793. Getting employment in an indigo factory, in five years he "perfected his knowledge of the Bengalee language, wrote a grammar of it, translated the New Testament into it, learned Sanskrit, mastered the botany of the region, corresponded with the German missionaries, Schwartz and Guericke, in the far south, set up a printing press (which the natives took to be an idol), and planned new missions—all at his own cost." In December, 1800, Carey baptized the first Hindu convert, Krishnu Pal, a Brahman, who became a preacher, and from his own funds built the first church in Bengal. It is the glory of Carey that he and his friends translated the Bible or parts of it into twenty-four Indian tongues, and rendered that book accessible to three hundred million people. Besides, his contributions to science in his papers on the flora and the fauna of India for the Asiatic Society were a prophecy of the vast debt which learning was to acknowledge to the work of Protestant missionaries.

Andrew Fuller (d. 1815), the Kettering pastor and helper of Carey, modified the severe Calvinism of the Particular Baptists and brought in a new era for them. At the same time he helped to break the spell of Socinianism over the Baptist and other Dissenting Churches.[1] One of the greatest extemporaneous preachers of all history was Robert Hall, whose ministry extended from about 1785 to 1831, at Bristol, Cambridge, Leicester, and again at Bristol. Perhaps it is unfair to call one an extemporaneous preacher who elaborated in thought the very words of his sermons, and whose perorations were the most closely studied parts of his discourse. He had very little action. His eloquence was the eloquence of thought—clear, cogent, and convincing, expressed in affluent language by one who was so absorbed in his message that he never thought of how he was saying it. In theology he was the disciple of Fuller, though he parted from him in advocating open communion, his influence over Baptist practice in this respect being wide. He was always in weak health. He would go from the pulpit to his room and roll

ANDREW FULLER, ROBERT HALL, AND JOHN FOSTER.

[1] His anti-ultra-Calvinistic book was his The Gospel Worthy of all Acceptation, 1784, and his anti-Unitarian book was his Calvinistic and Socinian Systems Examined and Compared as to their Moral Tendency, 1793. He replied to assailants of this in his vigorous Socinianism Indefensible, 1797.

on the floor in agony. The spirit with which he bore his sufferings, and the work that he did in spite of them, make him, as the late William M. Taylor well says, one of the heroes of his age. His friend, John Foster, had to give up preaching on account of his throat, but his essays to the Eclectic Review, a noble quarterly which the Baptists with other dissenters sustained from 1805 to 1868, marked him as one of the most interesting, original, and convincing writers of the age. His essay on Decision of Character, 1805, and on The Evils of Popular Ignorance, 1819, in which he advocated a national system of education, helped to engrave those lines of strength, intelligence, and morality which we associate with the English mind.

The preacher in modern times who has had, upon the whole, perhaps the largest and most beneficent influence is Charles H. Spurgeon. The son and grandson of Congregational ministers, he was converted under a sermon by a Primitive Methodist, joined the Baptist Church while teaching at a Baptist school, began to preach at the age of sixteen, became pastor in London at the age of twenty (1854) and remained there until his death, in 1892, preaching to more people for a longer time than any other man in history. The influence of Spurgeon in keeping alive a stanch and even stern evangelical theology, and bringing masses of men to a decision for Christ, was unique. His secret as a preacher was his musical voice, clear and resonant, which filled easily the great Tabernacle, his fluency, the simplicity, directness, and even homeliness of his style, his passionate devotion to the Gospel, and his tremendous spiritual power. He was a very hard worker both in his study and in his parish, and set on foot a multitude of beneficent activities. He became leader of an Institutional Church of the best kind. He had no patience with progressive men in theology, of which the Baptist Church has its full quota, and to emphasize his attachment to what he considered fundamental truth he withdrew from the Baptist Union in October, 1887. Of the more liberal Baptist leaders John Clifford is the foremost—a man of immense intellectual force, like Robert W. Dale, though broader in theology than the latter.[1]

SPURGEON.

[1] It should be mentioned as an interesting fact that during our Revolutionary War the English Baptists, unlike Wesley, who wrote against us, sympathized with the colonies for the reason in part that they felt that their own struggle for civil and religious freedom was involved. See Newman, Hist. of the Baptists in the United States, p. 56; Bapt. Memorial, iv, 133. The Baptists have always maintained a noble and consistent attitude toward common civil and religious

The Friends have gone on in their quiet way filling the world with their beautiful philanthropies. At the end of the seventeenth century it is estimated that there were between eighty thousand and one hundred thousand Friends in England, and this in spite of large emigration stimulated in part by the atrocious penal code which in 1660 had put four thousand five hundred Friends in prison. About five hundred Friends per year emigrated between 1676 and 1700. About 1725 a decline took place in the sect, which lasted until 1860, due perhaps to the following causes: (1) The absorption of the religious energies of the nation by the Methodist revival. (2) The proclamation—even if in modified form—of some of the best of the Quaker doctrines by Wesley. The possible salvation of all men, the Light which lighteth every man, the witness of the Spirit, the present teaching and guiding Christ given to all who ask, the throwing into the background sacrament and rite, and the emphasis on life and truth and goodness, on substance instead of form, on spirit instead of letter—these and other Quaker teachings were reaffirmed by Wesley in proper perspective and with guards to save them from fanaticism. Of course this adoption by Wesley of the best things in Quakerism was not conscious imitation, but unconscious reproduction by obedience to the Scriptures and experience.[1] Even some of the practical results of Methodism were reminders of Quakerism. The plainness of dress on which Wesley insisted after St. Paul (1 Tim. ii, 9) was a Quaker requirement, and although Methodism has certainly not emphasized the need of quietness and meditation in religious service, and therefore has missed a certain richness and depth of soul development of which some Friends have given illustrious examples, yet by its freeing social worship from mechanical formalities and restrictions, and throwing it open to all who are moved by the Spirit to take part—women as well as men—it has proven its kinship to

THE FRIENDS.

rights. In regard to the date of their first immersion Dr. Norman Fox, one of their most eminent scholars, anticipated Whitsitt in calling attention to its comparative lateness (in articles in The Religious Herald, Richmond, Va., in 1875), though he says that it is not absolutely certain that 1641 is the date of the first immersion in England, which may anticipate that date by a year or two.

[1] In his sermon on the Wisdom of God's Counsels (serm. 68, in Works, vi, 328) Wesley gives a harsh judgment of George Fox, and most unjust. "A wonderful saint," he says of Augustine, "as full of pride, passion, bitterness, censoriousness, and as foul-mouthed to all that contradicted him, as George Fox himself." Fox was one of the humblest of men, though with the dignity and loftiness of spirit which conscious sonship with God imparts to the soul.

the Friends in their noble dictum, Let us worship God in the Spirit. (3) All modern religious thought has emphasized the intuitional and spiritual, as all modern social progress has reinforced the altruistic enthusiasm of the Friends, so that many have found in their own folds what the higher spirits of the seventeenth century could only find in the Society of Fox. The narrowness and rigid discipline of the Society worked to its detriment. When the great statesman, as he afterwards became, William Edward Forster, married the oldest daughter of Dr. Arnold, of Rugby, in 1850, he was forthwith expelled from the Society, in which his father had been an honored minister. So every man and woman who married out of the connection met a like fate. What has been called the "peevish stepmotherly severity of the Quaker discipline" has had much to do with the Society's decline. "The effect of this minute scrupulosity—this excessive tithing of mint, anise, and cummin of social life—on men of broad sympathies and masculine culture was irksome in the extreme." "Instead of marveling at the decadence of Quakerism, one might be justified in wondering that it had any germs of vitality left."[1]

LATER QUAKERISM.

Since 1860 there has been a slow but steady growth of the Friends in England. As they have never been propagandists or proselyters, and have never even been revivalists, as Fox and his associates were in a real sense, this growth is all the more significant. To what is it due? And here we are brought face to face with an issue which has caused great searching of heart among the more serious and devoted of the Friends, that is, those attached to the old ideals. Quakerism has to a greater or less degree left its old foundations both as to doctrine and usage, has adopted the methods of other churches, and this secularization of the Society, if we might so call it, has undoubtedly contributed to its popularity, though there is a grave question whether a growth at this cost will not in the long run be a loss to the world.

[1] The Revival of Quakerism, in Edinburgh Rev., July, 1891, p. 207.

CHAPTER VII.

LATER DEVELOPMENTS OF ROMAN CATHOLICISM.

As late as 1778 it was felony in a foreigner and treason in a native to administer the rites of the Roman Catholic Church in England. Not allowed schools at home, if Catholics sent their sons abroad to be educated they were declared incapable to succeed to property, and their estates were forfeited to the next Protestant heir. No Catholic could hold his property against any near Protestant kinsman, and no Catholic could be a lawyer or guardian. These were the laws for both England and Ireland, and with all the liberalism of the eighteenth century they were not touched. Lecky believes—and there is truth in his idea—that the evangelical revival postponed the granting of justice to the Catholics. The intense religious feeling which characterized that movement naturally made its promoters jealous of the advance of those who were regarded as the enemies of religion. In 1778, Sir George Savile introduced a bill which later became a law and exempted Catholics from the harshest disabilities on their taking the oath of allegiance, abjuration of the Pretender, a disavowal of such doctrines as the lawfulness of putting heretics to death, no faith to be kept with heretics, and that princes excommunicated may be deposed or killed, and a denial of the temporal jurisdiction of the pope in England.

DISABILITIES OF ROMAN CATHOLICS.

The Act of Savile aroused the Protestant fanatics, who formed the Protestant Association and elected Lord George Gordon as its president. He headed a vast crowd, swelled by roughs and rabble until it amounted to fifty thousand persons, who marched to the House of Commons to present a petition for the repeal of the Act of 1780. The House, of course, would not receive the petition presented under an aspect of force. The mob then turned, and for five days London was in its power. They burnt Catholic chapels and dwelling houses, Lord Chief Justice Mansfield's house and Newgate prison, and opened other prisons. At length the king called out the troops, who quelled the riot, after killing 210, wounding 248, and arresting 135, of whom 21 were afterward executed.

SLOW MEASURES OF RELIEF.

In 1791, further relief was granted to the Catholics, and then the

matter rested until early in the nineteenth century when one bill after another was introduced and defeated. Finally Catholic remonstrances became so effective, especially as helped by the eloquence of O'Connell, that the Duke of Wellington, though at first opposed to granting the Catholic claims, came to feel that the welfare, if not the safety, of the empire required the concession, and introduced and passed in 1829 the famous Catholic Emancipation Bill, which first admitted Catholics to Parliament and gave other privileges.

JOHN HENRY NEWMAN.

The Oxford movement carried many into the Roman Catholic Church—among them John Henry Newman, whose writings have done more to attract Protestants toward Rome than all other literature. He was made president of the new short-lived Catholic University in Dublin, where he delivered his masterly lectures on the Idea of a University (1853), perhaps his finest book. In 1864 Kingsley accused Catholics, including Newman, of indifference to the virtue of truthfulness, and this caused the latter to write the greatest and most important revelation of religious self-history in the language—the Apologia pro Sua Vita. Newman belonged to the liberal wing of strict Catholics, and once characterized the Jesuits as that "insolent faction," and was therefore bitterly opposed by Manning and Ward. After Leo XIII came to the papal throne he gave Newman the cardinal's hat, 1879, in keeping with his policy to conciliate the moderates in all countries and recommend the Church to the best thought of the age.

THE PAPAL AGGRESSION.

The Anglo-Catholic movement stimulated the Roman authorities to do their best for what they called the reconversion of England. "Money was lavishly devoted to the work; handsome churches were built, with beautiful choral services; priests and Sisters of Mercy were established in London and many other towns; institutions, educational and charitable, were founded to present religion in its beneficent aspect; social influences were brought to bear upon individuals; in short, all that statesmanship, skill, tact, zeal, and devotion could do was brought into play."[1] This culminated in the "Papal Aggression," as the Protestants called the reestablishment of the Catholic hierarchy. In 1850 the pope parceled England out into dioceses, made Nicholas Wiseman cardinal and archbishop of Westminster, and Ullathorne bishop of Birmingham. All England was in a state of excitement; a veritable panic seized the public. Addresses poured in from every quarter of the country praying the queen

[1] E. L. Cutts, Book of the Church of England, Lond., 1897, p. 98.

and government to stop the papal aggression. But nothing came of it except the Ecclesiastical Titles Act of 1851 forbidding the assumption of territorial titles by Roman prelates, an act that was a dead letter as soon as passed, though it remained on the statute books until 1871.

The adoption of the dogma of papal infallibility in 1870 made a profound impression in England. Manning, who succeeded Wiseman as archbishop in 1865, advocated the measure with intense zeal, and his able persevering support had no small part in carrying it through the council. English and Irish Catholic theologians had repeatedly declared that it was no Catholic doctrine and had used that fact to the authorities to gain toleration. And now its solemn definition as an ancient and permanent part of the Church's faith seemed to give the lie to the old disclaimers. Others thought of its bearing on civil allegiance, and wondered what would be the attitude of a good Catholic in the event of the pope announcing a decision which would precipitate a conflict between the duty to his country and his duty to the pope. Gladstone powerfully presented this dilemma in his pamphlet, The Vatican Decrees in their bearing on Civil Allegiance, November, 1874, and followed it by two others, Vaticanism, an Answer, February, 1875, and Speeches of Pope Pius IX.[1] The new dogma has not had as much practical influence, however, as the Vatican principle that the pope has direct ordinary and extraordinary power in every diocese and parish in Christendom, thus destroying the ancient Catholic idea of Church government through the episcopate.

THE DOGMA OF PAPAL INFALLIBILITY.

The latest sensation in the development of this Church fruitful in surprises was the publication of the life of Cardinal Manning by Edmund S. Purcell in 1896. Its revelation of the wire-pulling and counter ambitions at work at Rome came as a shock, and Manning's fierce opposition to any advancement for Newman was not a pleasant commentary on the apostolic injunction, "in honor preferring one another." But through it all, Manning was undoubtedly conscientious and sincere, believing with all his heart that Newman's promotion would be fraught with danger to Catholicism in England. In his later days Manning threw himself into social reform movements, and his great work for the poor, for temperance and for labor in the Dock Strike of 1889, reveals the greatest ecclesiastic in English Catholicism since the suppression of the hierarchy by Elizabeth.

LIFE OF MANNING.

[1] The last was published in the Quarterly Review, Jan., 1875.

CHAPTER VIII.

A CENTURY OF REFORM AND MISSIONS.

THE evangelical revival gave a tremendous impetus to movements for the help and salvation of man. More was done in the nineteenth century for human succor than in all the previous centuries combined. For the first time in history the crowning grace of Christianity, love, comes to the front. The watchword of the early Church was hope, that of the Reformation Church was faith, but the modern Church has restored love to the world. It is only in this century that any large, serious and determined effort has been made to rid the world of the fearful evils which have rested like a mountain incubus on the race.

LOVE AT THE FRONT.

The first effort of this kind was the abolition of slavery. Pagan (white) slavery was not abolished by the Church or Christian princes, nor even definitely opposed by them, but was gradually ameliorated and transformed into serfdom or villanage in the feudal system, and that into more or less enforced pauperism by land and other laws, competition, and other features of modern civilization. Negro slavery followed the discovery of America, when it was found that the Indians were not strong enough to labor for the European's lust for gold. The blacks were then imported from Africa. Christian men came to defend this on the ground that the natives were saved from a worse fate, as their being left in Africa subjected them to capture, slavery, or death, from the constant internecine wars of the country. The best people of the eighteenth century seemed to argue in this way, for the Quakers were the only body which petitioned Parliament on the subject. Wesley, indeed, with his customary sensitiveness in feeling the grip of an ethical principle, and frankness in stating that principle, says boldly, "I absolutely deny all slaveholding to be consistent with any degree of natural justice."[1] But he and his followers made no concerted effort as a society to influence legislation. In 1787 a society for the suppression of the slave trade was formed in London, of which Thomas Clarkson, Granville Sharp, and Zachary Macaulay were the chief movers, and William Wilberforce the chief spokesman in Parliament. Christian feeling was slowly

ABOLITION OF SLAVERY.

[1] Thoughts upon Slavery, 1774, in Works, xi, 70.

moving against the evil, perhaps stimulated or shamed by the infidel French Convention of February 4, 1794, which at a stroke abolished all slavery in the French colonies, and admitted all slaves to the rights of French citizens. Before that, however, in 1791, Wilberforce had introduced a bill prohibiting the further importation of slaves, which was lost, though in 1792, through the help of Pitt, he carried a motion to abolish the slave trade gradually. Various other legislative acts were directed against the traffic, which was declared piracy in 1824; but it was not until 1833 that a law prohibiting slavery itself in all the British possessions was passed, the slave owners receiving an indemnification of £20,000,000. "Thank God," cried Wilberforce, "that I should have lived to witness the day in which England is willing to give twenty millions sterling for the abolition of slavery!" When the dawn came to the negroes it was celebrated not by dissipation, but by religious worship. It was suggested that a Scripture gift be made to commemorate the day of deliverance. Over sixteen thousand pounds sterling were raised for this purpose, and the British and Foreign Bible Society attended to the work.[1]

It is an humiliating fact that the Reformation not only did not ameliorate the condition of the Jews, but, at least for some time, made their lot harder. It was the rationalistic uprising of the middle of the eighteenth century that brought men's minds to a more tolerant attitude toward the ancient people. Cromwell was favorable to their admission to legal recognition, but he was far in advance of his time. It was not until 1723 that they could become British subjects, and a naturalization law passed in 1753 had to be revoked on account of public clamor. In the nineteenth century, though slowly, one privilege after another has been extended to them. Not until 1832 could they exercise any retail trade. In 1833 they could act as lawyers, and in 1845 they could hold office in municipalities. In 1847 Baron Lionel Rothschild was elected a member of Parliament for London. And now ensued one of the most interesting and dramatic contests in the history of English government—a contest which lasted eleven years, and which was ended in 1858 by the opening of Parliament to the most persistent and moral race in history. From that stock sprang the great prime minister Disraeli, the favorite of the queen, who glorified his race in his speeches and in his books. Two of his sentences are worth the quoting: "Forty years ago"—

TREATMENT OF THE JEWS.

[1] Stoughton, Hist. of Religion in England: the Church in the Nineteenth Century, viii, 7.

he was writing in 1851—"not a longer period than the children of Israel were wandering in the desert, the two most dishonored races in Europe were the Attic and the Hebrew, and they were the two races that had done the most for mankind."[1] "A Jew is never seen upon the scaffold, unless it be at an *auto-da-fé*."

One of the noblest reforms of the century was that advocated with indomitable perseverance, self-sacrifice, and even heroism, by Samuel Plimsoll. His greatest work was done between 1855 and 1876, but he devoted his life to the cause of the sailors, being engaged in some form of this activity until his death in 1898. The laws governing shipowners and seamen were abominable. Hundreds, if not thousands, of sailors were sent to sea in rotten vessels, heavily insured, which would inevitably sink in the first severe storm. Plimsoll accumulated overwhelming proof of this fearful and aged iniquity, and pressed for reform out of parliament and in, until in 1876 he had the satisfaction of seeing a law passed which abolished all the more glaring abuses of the merchant shipping service.[2]

PLIMSOLL'S SHIPPING REFORM.

Both Ireland (1829) and Scotland (1829) anticipated England (1830) in the formation of temperance societies, though America preceded all three. The eighteenth century was not, however, without witnesses to total abstinence, including the illustrious names of Dr. Samuel Johnson, John Howard, and John Wesley, while eminent physicians like Dr. Beddoes, of Bristol, Dr. Trotter, and Dr. Erasmus Darwin, were of the same side. Wesley especially used his powerful influence for temperance, denouncing liquor sellers as in effect murderers, using language such as we now hear only from the most advanced reformers, and organized his societies under a total-abstinence rule —a rule that the Wesleyan Methodist Church of Great Britain has long since disowned as binding on either her ministers or members. In fact, it must be confessed, that the temperance cause in the British Islands has encountered great barriers to its progress. The love of drink seems ingrained in the race, and that and economical and political reasons render abortive efforts to pass prohibitory laws. Many consecrated reformers have done beneficent work in the old country in inducing thousands to take the pledge, establishing temperance societies, circulating literature,

TEMPERANCE.

[1] Life of Lord George Bentinck, Lond., 1851. See a full account of the contest occasioned by the election of Jews to Parliament in McCarthy, Hist. of our Own Times, ch. 38.

[2] McCarthy, *Ibid.*, ii, 495 ff.; art. Plimsoll, in Chambers's Encyc., new ed.

holding conventions, and thus educating public sentiment. The Churches have temperance societies of their own which do good work. Bands of Hope were organized in 1847 for work among the young, and the United Kingdom Alliance was founded in 1853 for legislative work. Since 1880 local option resolutions have been passed in Parliament.

In 1756 a man of fortune bent on sight-seeing went to visit Lisbon, which had just been destroyed by an earthquake. He was captured by a French privateer and thrown into prison at Brest. This experience of prison life left an ineffaceable impression on his mind, and when this man, John Howard, was made sheriff of Bedford in 1773 he was resolved to make efforts to abate the horrors of prisons. The prisons were dilapidated, filthy, unhealthy; jail fever was often the price of confinement in them; respectable men who could not pay their debts were thrown in to herd with scoundrels and felons; young and old were placed together; no separate apartments were provided for women; and liquors were sold to the prisoners. To alleviate these and other evils, Howard visited the prisons of his own country and those of Europe, and, after publishing the result of his researches and securing some of the reforms he desired, he turned his attention to the plague, which he studied in the lazarettos of Europe with the zeal both of a scientist and philanthropist. It was while pursuing this "circumnavigation of charity," as Burke called it, that he caught the typhus fever and died in Kherson, in Southern Russia, January 20, 1790. The next important stage in prison reform was the abolition of the hulks and of the transportation system, the account of which would form in itself a most interesting chapter in the history of practical Christianity. This reform has gone on steadily, it being the aim by work, by supervision, and by religious and educational ministries, to transform criminals into law-abiding men.

HOWARD AND PRISON REFORM.

What Howard did for prisons Elizabeth Fry (d. 1845) did for women in prisons. This refined and cultured daughter of the Quaker banker, Gurney of Earlham Hall, near Norwich, spent her life in bettering the condition of women prisoners, and by her sympathy, tact, intelligence, and Christian enthusiasm did a wonderful work for England, the fruits of which will remain for all time. She also visited the Continent on her mission of reform, and many of her recommendations were adopted there.

ELIZABETH FRY.

No more Christian reform has the nineteenth century witnessed

than that begun by Sir Samuel Romilly (d. 1818) to cancel the barbarities of the penal code. In 1800 there were two hundred and twenty-three offenses that were punished with death. Romilly set himself to work to bring some sense of discrimination and justice in the criminal code. Unfortunately he found that the House of Lords was a wall against alleviating and reforming measures. That House has yielded to such measures only when it has been morally compelled. The Anglican bishops have always been, perhaps, the most conservative force there. Against them is the dark record of having opposed the establishment of public elementary schools, the abolition of capital punishment for petty offenses, the admission of Nonconformists to the universities, the removal of disabilities of Catholics, Jews, and Nonconformists, the Burials Bill, the Reform Bill, the Disestablishment of the Irish Episcopal Church and of the Welsh Episcopal Church.[1] Although Romilly did not see the fruits of his noble activities, Sir James Mackintosh carried on his work until in 1837 the number of capital offenses had been reduced to seven. Since 1861 only four crimes in England are punishable with death: setting fire to dockyards and arsenals, piracy, treason, and murder.

REFORM OF PENAL LAWS.

The beneficent work of the nineteenth century has been a surpassing manifestation of the power of the Christian spirit. It is impossible to record all its results. It has transformed education, its methods and its discipline, hospitals, both military and civil, treatment of prisoners of war and noncombatants, and treatment of the wounded in battle. With the Red Cross sisters walks the Prince of Peace over fields of carnage, waiting long until reason and love shall take the place of force and slaughter. An earnest of that time has come in the adoption of the principle of arbitration, which since 1816 has already settled about ninety disputes which formerly would have issued in the usual killing of men.[2] The latest triumph was the Great Britain-

PEACE MEASURES.

[1] See The Christian World, Lond., Nov. 23, 1899, p. 4.

[2] "Since the opening of the century there has been an average of more than one important difficulty every year—actually more than a hundred important cases decided by this method rather than by an appeal to arms. Most of the important nations of the world have been parties in one or more of these cases, even those which we are accustomed to consider civilized. The United States has led in this movement, having been a party to about fifty of these cases. In about thirty Great Britain has been a party. The United States has had arbitration with seventeen different nations, and Great Britain with twelve. One of the interesting things is that both the United States and Great Britain

Venezuela question, settled in 1899. The Peace Conference at The Hague in the same year marked a distinct advance in civilization, even if its results were too meager to be satisfactory to the friends of progress.

The social and industrial world yet awaits the reconciling hand of the Lord. But vast progress has been made even there. For that progress in England we have to thank Lord Shaftesbury more than any other man, who from the time that he entered Parliament in 1830 until his death in 1885 labored with single eye and quenchless heart to better the condition of lunatics, of the poor, and of the laboring classes. His one life covers a period in the beginning of which the conditions of the laboring classes were almost too horrible for belief and in the end of which those conditions were measurably decent and safe and just. Shaftesbury was a profoundly religious man. As his excellent biographer, Edwin Hodder, says, "He was a man with a single aim; his labors in the field of politics sprang from his philanthropy; his philanthropy sprang from his deep and earnest religious convictions; and every labor, political, benevolent, and religious, was begun, continued, and ended in one and the same spirit."[1] To unite capital and labor in brotherhood, and to Christianize commerce, business, and politics, is the task of the twentieth century.

LORD SHAFTESBURY.

Reference has already been made to the various missionary enterprises of the British Churches. All the Churches have entered heartily into the work until at this time there are about eighteen missionary societies working in foreign

CHRISTIAN MISSIONS.

have arbitrated not only with great powers, but also with weak powers. Nine of the cases which we have settled by arbitration and six of those in which Great Britain has been a party have been with weak powers." Arbitration clauses have also been introduced into treaties. "Within the last few years the number of cases of arbitration has accumulated, until now not a year passes in which there are not from six to fifteen cases actually in process of settlement. Yet all this goes on so quietly that most people know nothing about the greater part of them. One little war makes more fuss than five hundred cases of arbitration, and costs more than all of them. But the arbitration cases go steadily and quietly on, doing their work and building up a greater respect for law, a greater considerateness and patience between nations."—Greatness and Permanence of the Arbitration Cause, by Benj. F. Trueblood, LL.D., of Boston, Sec. of American Peace Soc., in Proceedings of 4th Annual Meeting of the Lake Mohonk Conf. on International Arbitration, 1898, pp. 9, 10.

[1] Life and Work of the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury, K.G., Lond., new ed., 1892, pref., p. vi.

lands, with about 1,839 ordained foreign missionaries, 29,227 native helpers, and 375,475 communicants. The contributions of the British Churches to Foreign Missions in 1898 were about $6,957,690.[1] A German writer, quoted by Professor George P. Fisher, gives a graphic picture of the geographical extension of Christianity in the nineteenth century: "At the beginning of this century, the island world of the Pacific was shut against the Gospel; but England and America have attacked those lands so vigorously in all directions, especially through native workers, that whole groups of islands, even the whole Malayan Polynesia, are today almost entirely Christianized, and in Melanesia and Micronesia the mission field is extended every year. The gates of British East India have been thrown open wider and wider during this century, at first for English, then for all missionaries. This great kingdom, from Cape Comorin to the Punjab and up to the Himalayas, where the Gospel is knocking on the door of Thibet, has been covered with hundreds of mission stations, closer than the mission net which at the close of the first century surrounded the Roman empire; the largest and some of the smaller islands of the Indian Archipelago, Sumatra, Java, Borneo, Celebes, and now New Guinea also, are occupied, partly on the coast and partly in the interior. Burma and, in part, Siam are open to the Gospel; and China, the most powerful and most populous of heathen lands, forced continually to open her doors wider, has been traversed by individual pioneers of the Gospel, to Thibet and Burma, and half of her provinces occupied from Hongkong and Canton to Peking; and in Manchuria, if by only a thin chain, yet at many of the principal points stations have been founded, while the population overflowing into Australia and America is being labored with by Protestant missionaries. Japan also, hungry for reform, by granting entrance to the Gospel has been quickly occupied by American and English missionary societies, and already, after so little labor, has scores of evangelical congregations. Indeed, the aboriginal Australians have, in some places, been reached. In the lands of Islam, from the Balkans to Bagdad, from Egypt to Persia, there have been common central evangelization stations established in the chief places for Christians and Mohammedans, by means of theological and Christian medical missions, conducted especially by Americans. Also in the primitive seat of Christianity—Palestine—from Bethlehem to Tripoli, and to the northern boundaries of Lebanon, the land is

GEOGRAPHY OF MISSIONS —ASIA.

[1] See Missionary Review, N. Y., Feb., 1899, p. 150.

SOUTH AMERICA
IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY
SPANISH POSSESSIONS
PORTUGUESE
DUTCH
FRENCH
THE DATES INDICATE THE FOUNDING OR CONQUEST OF THE PRINCIPAL CITIES.
VICE-ROYALTY OF NEW GRANADA
CAPTAIN GENERALCY OF CARACAS
GUIANA
BRAZIL
VICE-ROYALTY OF PERU
VICEROYALTY OF BUENOS AYRES
Matto Grosso
Para
Maranhão
Ceara
Bahia
Amazon
Cartagena (1532)
Caracas (1567)
Trinidad (Brit.1797)
New Zealand (1567)
Cayenne
Quito (1531)
Lima (1535)
Cuzco
Arequipa (1540)
La Paz (1548)
Potosi
Chuquisaca
Tucuman
Paraguay
Buenos Ayres (1535)
Montevideo (1724)
Rio Grande
Rio de Janeiro
São Paulo
Goyaz
Cuyaba
Porto Seguro
Espirito Santo
Pernambuco
Chile
Araucanians
Patagonia
Falkland Islands (Brit.1771)
Terra del Fuego
Treaty of 1778
Treaty of 1750
80
70
60
50
40
10
0
10
20
30
40
50
100
90
80
70
60
50

80
70
60
50
40
10
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20
30
40
50
100
90
80
70
60
50
VENEZUELA
(1829)
COLOMBIA
(1819)
ECUADOR
(1830)
PERU
(1821)
BOLIVIA
(1825)
BRAZIL
(1822)
PARAGUAY
(1811)
URUGUAY
(1828)
ARGENTINA
(1816)
CHILE
(1818)
GUIANA
BRITISH
DUTCH
FRENCH
Trinidad (Br.)
Port of Spain
Puerto Cabello
Caracas
Valencia
Cumana
Barcelona
Barquisimeto
Guayaquil
Cartagena
Santa Marta
Maracaybo
Truxillo
Merida
Pampas
Bogota
Tunja
Socorro
Pasto
Quito
Cuenca
Loja
Tumbez
Guayaquil
Callao
Lima
Cuzco
Pisco
Arequipa
Mollendo
Arica
Iquique
Tacna
La Paz
Puno
Oruro
Potosi
Sucre
Cochabamba
Santa Cruz
Tarija
Jujuy
Salta
Tucuman
Rioja
Catamarca
Santiago del Estero
Corrientes
Asuncion
Concepcion
Villa Rica
Caaguazu
Paraguari
Curuguaty
Santa Fe
Parana
Cordova
Rosario
Buenos Ayres
Montevideo
La Plata
Maldonado
Colonia
Rio Grande
Pelotas
Porto Alegre
Rio Grande do Sul
Santa Catharina
Desterro
Paranagua
Curitiba
Sorocaba
Santos
São Paulo
Rio Janeiro
Victoria
Espirito Santo
Minas Geraes
Minas Novas
Porto Seguro
Bahia
S. Christovão
Olinda
Pernambuco
Parahyba
Rio Grande do Norte
Natal
Ceara
Parnahyba
S. Luiz do Maranhão
Para
Santarem
Barra do Rio Negro
Manaos
Barra do Rio Negro
Mayapures
Caycune
Caramaribo
Georgetown
Barbadoes
Orinoco
Amazon
Madeira
Tapajos
Xingu
Tocantins
Araguay
Maranhão
Piauhy
Rio Grande
Francisco
Sabrina
Gayaz
Mato Grosso
Falkland Is. (Br)
Terra del Fuego
Sta Cruz
Chiloe
Valdivia
Concepcion
Valparaiso
Coquimbo
La Serena
Copaipo
Caldera
Taltal
Iquique
Arica
Tacna
Arequipa
Pisco
Callao
Paita
Payta
Guayaquil
Tumbez
Quito
Cuenca
Loja
Caxamarca
Ayabaca
Callerit
Pasto
Popayan
Tunja
Bogota
Ibague
Neyva
Bucaramanga
Merida
Maracaybo
Coro
Puerto Cabello
Caracas
Valencia
Cumana
Barcelona
Barquisimeto
Trinidad (Br.)
Port of Spain
Georgetown
Caramaribo
Cayenne
Mayapures
Barra do Rio Negro
Manaos
Santarem
Para
S. Luiz do Maranhão
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Minas Geraes
São Paulo
Santos
Paranagua
Curitiba
Sorocaba
Santa Catharina
Desterro
Rio Grande do Sul
Porto Alegre
Pelotas
Rio Grande
Montevideo
La Plata
Maldonado
Colonia
Buenos Ayres
Rosario
Santiago
Cordova
Santa Fe
Parana
Corrientes
Asuncion
Villa Rica
Caaguazu
Paraguari
Curuguaty
Concepcion
Valparaiso
Coquimbo
La Serena
Copaipo
Caldera
Taltal
Iquique
Arica
Tacna
Arequipa
Pisco
Callao
Lima
Cuzco
Puno
Oruro
Potosi
Sucre
La Paz
Cochabamba
Santa Cruz
Tarija
Jujuy
Salta
Tucuman
Rioja
Catamarca
Santiago del Estero
Corrientes
Asuncion
Cuyaba
Mato Grosso
Gayaz
Sabrina
Minas Novas
Minas Geraes
São Paulo
Rio Janeiro
Victoria
Espirito Santo
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S. Christovão
Olinda
Pernambuco
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Rio Grande do Norte
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Ceara
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Para
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Trinidad (Br.)
Port of Spain
Puerto Cabello
Caracas
Valencia
Cumana
Barcelona
Barquisimeto
Maracaybo
Merida
Coro
Bucaramanga
Ibague
Neyva
Popayan
Pasto
Quito
Cuenca
Loja
Tumbez
Guayaquil
Callao
Lima
Cuzco
Puno
Oruro
Potosi
Sucre
La Paz
Cochabamba
Santa Cruz
Tarija
Jujuy
Salta
Tucuman
Rioja
Catamarca
Santiago del Estero

covered by a network of Protestant schools, with here and there an evangelical church.

"Africa, west, south, and east, has been vigorously attacked; in the west, from Senegal to Gaboon, yes, lately even to the Congo, by Great Britain, Basel, Bremen, and America, which have stations all along the coast. South Africa, at the extremity, was evangelized by German, Dutch, English, Scotch, French, and Scandinavian societies. Upon both sides, as in the center, Protestant missions, although at times checked by war, are continually pressing to the north; to the left, beyond the Walfisch Bay; to the right, into Zululand, up to Delagoa Bay; in the center to the Bechuana and Basuto lands. In the east, the sun of the Gospel, after a long storm, has burst forth over Madagascar in such brightness that it can never again disappear. Along the coast from Zanzibar and the Nile, even to Abyssinia, outstations have been established, and powerful assaults made by the Scotch, English, and recently also by the American mission and civilization, into the very heart of the Dark Continent, even to the great central and east African lakes. AFRICA.

"In America, the immense plains of the Hudson's Bay Territory, from Canada over the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean, have not only been visited by missionaries, but have been opened far and wide to the Gospel through rapidly growing Indian missions. In the United States hundreds of thousands of freedmen have been gathered into evangelical congregations; and of the remnants of the numerous Indian tribes, some at least have been converted through the work of evangelization by various churches, and have awakened new hope for the future. In Central America and the West Indies, as far as the country is under Protestant home nations, the net of evangelical missions has been thrown from island to island, even to the mainland in Honduras, upon the Mosquito Coast; and in British and Dutch Guiana it has taken even firmer hold. Finally, the lands on and before the southern extremity of the continent, the Falkland Islands, Terra del Fuego, and Patagonia, received the first light through the South American Missionary Society (in London); and recently its messengers have pushed into the heart of the land, and are rapidly pressing on to the banks of the great Amazon, to the Indians of Brazil."[1] AMERICA.

[1] Universal Hist., 1 vol. ed., pp. 635, 636.

CHAPTER IX.

THE SCOTTISH AND IRISH CHURCHES.

THE curse of the modern Scottish Church has been its State connection. This has been the direct or indirect cause of nearly all its schisms and troubles. The Reformation fathers in Scotland believed strongly in the State supporting the Church and putting down heresies, but they believed that the Church should have the right of self-government. When a Church, however, is established by law it necessarily foregoes that right to a degree, and becomes the organ by which the State teaches religion and worships God. Any powers of discipline which it may still possess it receives by consent of the State, which consent may be withdrawn at any time. In its palmy days the Church of Scotland had the happy fortune to be largely free in its internal government and yet under State protection at the same time. The parishes could call their own ministers, as a rule, and the presbyters could exercise their functions as a spiritual court. When the Church was reestablished under William III these spiritual privileges were confirmed. But a change came. The Scottish Parliament was abolished in 1707, and the State was represented by a Parliament largely composed of Anglicans. It would almost appear that these now attempted to do by indirection what they could not do by their long persecutions. In 1712 they passed a law granting full liberty to the Anglican liturgy and dissenting churches in Scotland—a law that was in itself, of course, altogether commendable—and vesting the right of presentation of ministers or of candidates (probationers) to vacant churches in the crown or in patrons. This law wrought untold mischief in Scotland. And yet an established Church could not fairly find fault with it, for if a Church seeks the power and prestige of State support, it cannot object to the paramount authority defining the conditions on which the privileges granted rest.

THE STATE CHURCH IN SCOTLAND.

It was inevitable that a conflict would ensue whenever men who desired to keep the Church independent of the State in its internal arrangements as the Church of Christ were brought face to face with the new conditions. No doubt they were inconsistent in remaining at all in a State Church, but they cannot be blamed for

insisting on spiritual independence. Such men would also likely be loyal to Christ and the old Gospel, whereas those who entered heartily into their privileges as servants of the State would naturally be liberalists in religion. This we actually find. The Church of Scotland of the eighteenth century became impregnated with the spirit of moderation, as it was called, a disposition to relax the bonds of creed, and interpret Christianity rather as an ethical system, though even then an ethical system not so strict as Evangelicalism would demand. Many of the ministerial lights of Scotland were of this school: Robertson, the historian; Campbell, the author of the Philosophy of Rhetoric and a man of fine culture, beautiful spirit and life; and Hugh Blair, the great preacher of the High Church, Edinburgh (1758 ff.), whose church was attended by all the *élite* of the town and whose sermons were praised by George III and circulated by the thousands, but which have about as much doctrinal value and spiritual power as his lectures on rhetoric, which were used as a text-book in some colleges twenty-five years ago. In fact, the Moderates emphasized literature rather than religion. Robert Henry was the historian of Great Britain (6 vols., 1771–93), and was the first to consider the social aspects of the subject. Adam Ferguson was both a philosopher and an historian, and his history of the Roman republic (1783) was translated into French and German, and was commended by Carlyle as well worth reading. Robert Watson wrote a history of Philip II, and Thomas Reid is one of the founders of the Scotch school of philosophy. These were all Presbyterian ministers, and two other philosophers and scholars, Dugald Stewart and Thomas Brown, were the sons of ministers. John Home was pastor of Athelstaneford, near Haddington, when he wrote the most popular English drama of the eighteenth century, Douglas (1754), which was played on the boards in Edinburgh and London with immense applause. An enthusiastic Scotsman who heard the play in London exclaimed to an envious Englishman:

THE MODERATES.

"Whaur's your Wullie Shakespeare noo?"

David Hume, the utilitarian, skeptic, and Tory historian, was not a Presbyterian clergyman, but, so far as the cordial friendship extended to him by clergymen was concerned, he might as well have been. Still it is fair to say that Hume always retained an attitude of friendliness to the Church, and that one of the Moderates, Campbell, wrote an able reply to his Essay on Miracles. The breadth of Moderatism became so accentuated that it was called New Light, as opposed to the old light of the Gospel, and it was

that section which had the sympathies of Burns. However he does not hesitate plainly to characterize the preaching of its ministers as little more than pagan morality.

"Smith opens out his cauld harangues,[1]
In practice and in morals;
An' aff the godly pour in thrangs
To gie the jars and barrels
A lift that day.

"What signifies his barren shine
Of moral powers and reason?
His English style, and gesture fine,
Are a' clean out o' season.
Like Socrates and Antonine,
Or some auld pagan heathen,
The moral man he does define,
But ne'er a word o' faith in
That's right that day."[2]

The sermons of the Presbyterian pastor at Traquair, Nicoll, were after his death published for the promotion of Socinianism. Another pastor, Scott of Carluke, left behind him the nucleus of a Unitarian congregation, though it must be confessed that McGill of Ayr was hauled over the coals for his Arianism, and only escaped punishment by suitable explanations.

The decline of insistence on the essential doctrines of the Gospel will likely be attended by decline in the practice of the Gospel. It was so in the Scotland of the eighteenth century. The poems of Burns are a photograph of certain aspects of the religious life of the time which Presbyterianism cannot but look back upon with shame. They are as realistic as they are terrific in their arraignment of some of his Presbyterian contemporaries, but their biting satire cleared the religious atmosphere like an electric storm. As one of his editors says, "Severe diseases require severe remedies."[3]

DOCTRINE AND MORALS.

The schisms in the Scotch Church were protests against subservience to the State in the matter of patronage and to the world in theology and ethics. The first was that under Ebenezer Erskine, who was rebuked in 1722 by the General Assembly for defending the Marrow of Modern Divinity, by Edward Fisher (1646). This was republished by the

SCHISMS IN THE SCOTCH CHURCH.

[1] Smith was minister at Galston. Burns is describing the special services held preliminary to the sacraments, a kind of one-day camp meeting. One preacher followed another, as the Welsh do in their religious festivals.

[2] The Holy Fair, st. 14, 15.

[3] See The Holy Fair, Holy Willie's Prayer, The Twa Herds, and others.

stanchly evangelical James Hog in 1718, who was deposed in 1734 for protesting against some applications of the law of patronage. On December 6, 1733, Erskine and those who went with him formed themselves into the Associated Presbytery, the first Independent Presbyterian Church in Scotland.[1] By the end of the eighteenth century this Church, which began with four congregations, had multiplied itself fourfold. It, too, had a split in 1749 over the question whether it was lawful for burgesses to take the oath which required them to adhere to the "true religion presently professed within the realm and authorized by the laws there." Those who claimed that it was lawful were called Burghers, properly the Associate Synod; the others were called Anti-burghers, properly the General Associate Synod, and so intense were the convictions of the perfervid Scot that, four years before he died, in 1754, the holy Ebenezer Erskine himself had been formally excommunicated by the Anti-burgher Church—"delivered unto Satan," so the words of the curse ran, "for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus." Not until 1820 did the two sections of the Erskine Church come together, and then under the title of the United Secession Church. It should be said that the great historian McCrie was a member of the Anti-burgher presbytery, but he, with three others, was deposed in 1806 for protesting against a document issued by their Church which they understood as advocating Voluntaryism, or the principle of opposition to all State connection. McCrie held that Presbyterianism ought to be established by law. He and his friends formed the Constitutional Associate Presbytery, which developed into the Synod of Original Seceders, and was led by his son—almost as famous an historian as himself—into the Free Church in 1852.

A patron forced a pastor on Inverkeithing against the will of the people, and six members of the presbytery refused to ordain him. For this, one of the presbyters, Thomas Gillespie, was deposed by the general assembly of 1752. As Gillespie's wish was relief from the evil of patronage he formed what he called the Relief Synod, hoping in time it might be received again into the mother Church. But it became a permanent separation. Besides these independent bodies

GILLESPIE AND THE UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.

[1] That is, the first formed by separation from the parent Church. The Cameronians or Covenanters (Reformed Presbyterians), the radicals of the martyr age, would not accept the King William and Carstares reorganization, and continued all along as a distinct body, though having hardly any organization until 1706, and no Presbytery until 1743.

and offshoots from them, the Covenanters or Cameronians, or Reformed Presbyterians—that is, those who maintained the perpetual validity of the Solemn League and Covenant, and rallied around it as against the Revolution settlement—were in existence, and the abuses of the patronage contributed to their growth as well as to that of their sister churches. In 1847 the United Secession Church and the Relief Church united to form the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland, which remains to this day one of the largest, most aggressive, and most evangelical denominations in Scotland.

THE EVANGELICAL REVIVAL—CHALMERS.

The opening years of the nineteenth century saw a revival of evangelical religion in Scotland. The widespread and profound influence of the brothers Haldane, the preaching of Andrew Thomson in Edinburgh (1810 ff.), Thomas McCrie, who turned the eyes of Scotland on the heroic faith of her Reformation age, the influence of the English Evangelicals, and of Simeon who traveled for a while with Robert Haldane, and the conversion of Thomas Chalmers—these were some of the sources of the deepening spiritual life of Scotland and formed the necessary providential preparation for the new age which came in with the birth of the Free Church of Scotland in 1843. Chalmers was professor of mathematics in St. Andrew's and the pastor of a country church many miles away, but was a Moderate. In 1810 a change came over him like that which the common story attributes to Tauler, or like that which transformed Wesley. A long illness, family bereavement, lines of study, and the reading of Wilberforce's Practical View of Christianity were some of the means which brought him into the higher life. His labors at the Tron and St. John Churches in Glasgow (1810 ff.) were a remarkable illustration of what a consecrated minister can do in the way of social amelioration. The history of his life here is one of the most instructive to ministers in all Church history. When he was sent to St. Andrew's to teach moral philosophy in 1823, and to Edinburgh to teach theology in 1828, he did not cease to be a preacher and evangelist, but only changed his field. His work meant the death of Moderatism as a controlling power in the Scottish Church.

The new life of the Church manifested itself in various ways. One was an increase of interest in missions, home and foreign. When a foreign mission was first broached, in 1796, the suggestion was repudiated with emphasis. But in 1824 the general assembly committed itself to foreign evangelization by sending out the great missionary Duff to India, though private societies in Scotland had already workers in foreign parts. Another token of the new vigor

was a sensitiveness to doctrinal error. Chalmers was a Calvinist, and he and many fellow-laborers restored an orthodox tone. John MacLeod Campbell, of whom Norman MacLeod said, "His character was the most perfect embodiment I have ever seen of the character of Jesus Christ," was deposed from his pastorate at Row in 1831 for teaching an unlimited atonement and Christ's love to all men. His special theory of the atonement had nothing to do with his almost unanimous deposition by the general assembly, as this was not elaborated until many years after. Edward Irving, an assistant of Chalmers at Glasgow, went to London in 1822 as minister of the Caledonian Church, where his wonderful eloquence attracted wide attention. He adopted the theory of the sinfulness of Christ's human nature as a nature—not that Christ ever sinned—and for this he was expelled by the general assembly in 1833. Before this certain members of his congregation had prophesied and spoken with unknown tongues, and Irving became convinced that such phenomena were apostolic and genuine. But these had nothing to do with his expulsion. Out of his ministry grew the Catholic Apostolic Church, which has sought to revive the miraculous gifts and other features, or supposed features, of the early Church.

NEW STRESS ON DOCTRINE.

There was a party, especially among the Anti-burghers or Secession Church, which did not believe in the principle of an established Church, in other words, who professed Voluntaryism. But they were not in the Church of Scotland. Chalmers, Candlish, Buchanan, and all the lights of the Church that was soon to come into being, were stanch believers in an established Church, and Chalmers had even gone so far as to plead in London for the Church of England, when he was there trying in vain to get Parliament to grant money for Church extension in Scotland. Writers of the Church of Scotland bring home this fact with telling effect in their criticisms of the actions of the men of 1843. Of course it might be said that the Free Churchman did not understand that the State connection meant what it was proved to mean. But they were living in an enchanted castle. As soon as the civil courts, with their clear-headed sense of reality, declared the status of the Church of Scotland as by law established, these godly men awoke as out of a dream. "That our Saviour," said the Lord President truly, and his words are true of all State Churches, "is the head of the Kirk of Scotland in any temporal, or legislative, or judicial sense, is a position which I can dignify by no other name than absurdity. The Parliament is the temporal

WEAKENING OF THE STATE CONNECTION.

head of the Church, from whose acts, and from whose acts alone, it exists as the National Church, and from which alone it derives all its powers."

Of course, to any man who understands Christianity and is willing to take the consequences, such a position is intolerable; and it was becoming intolerable in Scotland. It led to that famous procession—perhaps the most famous in history—which went from St. Andrew's Church, Edinburgh, to Canonmills Hall in the same city, on May 18, 1843, where the Free Church of Scotland was organized.[1] One hundred and ninety-three members left the old Assembly, of whom one hundred and twenty-three were ministers and seventy elders. Many of the strong and learned, and most of the evangelical men went out to build up a new Church, where they could worship God without "interference with conscience, the dishonor done to Christ's crown, and the rejection of his sole supreme authority as King in his Church."

THE FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

All the foreign missionaries cast in their lot with the Free Church, as did in sympathy the Presbyterians in England and Ireland, the Irish brethren voting £10,000 for the relief of the Scottish sufferers for conscience' sake. The schism was after all a blessing in disguise. The Church of Scotland recovered with marvelous rapidity from her great loss, and has gone forward with noble enthusiasm in all kinds of Christian work at home and abroad. In 1874 Parliament relieved her of the curse of lay patronage. The Free Church has founded schools, colleges, missions, and other beneficent activities, and has prospered greatly. Both Churches have enriched literature with works of fine scholarship, theological acumen, and spiritual power. The death of Blaikie and of Bruce, in 1899, was an irreparable loss to the world. Both Churches, and especially the Church of Scotland, in the case of many of their bright and scholarly men, "lean too much," not toward Calvinism, but toward Ritschlianism. A rationalistic temper, if not rationalistic principles, menaces the future of the Scottish Church. Not often does a man of such breadth and beauty of soul, freshness of outlook, suggestiveness as a teacher, and earnestness as an evangelist, meet us as the late Henry Drummond. Few Churches deserve a larger place in the twentieth century than the Presbyterian Church of Scotland.

LATER ACTIVITY IN SCOTLAND.

Brighter days dawned upon the Irish Church in the eighteenth century, and have continued to the present day. The work of

[1] A contemporary description by Lord Cockburn is quoted by N. L. Walker, Scottish Church History, pp. 149–151.

THE FEDERATED STATES IN 1783
SHOWING THE ORIGINAL TERRITORIAL CLAIMS OF CERTAIN STATES.
THE UNITED STATES IN
STATES
TERRITORIES
THE UNITED STATES IN
STATES
TERRITORIES
BRITISH POSSESSIONS
SPANISH POSSESSIONS
ATLANTIC OCEAN
GULF OF MEXICO
PACIFIC OCEAN
REPUBLIC OF MEXICO
OREGON COUNTRY
MISSOURI TERRITORY
MICHIGAN TERRITORY
Line of 1818
Line of 1819
Quebec
Montreal
Detroit
Albany
Boston
Philadelphia
Richmond
Raleigh
Charleston
Savannah
St Augustine
New Orleans
Pittsburg
Cincinnati
St Louis
Vincennes
Kaskaskia
Louisville
Frankfort
Nashville
Knoxville
Chicago
Buffalo
Columbus
Washington
Jefferson City
Santa Fe
Galveston
Mobile
Astoria
Columbia
Colorado
Red R.
Rio Grande
Gila
Arkansas R.
Missouri R.
Platte R.
Lake Superior
Lake Michigan
Lake Erie
Lake Ontario
Lake Huron
Mississippi R.
Ohio R.
Potomac R.
Hudson R.
Delaware R.
Connecticut R.
Susquehanna R.
Alleghany Mts.
Blue Ridge Mts.
Cumberland Gap
Natchez
Tombigbee R.
Alabama R.
Tennessee R.
Cumberland R.
Kanawha R.
Wabash R.
Illinois R.
Missouri
Illinois
Indiana
Ohio
Kentucky
Tennessee
Mississippi
Alabama
Georgia
South Carolina
North Carolina
Virginia
Maryland
Delaware
New Jersey
Pennsylvania
New York
Massachusetts
Connecticut
New Hampshire
Vermont
Rhode Island
Maine
Louisiana
Arkansas
Territory of Arkansas
Territory of Florida
Indiana Territory
Illinois Territory
Mississippi Territory
Alabama Territory
Michigan Territory
Missouri Territory
Connecticut Claim
Mass. Claim
Penn. Claim
Va. Claim
N. Carolina Claim
S. Carolina Claim
Georgia Claim
Western Territory
Indian Territory
Spanish Possessions
Mississippi
Florida
Louisiana
Texas
Oregon Country
Joint occupation United States and Great Britain until 1827
110
100
90
80
85
80
75
70
90
85
80
75
70
50
45
40
35
30
25

THE UNITED STATES IN 1805
STATES
TERRITORIES
THE BOUNDARIES OF THE LOUISIANA COUNTRY AT THIS TIME WERE UNDEFINED.
THE UNITED STATES IN 1860
STATES
TERRITORIES
THE SECEDING STATES IN 1861 ARE INDICATED BY THE INTERIOR COLOR.
BRITISH POSSESSIONS
GULF OF MEXICO
ATLANTIC OCEAN
OREGON COUNTRY
LOUISIANA
INDIAN TERRITORY
MICHIGAN TERRITORY
MINNESOTA TERRITORY
NEBRASKA TERRITORY
KANSAS TERRITORY
UTAH TERRITORY
NEW MEXICO TERRITORY
INDIAN TERRITORY
REPUBLIC OF MEXICO
OHIO
KENTUCKY
TENNESSEE
MISSOURI
ARKANSAS
MISSISSIPPI
LOUISIANA
ALABAMA
GEORGIA
SOUTH CAROLINA
NORTH CAROLINA
VIRGINIA
PENNSYLVANIA
NEW YORK
MAINE
VERMONT
NEW HAMPSHIRE
MASS.
CONN.
R. I.
DEL.
MARYLAND
TEXAS
IOWA
WISCONSIN
ILLINOIS
INDIANA
Quebec
Montreal
Ottawa
Toronto
Detroit
Chicago
Boston
New York
Philadelphia
Washington
Richmond
Raleigh
Charleston
Savannah
St. Augustine
Mobile
New Orleans
Nashville
Louisville
Cincinnati
St. Louis
Pittsburg
Albany
Buffalo
Milwaukee
St. Paul
Galena
Dubuque
Green Bay
La Crosse
Fort Snelling
Council Bluffs
Omaha City
Leavenworth
Jefferson City
Springfield
Indianapolis
Columbus
Frankfort
Tallahassee
Atlanta
Montgomery
Austin
Galveston
San Antonio
Santa Fe
Fort Gibson
Little Rock
Jackson
Baton Rouge
Natchez
Vincennes
Kaskaskia
Peoria
Joliet
Platte
Yellow Stone
Missouri
Red River of the North
Red
Arkansas
Rio Grande
Colorado
Gila
Lake Superior
Lake Michigan
Lake Huron
Lake Erie
Lake Ontario
Lake Winnipeg
Lake of the Woods
Lake Pepin
Lake Pontchartrain
Mississippi
Ohio
Missouri
Arkansas
Red
Rio Grande
Platte
Yellow Stone
Colorado
Gila
120
110
100
90
80
70
40
30

Wesley and his helpers—and none were more valuable than some of his Irish assistants like Thomas Walsh and Adam Clarke—brought in new life and hope. The Episcopal Church has measurably retained that life, never developing the High Church ritualism of her sister in England, but remaining evangelical, at least to a degree. In 1869 Gladstone carried through one of his most daring reforms—a reform which reflects great credit on his sense of justice—the Disestablishment of the Irish (Episcopal) Church. The dreary forebodings of the Tories as to the awful consequences of that act, like those of the Scottish patriots over the loss of their Parliament in 1707, have proved ill-founded. Never has the Irish Episcopal Church done better work than since 1869, and the splendid results of her Trinity College in Dublin have enriched the literature and scholarship of the world. Presbyterianism in Ireland was threatened to be overwhelmed with Arianism and Unitarianism, as it was overwhelmed in England. To stem that flood, and save the Irish Presbyterian Church to Christ, God raised up Henry Cooke, one of the greatest men of the modern Church. The fight he waged reads like a romance. He drove Arianism out of the congregations, presbyteries, and colleges, and compelled the Unitarians to form an independent synod, which they did in 1829. Mention should be made of the great revival of 1859 which visited the Presbyterian churches in Ulster, changed the moral tone of large sections of the country, closed for a time the criminal courts, and gave permanent enlargement to all the evangelical Churches in the North.[1] In 1877 the Irish Wesleyan Methodist Church received laymen into her Annual Conference, and in 1878 the Primitive Wesleyan Connection—a body with an entirely different origin from that of the Primitive Methodist Church of England—united with the Wesleyan Methodist body. The Irish Methodists are in numbers a feeble folk, but the Church that produced Clarke, Boardman, Waugh, Henry Moore, Walter Griffith, William Arthur, and John McClintock has thereby greatly blessed and enriched the world.

LATER IRISH CHURCH.

[1] The same physical effects were witnessed in this revival as in other great religious movements. These effects are referred to natural causes by Archdeacon Edward A. Stopford in his instructive but one-sided book, The Work and the Counterwork, Belf., 6th ed., 1859. The best book is William Gibson, The Year of Grace: a History of the Revival in Ireland, A. D. 1859, Bost., 1860, one of the most valuable contributions to the literature of revivals.

LITERATURE: THE AMERICAN CHURCH.

The sources of American Church History are so extensive that a list would fill a volume. They include in fact every book bearing on religion published in this country from the beginning until now, and all the books published in foreign lands which have to do with Christianity in America. Even of modern histories only a brief selection can be given here. See Bibliotheca Americana, 4 vols., N. Y., 1820–61; American Catalogue, 2 vols., 1861–71; American Catalogue, 1876 ff.; Catalogue of Printed Books in the British Museum; the bibliographical information in the Narrative and Critical Hist. of America, in Appleton, Cyc. of Amer. Biog. and in other Cyclopædias; S. M. Jackson's admirable Bibliography of American Church History, 1820–93, N. Y., 1894 (printed in vol. xii of American Church History Series); the bibliographies for each denomination prefixed to the several histories in that series, and the excellent Bibliography of Religious Denominations of the United States, by Geo. F. Bowerman, N. Y., 1896. For general histories of American Christianity we are deficient, having only Robert Baird, Religion in America, N. Y., 1856; J. F. Hurst, Religious Development in Harper's First Century of the Republic, N. Y., 1876; D. Dorchester, Christianity in America, N. Y., 1888, rev. ed. 1895—an indispensable thesaurus of information; and Leonard Woolsey Bacon, History of American Christianity, N. Y., 1897—an interesting and vitalizing narrative by a competent writer of original views, whose opinions, freely expressed in this able work, provoke thought, even if they do not command assent.

I. PLANTING OF THE CHURCH.

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See full account in the pref. to the Commonwealth edition of the history and in Boston Herald, May 27, 1897.) See also L. Bacon, Genesis of the New England Churches, N. Y., 1874; J. A. Faulkner, On the Early Religious Hist. of New England, in Reformed Quar. Rev., Oct., 1893, 510 ff.; John Brown, Pilgrim Fathers and their Puritan Successors, N. Y., 1895, new ed. 1897; J. Gregory, Puritanism in the Old World and in the New, N. Y., 1896 (see The Nation, N. Y., Aug. 6, 1896, 109); Edward Arber, Story of the Pilgrim Fathers as told by Themselves, their Friends, and their Enemies, Lond. and Bost., 1897 (see The Nation, May 13, 1897, 364, 365); E. H. Byington, The Puritan in England and New England, Bost., 1896, rev. ed. 1897. On Rhode Island see Lives of Roger Williams, S. G. Arnold, Hist. of Rhode Island, 2 vols., 1859–60, and F. Greene Bates, Rhode Island and the Formation of the Union, N. Y. and Lond., 1899. On Pennsylvania see Lives of William Penn, Histories of Pennsylvania, and especially Isaac Sharpless, A Quaker Experiment in Government, 2 vols., Phila., 1898–9. See also below p. 882, note.

II. COLONIAL DEVELOPMENT.

For New England see, among others, R. P. Hallowell, The Quaker Invasion of Massachusetts, Bost., 1883: a defense of the Quakers; Brooks Adams, The Emancipation of Massachusetts, Bost., 1887: too violent in its polemic against Puritans, and yet an important book (see C. A. Briggs in Presb. Rev., viii, 551); John Fiske, Beginnings of New England: the Puritan Theocracy in its Relation to Civil and Religious Liberty, Bost., 1889, new ed. 1898: conceived in an impartial and philosophical spirit; Paul E. Lauer, Church and State in New England, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1892; G. L. Walker, Some Aspects of the Religious Life of New England, Bost., 1897 (See Am. Hist. Rev., iii, 374). For Maryland, besides the works of Neill, see W. H. Browne, Maryland (American Commonwealths Series), Bost., 1878, and G. Petrie, Church and State in Early Maryland, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1892. For Virginia see J. E. Cooke, Virginia, Bost., 1883; J. H. Patton, Separation of Church and State in Virginia, in Presb. Rev., Jan., 1883, art. ii; and H. R. McIlwaine, Struggle of Protestant Dissenters for Liberty in Virginia, Baltimore (Johns Hopkins), 1894. For New York see E. B. O'Callagan, Hist. of the New Netherlands, 2 vols., N. Y., 1846, new ed. 1855 (O'Callagan also published all the documents relating to colonial New York he could procure in Holland, England, and France, 10 vols., Albany, 1854); J. R. Brodhead, Hist. of State of N. Y., 2 vols., 1609–64, N. Y., 1853, 1664–91, 1871 (see D. Curry in Meth. Quar. Rev., Oct., 1854, 578 ff.); M. Dix (editor), Hist. of the Parish of Trinity Church, vol. i, to 1783, N. Y., 1898. Great Awakening: Jos. Tracy, The Great Awakening, a hist. of the Great Revival in the Time of Edwards and Whitefield, Bost., 1842 (standard); E. H. Byington, Jonathan Edwards and the Great Awakening, in Bibliotheca Sacra, Jan., 1898, 114 ff.

III. DENOMINATIONAL DEVELOPMENT.

Among the many works dealing with the history of the American Churches during the national period we can refer only to the latest series, namely, those published in New York under the auspices of the American Soc. of Church History, and to the admirable bibliographical lists which precede each history. We arrange in chronological order, with occasional mention of books published

since—General: H. K. Carroll, Religious Forces of the United States, 1893, rev. ed. 1898; L. W. Bacon, see above, under I; Lutherans: H. E. Jacobs, 1893 (see also Lutheran Enc., N. Y., 1899); Baptists: A. H. Newman, 1894 (see H. M. King, Baptism of Roger Williams, Providence, 1897); Congregationalists: Williston Walker, 1894; Unitarians: J. H. Allen; and Universalists: R. Eddy, 1894—in 1 vol.; Methodists, South: Gross Alexander; United Presbyterians: J. B. Scouller; Cumberland Presbyterians: R. V. Foster; the Presbyterians, South: F. C. Johnson—all in 1 vol., 1894; Disciples: B. B. Tyler; Friends: A. C. Thomas; United Brethren: D. Berger; Evangelical Association: S. P. Spreng—all in 1 vol., 1894; Presbyterian: R. E. Thompson, 1895; Roman Catholics: T. O'Gorman, 1895; Reformed Church in the United States: E. T. Corwin; Reformed Church in America: J. H. Dubbs; Moravian Church: J. F. Hamilton—all in 1 vol., 1895; Episcopal: C. C. Tiffany, 1895; Methodists: J. M. Buckley, 1896. See also last (7th) ed. of S. D. McConnell, Hist. of American Episcopal Church, with new chap., N. Y., 1899; John Atkinson, Beginnings of the Wesleyan Movement in America, N. Y., 1896: a work of great importance; D. Berger, Hist. of the Church of United Brethren in Christ, Dayton, O., 1897 (682 pp.). Recent historical controversies among the Baptists have brought out a number of important monographs on their early history in this country and in the old.

IV. MISSIONS.

Besides denominational histories of Missions, see James Johnston, Century of Christian Progress and its Lessons, Lond., 1888; Handbook of Foreign Missions, Lond., 1888; W. F. Stevenson, Dawn of Modern Missions, Edinb. and N. Y., 1888; Edwin Hodder, Conquests of the Cross; Records of Missionary Work, 2 vols., Lond. and N. Y., 1890–91; E. M. Bliss, Encyclop. of Missions, 2 vols., N. Y., 1891; D. L. Leonard, A Hundred Years of Missions, N. Y., 1895; James S. Dennis, Foreign Missions after a Century, N. Y., 1893, and Christian Missions and Social Progress, 3 vols., N. Y., 1898–1900: the most important monograph in the language.

V. REFORMS.

Antislavery: Henry Wilson, Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America, 3 vols., Bost., 1872; Oliver Johnson, Garrison and His Times, Bost., 1879, rev. ed. 1881; G. W. Williams, Hist. of the Negro Race in America, N. Y., 1882; Parker Pillsbury, Acts of the Antislavery Apostles, Concord, 1883. See also the three books on the relation of the Church to slavery, repub. by Pillsbury at Concord, in 1885–88; William Lloyd Garrison, Story of His Life, 4 vols., Bost., 1885; Austin Willey, Hist. of the Antislavery Cause in State and Nation, Portland, Me., 1886 (see Edw. Hawes in Andover Rev., vi, 106–108). Temperance: See above, p. 808. Other reforms: See W. D. P. Bliss, Encyc. of Social Reform, N. Y. and Lond., 1897, with the literature there referred to, and the reports and other literature of the various philanthropic societies. For lists of many of these societies see New York Charities Directory, 1899.

III. THE AMERICAN CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

THE PLANTING OF THE CHURCH.

THE SPANISH CONQUEST.

THE genuineness of the religious motive as one of the causes leading to the Spanish discoveries and colonization in America cannot be doubted. Columbus was not a religious enthusiast, but that he was upheld by a firm faith in God and actuated with a desire to glorify him and his Church rests on indisputable evidence. The same is true of the Spanish conquests. Of course the lust of gold and other ignoble motives bore on Leon, De Soto, Balboa, Pizarro, and other conquerors and explorers, and they carried through their work with infinite wickedness, but that rather accompanied than destroyed the other motive—to win new trophies for the Church. "The conversion of the Indians," wrote the Spanish king to his representatives in America, "is the principal foundation of the conquest—that which ought principally to be attended to." Although individual conquerors might at times be remiss in this duty, on the whole it was performed, generally by Franciscan friars, with zeal and heroism. Over large regions now within the United States, including Florida (1512 ff.), New Mexico (1598 ff.), and California (1769 ff.), the Spanish flag and Church were firmly planted. Thousands of Indians were baptized, though in some cases not until after wars, defeats, massacres, and martyrdoms.

SLIGHT RESULTS OF SPANISH MISSIONS.

Spain's method was to offer life to the natives if they received her king and religion, and, if they refused, to make war against them and bring them into slavery.[1] Spain established many mission stations and conversion was accomplished by baptism and instruction. With the collapse of Spanish rule the missionary structure fell. It passed away like a tale that is told. A Catholic scholar says that to-day we can "find nothing of it that remains. Names of saints in melodious Spanish

[1] See Helps, Spanish Conquest of America, i, 235, 355, and Bacon, Hist. of American Christianity, p. 8. There were protests against the Spanish cruelties from among themselves. Especially does Las Casas stand out in this history for his splendid efforts for the Indians. See an able article on him by Starbuck in the New World, v, 305 ff.

stand out from maps in all that section where the Spanish monk trod, toiled, and died. A few thousand Christian Indians, descendants of those they converted and civilized, still survive in New Mexico and Arizona, and that is all."[1] What accounts for this disappearance? It is God's judgment on the fearful cruelty with which Spain carried on her work. The passing away of a Church and civilization founded on slaughter, slavery, and massacre, would be a just retribution. Again, the natives who were not killed in battle melted away in slavery. In some cases the population absolutely perished. The Church, moreover, was associated in the minds of the natives with the cruelties of the conquest and when a reaction came or when the strong arm of the sword was removed, the natives would sometimes arise, massacre the missionaries, and revert to their old religion. The missions were supported by foreign subsidies, which prevented a strong native growth. The wholesale and external methods of conversion adopted by Catholic missionaries do not result in a permanent Church. It was evidently not in God's plan that Catholicism, and least of all the Spanish type of it, should be the religion of the United States.

Far different was the spirit of the French advance in America. In 1604 they made the first European settlement north of Florida, and in the oldest town but one in the United States and Canada—Annapolis, Nova Scotia—one can still see their forts and prisons built apparently for eternity.[2] In 1608 they founded Quebec, and from that time on for fifty years or more they pushed their posts, military, commercial, and religious, through Canada, including the upper parts of the States of New York, Vermont, and Maine, then westward to the Mississippi, and down that river, meeting their brethren coming from the south. What a domain was theirs—the two great waterways of North America, and the very heart of the continent! The French largely justified this apparent gift of America to themselves. Bacon says: "Instead of a greedy scramble after other men's property in gold and silver, the business basis of the French enterprises was to consist in a widely organized and laboriously prosecuted traffic in furs. Instead of a series of desultory and savage campaigns of conquests, the ferocity of which was aggravated by a show of zeal for the kingdom of righteousness and peace, was a large-minded

THE FRENCH OCCUPATION.

[1] O'Gorman, Hist. of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States, p. 112.

[2] Like St. Augustine, Florida, founded 1565, this town has had a continuous existence ever since. It was the capital of Nova Scotia from 1604 to 1750.

and far-sighted scheme of empire, under which remote and hostile tribes were to be combined by ties of mutual interest and common advantage."[1] The men who were intrusted with this great work were many of them worthy of the honor. Their military leaders were men of stainless name, and their priests devoted themselves to the work of Christianizing the Indians with heroic self-sacrifice and courage. The annals of martyrdom contain no more glorious record than those of the Jesuit missionaries to the northern Indians tortured to death by their savage beneficiaries.

THE ISSUES OF THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR.

At the middle of the eighteenth century French Catholicism bid fair to be the religion of America. France owned the northern and central portions of the continent, and everything looked favorable for a greater France across the Atlantic. But man proposes, God disposes. The Seven Years' War breaks out, and at its close in 1763 Great Britain owns not only Spanish Florida, but all the French possessions in America. Nor is there anything left of the colonial and missionary work except one province in Canada, a few thousand Catholic Indians, and a French province at the mouth of the Mississippi to be incorporated into the Union in 1812. What would have been the effect if the whole country had passed under French rule, with its dominating Catholicism, it is futile to conjecture. And yet the history and condition of the province of Quebec are solemnly suggestive.[2] However, the United States has had in recent years a forceful reminder of the French *régime* by the incoming of thousands of French Canadians into the industrial centers of New England.

FOUNDERS OF THE AMERICAN CHURCH.

Nowhere is the saying "the last shall be first" better illustrated than in the history of the Protestant Church in America. A few weak, straggling settlements, planted without concert with one another and without endowment or help from Europe, in most cases the despised cast-out refugees of ecclesiastical and political tyranny, were the unpromising beginners of the American Church. In nearly every case the founders of American Christianity were the persecuted who resisted

[1] History of American Christianity, p. 19.

[2] "The aspects of the French Catholic districts in Quebec," says L. W. Bacon, "in which the pledge of full liberty to the dominant Church has been scrupulously fulfilled by the British government, may reasonably be regarded as an indication of what France would have done for the continent in general." —*Ibid.*, p. 23. This author also gives an able and philosophical discussion of the causes of the failure of the French missions, pp. 24–29.

not evil, but forlorn and disappointed took their sorrowful way across the inhospitable waters. The Anglican persecution of Puritan and Congregationalist gave us the Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay Colonies; persecutions of Catholics from the same source made Maryland; and Episcopal harrying of the Friends created the noble colony of Pennsylvania. The enrichment of America by Anglican tyranny does not stop here, for it drove thousands of Scotch Presbyterians from Scotland to Ireland, and then from Ireland to America. No strain in American blood is more precious than the Scotch-Irish. Roman persecution sent multitudes of Huguenots from France, and these have founded great American families whose services in industry, in literature, in politics, and religion have blessed the world. Then the ravaging of the German Palatinate by the Roman Catholic Louis XIV forced an emigration which, while it impoverished Germany, enriched America. Finally, the persecutions of the archbishop of Salzburg added a welcome element to the population, especially in the south. But this large recruiting of the American Church from the ranks of the persecuted must not make us too sanguine as to toleration here. That is a topic on which history has surprises.

The first English settlement and church were at Jamestown, Va., in 1607. No beginning could be more unpromising. With a lot of spendthrifts, sluggards, infidels, and scoundrels, it is no wonder that the colony nearly perished. The redeeming feature of it was the devotion and example of Robert Hunt, the Episcopal chaplain. Under a tree, with a roof made of an old sail and the congregation seated on logs, the first Protestant worship in America was held. They had their common prayer morning and evening, every Sunday two sermons, and every three months the holy communion. "The sturdy resolution of Captain Smith, who in his marches through the wilderness was wont to begin the day with prayer and psalm, and was not unequal to the duty when it was laid upon him, of giving Christian exhortation, as well as righteous punishment, and the gentle Christian influence of the Rev. Robert Hunt, were the salt that saved the colony from utterly perishing of its vices."[1] In 1611, the apostle of Virginia, Alexander Whitaker, arrived at Jamestown. With the aid of Dale, one of the most enlightened and pious governors of the colonies, the Church of Virginia, which under its best days after 1609 was really the Puritan Church of England, saw a noble work performed in spiritually ministering to its rapidly in-

THE VIRGINIA COLONY.

[1] L. W. Bacon., *l. c.*, pp. 41, 42.

creasing inhabitants. But after 1624 the charter was revoked, and under the uncompromising Anglicanism of Charles I and Charles II the Church sank into lethargy. It was still wide-awake enough, however, to persecute Baptists and Quakers.

The next settlement in order of time was the Pilgrim Colony of Plymouth in 1620. These were a few Congregationalists—one hundred and two souls embarked, of whom one half were dead before the end of four months—"faithful and freeborn Englishmen," as Milton calls them, "good Christians, constrained to forsake their dearest home, their friends and kindred, whom nothing but the wide ocean and the savage deserts of America could hide and shelter from the fury of the bishops." They fled from Scrooby to Holland, and thence came to America, landing December 21, 1620. That shivering, decimated handful of women and men who stepped out on Plymouth Rock in that awful winter were the founders of American civilization. Our free institutions, and all the glory of the coming time which those brave-hearted pioneers could not see, date from that landing. The American ideas of the supremacy of law, representative government, righteousness, the necessity of religion to the well-being of the individual and the State, and religious liberty, all came to us in the Mayflower. The compact that they drew up in the cabin of that vessel has been called the fountain of constitutional government,[1] and the Church system which they established has been the model of democracy. "We are knite together as a body in a most stricte and sacred bonde and covenante of the Lord, of the violation Whereof We hold ourselves straitly tied to all care of each other's Good, and of the Whole by everyone and so mutually."[2] This covenant was signed by all, even sailors and servants. The professor of law at Geneva, Charles Borgeaud, well says that the covenants of the Pilgrim Congregationalists "were the first of a series of similar acts which have exercised a decisive and incontestable influence on the constitutional law of America."[3] The Pilgrim Fathers organized their settlement as a democracy. The governor was elected by popular vote, and his assistants, the Coun-

PLYMOUTH COLONY.

[1] "In the cabin of the Mayflower humanity recovered its rights, and instituted government on the basis of 'equal laws' for the 'general good.'"—Bancroft, Hist. of the United States, rev. ed., i, 234.

[2] Statement drawn up at request of Virginia Company in 1617 by John Robinson and Brewster, in Bradford, Hist. of Plymouth Plantation, ed. Deane, Bost., 1856, p. 32.

[3] Rise of Modern Democracy in Old and New England, tr., Lond., 1894, p. 114.

cil of Five, were elected in the same way. Above them sat the chief body, a popular assembly composed of all the male colonists of full age. The Massachusetts Bay Colony imitated the ecclesiastical organization of Plymouth, and that became the norm of all the colonial governments.

MASSACHUSETTS BAY COLONY.

The Massachusetts Bay Colony, formed in 1628, and fully established in 1629, was led by John Endicott at Naumkeag, where, having composed some differences in his little band, he called the place Salem. It was composed of Puritan Church of England men, and its ministers—Higginson, Skelton, and Bright—were ordained members of that Church. Cotton Mather tells us that when this company was leaving England Higginson reminded them of their church relation. "When they came to Land's End, Mr. Higginson, calling up his children and other passengers into the stern of the ship to take their last sight of England, said, 'We will not say as the Separatists were wont to say at their leaving of England, Farewell, Babylon! farewell, Rome! but we will say, Farewell, dear England! and all the Christian friends there! We do not go to New England as Separatists from the Church of England, though we cannot but separate from the corruptions in it; but we go to practice the positive part of Church reformation and propagate the Gospel in America."[1] Little did the good minister think at that time that the separation from the corruptions of the Church of England and a positive reformation on the basis of the Gospel would bring him and his colonists into conformity with the older plantation at Plymouth. But so it proved. Free from the Act of Uniformity they could organize a Church of Christ as they found in the Scripture. This soon led the Church of England men to a Church organization far different from that which they left on the white shores of Albion. The colony met, heard Higginson and Skelton declare their views on the divine call to the ministry, then elected them as ministers by ballot, and after that formally ordained and appointed these clergymen of the Church of England as their own ministers with prayer and the laying on of hands. But who were the Church? Study of the Bible convinced them that it was "necessary for those who intended to be of the Church solemnly to enter into a covenant engagement, one with another in the presence of God, to walk together before him according to his word." Thirty persons of the Salem colony were then chosen

[1] L. W. Bacon, *l. c.*, p. 90, says that these words of Higginson rest on the sole authority of Cotton Mather.

members of the Church, who made public vows of faithfulness to one another and to Christ. "By the Church thus constituted the pastor and teacher already installed in office in the parish were instituted as ministers of the Church. Before the solemnities of that notable day were concluded, a belated vessel that had been eagerly awaited landed on the beach at Salem the 'messengers of the Church at Plymouth.' They came into the assembly, Governor Bradford at the head, and in the name of the Pilgrim Church declared their 'approbation and concurrence' and greeted the new Church, the firstborn in America, with the 'right hand of fellowship.' A thoughtful and devoted student declares this day's proceedings to be the 'beginning of a distinctively American Church history.'"[1]

THE DUTCH AND SWEDES.

The Dutch began a settlement in what is now New York city in 1623. In 1626 two official sick-visitors arrived to minister to some of the spiritual needs of the little hamlet of Manhattan, and in 1628, when that village numbered two hundred and seventy souls, Jonas Michaelius, Dutch Reformed minister, arrived. In 1633 he was reinforced by the faithful Everard Bogardus, but for some time the Dutch Church had a fitful and precarious existence. After 1637 the Swedish Lutherans came to Delaware, and their diligent and self-sacrificing minister, John Campanius, made a glorious record by his labors for his fellow-countrymen and the Delaware Indians.

MARYLAND AND LORD BALTIMORE.

Maryland has the enviable honor of being the first colony which started out with a formal declaration of religious toleration to all Christians, and, as its founder was a Roman Catholic, writers of that faith have naturally made the most of this singular exhibition of liberality in an intolerant and inhospitable age, and Protestant historians have joined in their felicitations. But recent research has placed the matter in a new light, although no research has affected the two facts: (1) that Maryland was founded by a liberal and even Gallio-like Catholic, who both from principle and from interest incorporated the principle of religious equality in his colony, proved faithful to that principle so long as he had power, and even invited the persecuted from other colonies to come under the protecting shadow of his constitution; and (2) that the refugees came with a vengeance, and finally paid back the toleration of Lord Baltimore by the legal establishment of Protestantism in 1688, though in the form of the

[1] L. W. Bacon, *l. c.*, pp. 96, 97. He refers to his honored father's valuable Genesis of the New England Churches, p. 477.

small and, according to the testimony of historians, the morally disreputable Church of England. The original toleration of Baltimore's charter had been confirmed by the substantially Puritan House of Assembly. The Catholics were always a very small section of the population.

THE QUAKER SETTLERS.

Southern New Jersey and Pennsylvania received their religious consecration under Quaker auspices. The company who controlled West Jersey made this noble statement: "We lay a foundation for after ages to understand their liberty as men and Christians, that they may not be brought into bondage but by their own consent; for we put the power in the people." In 1681 William Penn, in lieu of a monetary claim upon the crown, received vast territory in America, which he called Sylvania on account of its forests, but which the king insisted should be called Pennsylvania for Penn's father, Admiral William Penn. Penn's scheme of government was worthy of his Quaker heart. "I purpose for the matters of liberty, I purpose that which is extraordinary—to leave myself and successors no power of doing mischief that the will of one man may not hinder the good of a whole country. It is the great end of government to support power in reverence with the people, and to secure the people from the abuse of power; for liberty without obedience is confusion, and obedience without liberty is slavery." Nobly did Penn carry out these principles in his model commonwealth. He was joined by various religionists from the Old World, mostly fleeing from persecution—the Mennonites, led by the "Pennsylvania Pilgrim" Pastorius, the Tunkers, the Schwenkfelders, and the Reformed Germans from the Palatinate, and later Lutherans and Reformed from the established Churches.[1]

[1] See Bacon, *l. c.*, p. 117. For a general view of the course of American Christianity at once able and interesting, written with a just historical sense and with original and penetrating opinions and criticisms, this work by Leonard Woolsey Bacon is the best. The German sects in Pennsylvania have been industriously investigated by Samuel W. Pennypacker in Historical and Biographical Sketches, Phila., 1883, and especially by Julius Friedrich Sachse, of Philadelphia, in three portly volumes, The German Pietists of Pennsylvania. 1694–1708, Phila., 1895, and The German Sectarians of Pennsylvania, 1708–1742, a Critical and Legendary History of the Ephrata Cloister and the Dunkers, Phila., 1899, to be followed by another volume in 1900 or 1901.

CHAPTER II.

THE RELIGIOUS DEVELOPMENT OF THE COLONIES.

EPISCOPALIANISM in Virginia and Maryland reminds us of what we have seen of its condition in the eighteenth century, or even after the Restoration. As a rule its clergy were careless of all the obligations of their office when they were not positively immoral. A contemporary describes them as "so basely educated, so little acquainted with the excellency of their charge and duty, that their lives and conversations are more fitted to make heathens than Christians."[1] The commissioners of the bishop of London, Bray and Blair, came over and tried to correct abuses and silence the most scandalous of the clergy, but neither succeeded. It was not until the War of Independence had swept away all State support and weeded out the worthless clergy that Episcopalianism lifted up its head in the South. The labors of Whitefield and the great awakening had also a marked influence toward this purification. They helped also in giving an evangelical tone to the Episcopal Church in Virginia which it never lost. Its theological seminary there is the only evangelical school in the whole Church. Blair threw himself with indomitable perseverance into the discouraging task of interesting the people of Virginia in a college, solicited funds for it, and by the aid of English contributions was at last able to see its walls arise at Williamsburg in 1693.[2] William and Mary College did a great work in helping forward the redemption of the Virginian Church. And when we ask the reason of the prominence of Virginia in the Revolutionary times we must not forget the services of that little college on the James River in the oldest incorporated town in the State.

VIRGINIA AND MARYLAND.

WILLIAM AND MARY COLLEGE.

The colony of Massachusetts Bay was in effect a private corporation having its own regulations, and those who sought its privileges were supposed to abide by these. Roger Williams, an earnest, sincere, self-opinionated minister at Salem, was a Sep-

[1] Perry, Historical Collections, Virginia, p. 30.

[2] Much interesting information concerning the early history of religion and education in Virginia will be found in H. B. Adams, Hist. of William and Mary College, pub. by the Bureau of Education, Washington, D. C., 1887.

aratist of the Separatists, and greatly annoyed the colony by denying its right to punish Sabbath breaking and other offenses of the first table, and its right to swear worldly persons. For these and other opinions he was banished in 1635. In midwinter he proceeded to Narragansett Bay, where he bought lands from the Indians, and in 1636 founded Providence and established a pure democracy. Others in sympathy with his advanced view on toleration followed him, and in 1639 they founded the first Baptist church in the new world, Williams receiving baptism by immersion from Holliman, a layman, and then baptizing Holliman and several others. There can be no doubt that from the standpoint of the colonists the banishment of Williams was justifiable, as they sincerely believed that his opinions would subvert their foundations. On the other hand it is easy to see that they were mistaken as to this, inasmuch as the peace and order of his own colony, founded on those opinions, were never disturbed. Milton calls Williams "that noble confessor of religious liberty," and he deserves eternal honor as being the first man in America to grasp the principle of toleration. But he deserves a greater honor because he had the daring faith to venture to apply that principle in the government of a commonwealth when he had no precedents to guide him. Catholics have objected that he excluded them from toleration.[1] This is not so. Later a clause to that effect was added to the statutes, probably interpolated by the committee collating the laws about 1699, though later still the interpolated clause received recognition by the legislature, and so stood until it was rescinded in 1783.[2] But no Catholic suffered in Rhode Island on account of religion, and even Quakers were exempted from service in the local militia.

MASSACHUSETTS BAY AND ROGER WILLIAMS.

The banishment of Mrs. Ann Hutchinson and her friends in 1638 was less justifiable, as it arose from a purely theological controversy, and a controversy in which it is quite likely that strong-minded and noble-hearted woman was in the right.[3] It appears that the Puritan preachers had been un-

ANN HUTCHINSON.

[1] "Rhode Island boasts of having established religious toleration; but her founder was an Anti-Catholic fanatic, and one of the earliest laws pointedly excluded Catholics from civil rights."—De Courcy and Shea, Hist. of the Cath. Church in the United States, p. 524.

[2] Arnold, Hist. of Rhode Island, ii, 490–497; Sheldon, Church History, iv, 188.

[3] Walker, Hist. of the Congregational Churches in the United States, p. 138, and Bacon, Hist. of American Christianity, p. 101, give quite different portraitures of Mrs. Hutchinson. Unfortunately, we have no contemporary account except from her enemies.

duly cold and ethical in their preaching, and Mrs. Hutchinson called them back to the biblical doctrines of grace and the witness of the Spirit. She held meetings of women which were seasons of spiritual refreshing. At these meetings the sermons of the preceding Sunday would sometimes be criticised. Unfortunately, instead of the ministers taking all this in a large-minded way as an indication that there might be a lack in their preaching, and by tact and love conciliating the dissentient element, they proceeded by discipline, censure, council, and excommunication. Whether Mrs. Hutchinson really anticipated Methodist testimony as to the witness of the Spirit and holiness we cannot positively affirm, as we have no authoritative record of her words. But it is evident that she was a believer in a more inward and mystical piety than that allowed by the logical externalism of Calvinism. Her large following by many of the best and most mature minds of the town makes it probable that there was really nothing heretical or dangerous in her teachings, though the honesty of her opponents in believing the contrary need not be questioned. Her real offense was in challenging the standing of the clerical rulers of the colony.[1]

CONNECTICUT —HOOKER AND DAVENPORT.

The pastor of the church at Cambridge (1633), then called Newtown, was one of the most broad-minded and statesmanlike of all the Puritans. This man, Thomas Hooker, was out of sympathy in some measure with the theocratic and somewhat high-handed government of the Bay colony, and for that and other reasons led his flock in 1636 to the valley of the Connecticut and founded Hartford. Others preceded and followed him, especially pastor Warham, of Dorchester, with his flock. Hooker made his colony more democratic, and imitated Plymouth in not requiring church membership as a qualification for voting. Thomas Hooker is a statesman and founder worthy to be compared with the heroes of mankind. Not long after (1638) a Puritan vicar in London, John Davenport, brought a band of pious, intelligent people—some of them men of wealth—from London to

[1] "The ministers were the privileged classes in that community—'God's unworthy prophets,' as they phrased it. Living in the full odor of sanctity among God's people—his chosen people whom he 'preserved and prospered beyond ordinary ways of Providence'—they constituted a powerful governing order. And now, suddenly, a woman came and calmly and persistently intimated that, as a class, God's prophets in New England were not what they seemed."—Charles Francis Adams, Three Episodes of Massachusetts History, Bost., 1892, i, 392. Adams writes as a Unitarian, with no belief in the religious principles of either party, but with full knowledge of the history and with fascinating interest.

what is now known as New Haven, and founded a new colony, though on stanchly theocratic principles.

EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATIONS.

Only second in importance to the founding of a State is the founding of a school. Lord Macaulay in Parliament held up to the admiration of England the noble document in which the poor, struggling colony of Massachusetts Bay outlined in 1647 a system of common and grammar schools. This document said: "That learning may not be buried in the grave of our fathers in the Church and commonwealth, the Lord assisting our endeavors, It is therefore ordered that every township in this jurisdiction, after the Lord hath increased them to the number of fifty householders, shall then forthwith appoint one within their town to teach all such children as shall resort to him to write and read; . . . and it is further ordered that where any town shall increase to the number of one hundred families or householders they shall set up a grammar school, the master thereof being able to instruct youth so far as they may be fitted for the university." Even earlier than this, Salem had a free school in 1640, Boston in 1642, and Cambridge about the same time.[1]

Contrast with this the narrow obscurantism of Virginia's Anglican governor, Sir William Berkeley, who said, in 1671: "I thank God there are no free schools nor printing, and I hope we shall not have these hundred years." The freer colonies, with their more heterogeneous and irresponsible population, had to take the price of their freedom in the want of settled institutions imposed by authority. Maryland had no public-school system until 1728, and Rhode Island until 1800. The young Charlestown pastor, John Harvard, bequeathed to the grammar school at Cambridge his library and £779, which, supplemented by the gift of the colony of £400 out of its poverty, proved the foundation of the greatest university on the continent, and founded for the avowed purpose of "educating English and Indian youth in knowledge and godliness." In 1641 the New Haven colony ordered that a "free school shall be set up in this town, and our pastor, together with the magistrates, shall consider what yearly allowance shall be given to it out of the common stock of the town, and also what rules or laws are meet to be observed in and about the same." The New Haven people wanted to found a college also, but Cambridge protested with the solid reason that New England was too poor to support more than one college. But in 1698 the Churches of the New Haven colony decided to proceed, and in 1701 opened their

HARVARD AND YALE.

[1] Higginson, Larger Hist. of the United States, p. 201.

college at Saybrook, removed to New Haven in 1716, and named Yale College after one of its benefactors. The Puritan clergy of New England made the corner stone of the nation knowledge, righteousness, and religion.[1]

THE BAPTISTS IN MASSACHUSETTS.

The establishment of a Christian State in Massachusetts according to the Puritan doctrine bore hard upon the dissenters. The Baptists came into the colony, and suffered hardships as good soldiers of Jesus Christ, unto stripes and imprisonment, though not unto death. The theocracy had Münster before its eyes, and was always fearful of some terrible consequence hidden beneath an apparently innocent heresy. Then all the Puritan literature against the Baptists with which they were familiar breathed the spirit of uncompromising hostility as against a revolutionary and antichristian religion.[2] The fact that some of the continental Baptists disowned magistracy, oaths, and the State establishment of religion, gave color to Puritan fears. On the other hand, the Massachusetts Baptists were not of this stripe, but were as law-abiding in all matters outside of their worship as the Puritans themselves were, and the latter knew this, or ought to have known it. The Congregational harrying, therefore, of their Baptist brethren in 1651 and thereabouts can hardly be taken out of the category of simple persecution for religious opinion. However, in 1718 the State Church made generous amends in three of their foremost pastors assisting in the ordination of a minister to the Baptist Church at which Cotton Mather preached a sermon, "Good Men United."

PERSECUTION OF QUAKERS.

For the persecution of the Quakers, 1656–60, by Massachusetts something more can be said; but even here the repressive measures went to unwarranted lengths. There was nothing whatever in the persistency in testimony, or in the very rare exhibitions of fanatical indecency "for a sign" made by some Quaker woman partially or wholly demented from brooding over the shameful and cruel treatment of her sisters by the officers, which gave valid reason for the colony to enact severer laws than England, and to carry them out to the extent of hanging three men and one woman—true martyrs for the cross of Christ. Then the whipping of inoffensive women, stripped to the waist and tied to a cart, from town to town, for no other crime than being Quakers, is a stain on the laws of the Congregational theocracy which no apology touches. In 1728 the anti-Quaker laws were swept

[1] Higginson's Larger Hist. of the United States, p. 194.

[2] Cf. A. H. Newman, Hist. of the Baptist Churches in the United States, p. 123.

away. The Friends suffered the same persecution to a greater or less degree in Connecticut, New York, Virginia, and Maryland.

THE WITCHCRAFT DELUSION.

We cannot blame the Puritans for living in the seventeenth century and not in the nineteenth, nor can we blame them for sharing the beliefs of their time. One of these was witchcraft—occult and supernatural powers attributed to those under the influence of the devil or demons. The reality of this was the universal belief of Christendom up to the beginning of the eighteenth century, the last execution in Great Britain taking place in Scotland, as late as 1722. There was an execution in New England in 1648, and in 1655 a law was printed: "Witchcraft which is fellowship by covenant with a familiar spirit to be punishable with death. . . . Consulters with witches not to be tolerated, but either to be cut off by death or banishment or other suitable punishment." The chief interest centers in the famous Salem excitement in 1691–2, when nineteen persons were executed, among the six men one clergyman and Giles Corey, a man over eighty, who, refusing to plead, were pressed to death. "A reaction speedily set in, and though in January, 1693, three more were condemned, no more executions took place, and a few months after the governor discharged all the suspects from gaol, as many as one hundred and fifty in number. One Samuel Parris, a clergyman, who had been one of the main instigators of the prosecutions, confessed his error, but was dismissed by his flock in 1696, while even Cotton Mather acknowledged that there had been a 'going too far in the affair.'"[1] The quickness with which the New England mind recovered from the delusion speaks well for its sanity, as contrasted with the continuance and gravity of the witchcraft horrors elsewhere. It is said by one writer that between 1660 and 1700 eight thousand persons suffered from witchcraft in Scotland, mostly by burning,[2] while in Catholic countries isolated from the currents of Protestant civilization the superstition continues to this day.[3]

One of the most interesting events in the religious history of the colonies is the Half-Way Covenant. The Congregationalists,

[1] Thomas Davidson, art. Witchcraft, in Chambers's Encyc., rev. ed., x, 701. This able article is disfigured by unscientific reproaches against the Church. Cotton Mather helped on the prosecutions and published two books as contributions to the prevailing belief: Memorable Providences relating to Witchcraft and Possessions, 1685, and Wonders of the Invisible World, 1692.

[2] The London Quarterly Review, April, 1899, p. 372.

[3] On the 20th of August, 1877, five witches were burned alive by the Alcalde Ignacio Castello of San Jacobo, in Mexico, "with consent of the whole population."—Davidson, *l. c.*, x, 698.

with the Baptists, had maintained the necessity of a regenerate church membership and a profession of saving faith in Christ. The children of parents one of whom was a Christian were entitled to baptism and to a kind of church membership, though not to full communion until they had made a personal profession of faith. But as the new generation came on the old fervor declined, and large numbers of men were outside church fellowship and therefore outside political privileges, although they were men of outwardly worthy life. How to bring these men and their children into closer touch with religion was the question. The political matter played no part in the discussions, nor were laymen prominent in them.[1] The wide-awake, consecrated pastor, by personal work, by special services, by strong, bright preaching, by all the ways open to him, might have brought his moral parishioners and their children to a personal decision for Christ. But the way out of the difficulty adopted by New England, in 1646, was to allow baptized adults of good life and orthodox belief to be received into covenant with the Church without conversion or profession of personal faith, and to receive baptism for their children. By and by, especially through the influence of Solomon Stoddard, pastor of Northampton, Massachusetts, until his death in 1729, these Half-Way Covenant members, as the opponents of the system called them, were admitted to the Lord's Supper, on the principle advocated by Stoddard (thence called Stoddardism), that the Lord's Supper is itself a means of regeneration, and that therefore well-disposed persons might come to it even if in a "natural condition." The effect of the Half-Way Covenant, which was in vogue in many churches until the beginning of the nineteeth century, was to fill the country with unconverted quasi-church members, and, by practically ignoring the obligation of an immediate acceptance of Jesus Christ as a personal Saviour, prepare the way for Unitarianism.[2]

THE HALF-WAY COVENANT.

The natural results of the Half-Way Covenant and of Stoddard's opening of the sacraments to the unconverted were checked and partially overcome by the Great Awakening and Whitefield's evangelism. In 1726, at the age of twenty-three, one of the

[1] So say experts in Congregational history like Prof. Egbert C. Smyth in Schaff-Herzog, i, 538, and Prof. Williston Walker, Hist. of Congregational Churches in the United States, pp. 172, 173.

[2] "The worst effect, doubtless, was the diminution in the public mind and conscience of the sense of the obligation of personal religion; and this disastrous result was widespread."—E. C. Smyth, in Schaff-Herzog, i, 538.

greatest saints in the history of the Church was called to the pastorate at Northampton, Mass. His intensely serious and conscience-probing sermons, the influence of his holy life and his prayers, had their due effect. A change came over the spirit of the town. Jonathan Edwards himself describes this in his own modest beautiful way: "The work of God, as it was carried on and the number of true saints multiplied, soon made a glorious alteration in the town so that in the spring and summer anno 1735 the town seemed to be full of the presence of God. It was never so full of love, nor so full of joy, and yet so full of distress, as it was then. There were remarkable tokens of God's presence in almost every house. It was a time of joy in families on account of salvation being brought unto them; parents rejoicing over the children as being newborn, and husbands over their wives, and wives over their husbands. The goings of God were then seen in his sanctuary. God's day was a delight, and his tabernacles were amiable."[1]

JONATHAN EDWARDS.

Another revival under Edwards occurred in 1740–41. These profound awakenings were attended with the same physical manifestations as have characterized similar works before and since. But the comprehensive mind of Edwards did not disown the work on account of these. He tried to moderate these extravagances, if they might be so called, and directed the movement toward spiritual and ethical ends. As Professor Park well says, he did more than any other American divine in promoting both the doctrinal purity and religious zeal of the Churches, in restraining them from fanaticism and yet stimulating healthy enthusiasm. From Northampton the revival spread north and south, east and west, and appeared independently at different places. A great work occurred in Newark, N. J., in 1739, under Jonathan Dickinson, who became the first president of Princeton College, then (1747) at Elizabeth. In 1726 William Tennent became pastor of a Presbyterian church at Neshaminy, Bucks County, Pa., and, seeing the need of a school for the education of boys for the min-

[1] A Faithful Narrative of the Surprising Work of God in the Conversion of Many Hundred Souls in Northampton, Lond., 1736. "A letter of Edwards in reply to inquiries from his friend, Dr. Colman, of Boston, was forwarded to Dr. Watts and Dr. Guise, of London, and by them published under the title of Narrative of Surprising Conversions. A copy of the little book was carried in his pocket for wayside reading on a walk from London to Oxford, by John Wesley, in 1738. Not yet in the course of his work had he seen it 'on this fashion,' and he writes in his journal, 'Surely this is the Lord's doing, and it is marvelous in our eyes.'"—Bacon, Hist. of American Christianity, p. 159.

THE UNITED STATES
OF
AMERICA
PACIFIC OCEAN
BRITISH
WASHINGTON
OREGON
CALIFORNIA
IDAHO
NEVADA
MONTANA
WYOMING
UTAH
COLORADO
TERRITORY OF ARIZONA
TERRITORY OF NEW MEXICO
REPUBLIC OF MEXICO
Seattle
Tacoma
Olympia
Spokane
Columbia R.
Walla Walla
Portland
Salem
Missouri R.
Helena
Yellowstone R.
Virginia City
YELLOWSTONE NATIONAL PARK
Boise
Bisn
Sacramento R.
Humbolat R.
Logan
Ogden
Laramie
Salt Lake City
Cheyenne
Sacramento
Carson
Stockton
San Francisco
Monterey
Denver
Georgetown
Leadville
Colorado Springs
Pueblo
Colorado R.
Los Angeles
Prescott
Santa Fé
Las Vegas
Albuquerque
San Diego
Phoenix
Yuma
Tucson
El Paso
El Paso del Norte
Chihuahua
Rio Grande del Norte
Saltillo
Durango
Zacatecas
125
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Longitude
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O S S E S S I O N S
N OF CANADA
Quebec
LAKE SUPERIOR
Duluth
Superior
Marquette
Sault St Marie
LAKE HURON
Ottawa
St Lawrence R.
Montreal
MAINE
Augusta
Portland
ESOTA
St Paul
WISCONSIN
Green Bay
LAKE MICHIGAN
Grand Rapids
Saginaw
Hamilton
Toronto
LAKE ONTARIO
Kingston
Rochester
Syracuse
Albany
NEW YORK
VERMONT
NEW HAMPSHIRE
Concord
Boston
MASSACHUSETTS
Springfield
Hartford
Providence
Newport
Madison
Milwaukee
Lansing
Detroit
LAKE ERIE
Erie
Buffalo
Utica
Williamsport
Brooklyn
NEW JERSEY
Dubuque
Chicago
Toledo
Cleveland
Sandusky
Akron
Canton
PENNSYLVANIA
Pittsburg
Trenton
Philadelphia
Des Moines
Davenport
Peoria
Dayton
Columbus
Harrisburg
Baltimore
Annapolis
Dover
DELAWARE
ILLINOIS
INDIANA
OHIO
Springfield
Indianapolis
Cincinnati
WEST VIRGINIA
Washington
Charleston
Richmond
St Joseph
Kansas City
St Louis
Terre Haute
Louisville
Frankfort
Lexington
Evansville
Lynchburg
Danville
Norfolk
MISSOURI
KENTUCKY
VIRGINIA
Jefferson
Springfield
Cairo
Knoxville
Winston
Raleigh
NORTH CAROLINA
Nashville
Chattanooga
Wilmington
Talequah
Little Rock
Memphis
Huntsville
SOUTH CAROLINA
Columbia
TENNESSEE
ARKANSAS
Corinth
Decatur
Athens
Augusta
Hot Springs
Atlanta
Charleston
Texarkana
Birmingham
Savannah
MISSISSIPPI
ALABAMA
GEORGIA
Vicksburg
Meridian
Jackson
Montgomery
Fernandina
Jacksonville
Tallahassee
St Augustine
Lake Charles
Baton Rouge
Mobile
Pensacola
FLORIDA
Galveston
New Orleans
ATLANTIC OCEAN
GULF OF MEXICO
Miami
Key West
Havana
Cienfuegos
Santiago
Cuba
Isle of Pinos
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from
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Greenwich
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istry, he erected a log house, and opened immediately Log College, as it came to be called. Here this devout apostolic Irishman trained three or four of his own sons and others who became leaders in American Presbyterianism, and started the movement which issued in the founding of Princeton College, 1746–8. His eldest son Gilbert was a man of great intellectual force and spiritual power. At the request of Whitefield he made (about 1740) a preaching tour over a wide section of country and produced everywhere a profound impression. The immense influence of Log College and of one of its first graduates, Gilbert Tennent, as well as of his brother, the pious mystic, William, must be taken into account when we reckon the forces which made the Great Awakening, and saved Christianity in America. Then the evangelistic journeys of that flaming itinerant, George Whitefield, helped mightily a work which even without him would have attained to large proportions.

DICKINSON AND THE TENNENTS.

The results of the Great Awakening remind us of the words of Simeon concerning Christ: "Behold, this is set for the fall and rising again of many in Israel." The marvelous effects, physical and others, of the movement repelled many who perhaps were also disinclined to believe in the very principle of revivals, and made them take deep offense at evangelical Christianity. This was helped by the harsh judgments passed by Gilbert Tennent and others on these dissidents. The result was a division in the Presbyterian Church in 1741, a strengthening of the Episcopalian Church in some quarters, a deepening of the rationalizing spirit in some sections of the Congregational Church, and finally a large preparation for Unitarianism. On the other hand the awakening swept twenty-five or thirty thousand people into the Congregational churches, saved multitudes of churches of all denominations from spiritual death if not actual extinction, restored the Episcopalian Church in Virginia, placed the Presbyterian Church on a solid foundation, started Baptist churches in various parts of New England, set on foot a multitude of charitable, educational, and missionary agencies, gave the saintly David Brainerd to the Indians, and stamped upon American Christianity its present evangelistic character.

RESULTS OF THE GREAT AWAKENING.

CHAPTER III.

DENOMINATIONAL DEVELOPMENT.

THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR.

THE Revolutionary War (1775–81) swept away substantially the remnants of State Churchism in the colonies. With all the evils, therefore, which it, like all wars, did for religion in its desolating course, suspending Church operations, breaking up organizations, and accentuating faction and passion, it nevertheless accomplished an inestimable work for America. It not only set free the colonies, but it set free religion so that it could work out its own problems and, without being dominated by Old World ideals, fashion itself according to a national type. The American principle is a free Church in a free State, and that principle has proved itself so valuable by its practical working that the European nations will be compelled one after another to adopt it.[1]

METHODISM IN AMERICA.

In the treatment of colonial Christianity nothing was said of that wonderful force introduced so quietly and so humbly as to be unobserved, but which was destined to play an influential part in the nation's religious life—Methodism. This resurgence of Protestantism in the spirit, power, and truth of apostolic Christianity, however, came so late to America (1766), and during the whole Revolutionary period lived so apologetic a life, despised, persecuted, and misunderstood, that it was purposely left out of the account. Born in a humble private house in New York, its first church a sail-loft, in spite of suspicion and opposition it grew even during the Revolution, until at its close it had about twelve thousand members and seventy itinerant preachers.

During the national period its growth has been phenomenal. Its polity is vigorous yet elastic, and provides for close supervision

[1] Schaff, in speaking of the influence of the American system upon foreign countries and Churches, says: "Within the present generation the principle of religious liberty and equality, with a corresponding relaxation of the bond of union of Church and State, has made steady and irresistible progress among the leading nations of Europe, and has been embodied more or less clearly in written constitutions. . . . All advocates of the voluntary principle and of a separation of Church and State in Europe point to the example of this country as their strongest practical argument."—Church and State in the United States, N. Y., 1888, p. 83.

of all parts of the field. This it does by its revival of the apostolate or apostolic episcopate, and adapting it to present-day needs. The itinerancy has given it an opportunity to meet the immigrant face to face while establishing his family in their new home. It has thus been able to checkmate with the Gospel every movement of evil on America's ever-changing chessboard. But this would have been impossible without a band of preachers, alert, brave, consecrated, self-sacrificing, ready to go anywhere with the message of salvation. Perhaps history has never seen a truer type of home missionaries than the itinerant preachers of Methodism. Ready to obey orders like the Jesuits, strong to preach like the Dominicans, they have gone everywhere, threading forests, fording and swimming rivers, making friends with Indians or with chance settlers, traveling vast parishes hundreds of miles or more in extent, meeting their appointments with the regularity of a machine, running the gauntlet of all kinds of dangers—these men of the first generations of Methodists have revived the best traditions of Christianity in its heroic days. The emphasis put on preaching by Methodism has been another cause of its success. Necessarily deficient in technical learning, many of its preachers made up for that by study, reading, and first-hand contact with men. But they learned above all to be preachers—ready, powerful, interesting extemporaneous preachers. Emphasis on religious experience, personal knowledge of Jesus Christ, and victory over all sin, gave both its preachers and members a buoyant, triumphant life, and this sense of reality and power invested its pulpit with authority and fascination, and its people with vitalizing, even if unconscious, influence over others. At a time when the prevailing type of Christianity was Calvinistic, the Methodists came with the Gospel of a free, full, and present salvation for all, which they preached with tremendous earnestness, and without philosophical refinements. Such a Gospel means a revival at any or all times. Methodism has been a revival Church. While this has been on the one hand its reproach and danger, it has been on the other the secret of its marvelous growth. At the same time it has been also in no small measure the secret of the growth of all other denominations of evangelical Christians; first, by making revivals one of the conditions of religious evolution for all; and second, by thousands of those saved at Methodist altars going, either by preference or by proselyting, into other Churches.

THE GROWTH OF METHODISM.

Unfortunately the history of American Methodism has been a copy of that of the British Wesleyans in the matter of separation

from the mother Church. The first schism was that led in 1792 by James O'Kelly, an impulsive Irishman of warm piety, intense convictions, and strong personality, and was occasioned by the supposed autocracy of the episcopate. It ran a brief course and then disappeared. The next separation was of greater significance. It was occasioned by the Methodist Episcopal Church refusing at the General Conferences of both 1824 and 1828 the widespread desire for lay representation and other mitigations of excessive clericalism. The answer to these refusals was the formation of a new Church in 1828, called the Methodist Protestant Church in 1830, which has had a fruitful and honorable history. The Wesleyan Methodist Connection of America was formed in 1839, and completed its organization in 1843, as a protest against departure from the strenuous self-denial of original Methodism in regard to intemperance, secret societies, and especially slavery. Like most of the separating Churches this also assumed a more representative form of government. The greatest cleavage of all was the celebrated case of Bishop James O. Andrew who came into the possession of slaves through marriage, which led to the formation of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in 1845. The latest born of the larger separated (white) Churches is the Free Methodist Church, organized in 1860 as the result of a profound agitation in western New York. There have been some other smaller divisions, and the formation of several African Churches, which latter have accomplished great results for their people in evangelism and education. Universal Methodism owes an immense debt to the zeal, wisdom, piety, and conscientious devotion of the first American bishop, Francis Asbury, one of the greatest and purest names on the roll of founders and pioneers. The General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church adopted lay representation in 1872, and equal lay and ministerial representation in 1900.

DIVISIONS OF AMERICAN METHODISM.

The Church of England in the colonies had to endure much odium on account of the Tory sympathies of many of its clergy. The most of them left for England or the northern provinces, notably the rector of Trinity Church, New York, Dr. Charles Inglis, who wrote to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in 1776, "The present rebellion is certainly one of the most causeless, unprovoked, and unnatural that ever disgraced any country." He also said that "not one of the clergy of these provinces, and very few of the laity who were respectable or men of property, have joined in the rebel-

THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

lion."[1] The year the British evacuated New York Inglis left also, went to Nova Scotia, and in 1787 was consecrated bishop of Nova Scotia, with jurisdiction over all of what is now the Dominion of Canada, besides Bermuda and Newfoundland, a territory in which the Church of England has now nineteen bishops. Inglis was the first Anglican colonial bishop. If the Church of England had been as willing to ordain bishops for the new nation as she was for Nova Scotia, the Episcopal Church would have fared much better. In that respect Wesley's ordinations, reestablishing the subapostolic presbytero-episcopate for his churches, showed a broader mind and a quicker apprehension of the signs of the times. However, the American Episcopalians at length secured the ordination of Seabury by the nonjuring bishops of Scotland at Aberdeen, 1784, the regular authorities refusing until 1787, when the archbishop of Canterbury consecrated William White and Samuel Provost. At first, especially under the bent given by White, the Protestant element had a large place, and the Church fraternized more or less with sister Churches. The Anglo-Catholic Movement, however, profoundly affected the Church, and made such fraternization in any real sense impossible. In fact for an act of such fraternal recognition the Rev. Stephen H. Tyng, Jr., was in February, 1868, tried, condemned, and reprimanded.[2] Various efforts were made to bring the Church to a Protestant position.

In October, 1873, the assistant bishop of Kentucky, George D. Cummins, officiated in a union communion service in the Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church, New York, during the meeting of the Evangelical Alliance. This caused such an uproar in the Church that he quietly withdrew, and on December 2, 1873, there was organized the Reformed Episcopal Church, in which many evangelical people of the older Church have found refuge. A part of the platform of the Reformed Episcopal Church is the following protest against some elements of the High Church tradition which has long dominated Anglicanism. "This Church condemns and rejects the following erroneous and strange doctrines as contrary to God's Word: First, That the Church of Christ exists only in one order or form of

THE REFORMED EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

[1] See the valuable book by Arthur Wentworth Eaton, The Church of England in Nova Scotia and the Tory Clergy of the Revolution, N. Y., 1891, p. 124.

[2] His offense was in preaching in the St. James Methodist Episcopal Church, New Brunswick, N. J., July 14, 1867, and the law by which he was condemned was that passed in 1859 forbidding a minister officiating in any way in the parish of another without the latter's permission.

ecclesiastical polity. Second, That Christian ministers are priests in another sense than that in which all believers are a 'royal priesthood.' Third, That the Lord's table is an altar on which the oblation of the body and blood of Christ is offered anew to the Father. Fourth, That presence of Christ in the Lord's Supper is a presence in the elements of bread and wine. Fifth, That regeneration is inseparably connected with baptism." The Protestant Episcopal Church has retrieved its loss through the Reformed secession by recent aggressiveness in parish, settlement, and home missionary work, for which its financial resources are an admirable equipment. As in the Episcopal Church across the water, the Roman Catholic current has carried many of its clergy to Rome, the latest convert being Benjamin F. De Costa in 1899, while the extreme liberality with which it holds its doctrinal inheritance attracts minds who are at a hardly perceptible remove from Unitarianism.

ROMAN CATHOLICISM.

During the colonial period the growth of the Roman Catholic Church was almost impossible on account of Protestant intolerance. Pennsylvania was a notable exception, and a few societies were established there. The Revolutionary War broke the bonds. George Washington, with his usual large-mindedness, was one of the first to urge the laying aside religious animosities. Their freedom, however, was not absolute. New York excluded them from the legislature until 1807, and in 1800 the Massachusetts supreme court decided that Roman Catholics were still amenable to taxation for the support of Protestant worship. In fact the legal establishment of Congregationalism there did not cease until 1833. But even while the Roman Catholics were enjoying toleration the fierce prejudices of their Protestant neighbors made their normal development impossible. In the third and fourth decades of the nineteenth century these prejudices were fanned by controversial works of exceeding virulence, which with inflammatory preaching from many pulpits so excited the populace that in one place (Charlestown, Mass.) they burned an Ursuline convent. Political fears were added to religious hatred, and, under the stimulus of both, a Protestant mob took possession of Philadelphia in 1844, and destroyed two Catholic churches and many residences. Anti-Catholic political parties have also been formed. Wild excesses like these have this unfortunate result, that in the reaction they prevent due watchfulness of real dangers from Roman Catholic ascendency. The undue intrenchment of Catholicism, especially in the government of our large cities, led to

the formation of the American Protective Association in 1888, an organization which, with some praiseworthy aims, goes to the length of opposing Roman Catholics for public office. If this determination were carried out, it would amount to the establishment of Protestantism as a State religion. The Roman Catholic Church has steadily increased mostly by immigration and a large birth rate, but also by a constant, though silent and mostly unobserved, reception of converts from Protestant churches. It has successful missions among the negroes and Indians.

The relaxing of the ecclesiastico-political bonds in New England led to the infusion of new blood into the staid Christianity of that region. Baptists, Methodists, Adventists, and other earnest religionists took possession of whatever might come to them as the result of their aggressive work. Then a native deflection into Episcopalianism in Connecticut, led in 1722 by Timothy Cutler and Daniel Brown, who composed the whole teaching staff of Yale College, was another serious inroad on the dominant Church. Quincy says that "this event shook Congregationalism throughout New England like an earthquake, and filled all its friends with terror and apprehension."[1] But these additions to the religious forces of New England did not affect the supremacy of Congregationalism, which has dominated there to this day. Excepting a tendency to Unitarianism, no Church has ever proved itself more worthy of such domination. Congregationalism has always stood for high ethical and religious ideals, and by its missionary zeal and noble altruism has set a high example to other Churches. In enthusiasm for education and in permanent contributions to the higher interests of mankind no Church has excelled it. From one of its schools alone on the uplands of northeastern Massachusetts, Andover Theological Seminary, have gone out influences which have regenerated whole sections of American life and large territories in heathendom. On Andover Hill were born The American Education Society, The American Tract Society, The American Temperance Society, and the first religious newspaper in America; and from that Hill went out men equipped by learning and piety to lay on enduring foundations a Christian civilization for Burma, India, Hawaii, and other lands.

THE CONGREGATIONALISTS.

In the department of education alone what magnificent results have flowed from the self-sacrifice or munificence of this handful of earnest, high-minded folk on the rugged hills of New Eng-

[1] Hist. of Harvard College, Bost., 1840.

land! Before the end of the eighteenth century they founded the following colleges: Harvard (1638), Williams (1755, opened 1791), Dartmouth (1770), Bowdoin (1794), University of Vermont (1791, opened 1800), and Middlebury (1800), while Amherst followed a few years after (academy, 1814; college, 1821). All the early colleges were founded mainly by ministers and for the education of ministers, but special provision for this latter has been made by New Englanders with a similar lavishness. Andover Theological Seminary was opened in 1808, Bangor in 1816, New Haven in 1822, and Hartford in 1834, while the professorship of divinity at Harvard, founded by an English Baptist layman in 1721, was filled by Congregationalists until it permanently passed into the hands of Unitarians in 1805. The strenuous intellectual life of the Puritans has always characterized their successors, and has given to theological discussions a keenness and zest paralleled perhaps in no other section of the world. The successive transformations of Calvinism in the course of these debates, and the contributions of representative Congregationalists and of the different theological seminaries to the science of theology, would be a fascinating theme, but would lead us too far afield. Suffice it to say that Congregational orthodoxy has touched the gamut from High Calvinism to a pale and thin Evangelicalism which almost vanishes away into Universalism and Unitarianism.

EDUCATION IN NEW ENGLAND.

Unitarianism as a sentiment, a body of belief, or an organization, has exerted an influence on American life and thought far out of proportion to the number of those externally attached to it. The rationalistic and minimizing tendencies of the eighteenth century, with other causes, some of them latent in Calvinism, produced a gradual and almost imperceptible devitalizing of orthodoxy in New England. Ebenezer Gay, pastor at Hingham from 1718 to 1787, Jonathan Mayhew, pastor of West Church, Boston, from 1747 to 1766, and James Freeman, who removed all references to the Trinity in the books of King's Chapel, Boston, in 1783, were pioneers. This descent reached a point in 1805, when the elder Ware was appointed Hollis professor of divinity in Harvard, which could no longer be ignored unless Congregationalism meant to give over its historic faith. A profound and widespread agitation followed, which resulted in twenty-eight of the oldest churches in New England becoming Unitarian. The chief man in that age of Unitarianism was William Ellery Channing, pastor of Federal Street Church, Boston, from 1803 until his death in 1842, whose beautiful spirit,

UNITARIANISM.

interest in reform, and literary taste, gave him a large influence, which continues to this day. The Unitarianism of the first half of the nineteenth century was Arianism, holding to Jesus as the Son of God, the inspiration and divine authority of Scripture, and the necessity of conversion. The Unitarianism of the present day is Humanitarianism or Christian Stoicism, which proclaims Jesus as the natural son of Joseph, but a great prophet and spiritual teacher, and the Bible as, on the whole, the best of the sacred books of the world. The man who marks the transition is Theodore Parker, of Boston (died 1860), a man of tremendous energy, moral enthusiasm, and intellectual aggressiveness, who rejected the miraculous in Christianity and the whole scheme of belief held in common by Unitarians and orthodox. His radicalism caused many of his brethren to disown him. The Unitarians have been leaders in all philanthropic movements, and their contributions to literature, art, science, and social advancement have been invaluable. By the persistent circulation of their books, sermons, and tracts they have carried on an effective propagandism.

THE UNIVERSALISTS.

James Relly was the founder of the Universalist Church. Both he and John Murray were followers of Whitefield, and so might be called Calvinistic Methodists. About 1750 Relly embraced Universalist views, and formed a society in London of those who sympathized with him, of which he remained pastor until his death, about 1780. He had something of Maurice's views of the solidarity of Christ with mankind, and from that worked out a theory of universal salvation. Christ, in his life, death, obedience, and atonement, was so completely identified with man that he has secured not only potential but actual salvation for the whole race. Relly's manifesto of Universalism was his Union, a Treatise of the Consanguinity and Affinity between Christ and His Church, London, 1759, reprinted, Philadelphia, 1843—an epoch-making book. It was this treatise which John Murray was appointed to refute; he went to hear its author preach, and was converted to Universalism. Murray, who emigrated to America in 1770, preached throughout New Jersey and New York, later in New England, and organized the first Universalist Church at Gloucester, Massachusetts, in 1779. Murray became pastor in Boston in 1793, and continued until he was laid aside by ill health in 1809. He was a man of faith and courage, and endured opposition and persecution for his views. Other churches were established of the same general doctrine, though differing in various details. There was a desire for greater harmony, which was satisfied by a conven-

tion held in Winchester, New Hampshire, in 1803. A Congregational polity was adopted, though with a strong infusion of Presbyterianism, and the following creed:

"We believe that the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments contain a revelation of the character of God, and of the duty, interest, and final destination of mankind; that there is one God, whose nature is love, revealed in one Lord Jesus Christ, by one Holy Spirit of Grace, who will finally restore the whole family of mankind to holiness and happiness; that holiness and happiness are inseparably connected, and that believers ought to be careful to maintain order and practice good works, for these things are profitable unto man."

This has remained the official Universalist creed until now. In spite of its Trinitarianism many Universalist ministers at the present day are practically Unitarians, the old evangelical (almost Calvinistic) elements having been completely eliminated. The Universalists support four colleges, three theological seminaries, and five academies, and have sent missionaries to Japan.

THE PRESBYTERIANS.

Presbyterianism in America has never undergone the Unitarian transformation which it suffered in England, though, with the other Protestant Churches, it has been affected much by modern thought and criticism. In recent years this working of the German leaven has created wide disturbance. It resulted in 1894 in the virtual expulsion from the ministry, after a series of trials, of Professor Henry Preserved Smith, of Lane Theological Seminary, a man of peaceful and evangelical spirit, and Professor Charles Augustus Briggs, a man of dogmatic temper and aggressive disposition, but personally of noble, beautiful, and devout life, who, unlike Smith, complicated his case by a determined attack on the ultra-conservative school of theologians represented by Princeton as themselves having departed from the standards, and as seeking to foist on the Church extra-confessional rules of faith, and by opinions on progressive sanctification in the future life, and some other points of doctrine. In 1899 Professor Briggs submitted to ordination in the Episcopal Church though still holding his place in the Presbyterian theological school in New York. His reception by that Church created a sensation which almost threatened a schism. The High Church party formed an association having for its object the saving of the Church from the inroads of rationalism, and the creation of a sentiment adverse to the admission of men representing advanced views. A far more serious question than that involved in the Briggs case confronted

the Presbyterian Church in 1898, in the publication of a work on Apostolic Christianity by Professor Arthur C. McGiffert, of the same theological seminary. In this book many of the historical foundations of Christianity were thought to be swept away, and the work exhibited such a boldness of criticism, especially in denying accuracy of important parts of the New Testament, that it created profound and widespread alarm. In 1899 the General Assembly referred the matter to the New York Presbytery for action. The latter took a mediatory and irenic position, contenting itself with disowning, as contrary to truth and to Presbyterian standards, certain specified positions of Professor McGiffert, and, on the ground of his earnest assertion of substantial agreement with the Church on all essential points, waived a trial for heresy, especially on account of the injurious effect of such litigation on the peace of the Church.[1] In 1900 the accused professor withdrew.

The Presbyterian Church has illustrated the Protestant tendency to individualism. The first disruption occurred in 1741 over the question of revivals and the education of ministers, the New Side or New Lights holding with Gilbert Tennent that the Church must avail itself of earnest men of evangelical spirit even if deficient in scholastic training. This breach was healed in 1758. Quite similar in cause was the Cumberland (Kentucky) separation of the early part of the nineteenth century, which issued in a new organization February 4, 1810, resulting in the Cumberland Presbyterian Church. As the other was really the outcome of the Great Awakening, so this new Church was the result of the revival of 1796–1810, which visited especially the new settlements of the Southwest. Large numbers of men of limited education were thrust out into the harvest fields, and these, in their enthusiastic desire to bring men to Christ, swept away the Calvinistic barriers to God's grace. The Presbyterian Church called a halt. This accounts for the fact that the new Church, while Presbyterian in polity and generally in doctrine, denies the doctrine of reprobation, and holds, in the Arminian sense, the universality of the atonement and of God's offers of grace.

CUMBERLAND PRESBYTERIANS.

The forces that made the Cumberland Church were working in the North. Revivals of religion were making it impossible to preach the stark Calvinism of the standards. The rapid spread of Methodism during the first third of the century was working in the same direction. The coming in of a multitude of Congre-

[1] See the full text of the pertinent documents in The Evangelist, N. Y., Dec. 21, 1899, p. 78.

gational ministers with their tendencies to rationalize Calvinism had a wide and beneficent effect on Presbyterian orthodoxy.[1] All this led to a gradual cleavage of the Church into an evangelical, progressive, semi-Arminian school and a conservative, consistent, Calvinistic school. Signs of this division were the trials of Albert Barnes and of Lyman Beecher (1835) for heterodoxy. The crisis came in 1837 when the Church divided into two sections, the Old School and the New School, which continued until 1870. On account of the strong antislavery sentiment in the New School presbyteries in the North, several Southern presbyteries withdrew in 1857. The rest followed in 1862, and united to form the Presbyterian Church in the United States. Both Churches have done magnificent work for religion, education, missions, and various beneficent causes. There are two Reformed Presbyterian Churches in the United States which represent the old Covenanters, and take higher ground in regard to the recognition of God by the State, the use of psalms in worship, and other matters. The United Presbyterian Church has also had a noble history, and, with the two last named Churches, bears a strict and uncompromising testimony on various ethical and religious matters.

OTHER PRESBYTERIAN DIVISIONS.

The Baptists made good beginnings in several States in colonial days, but they were persecuted so bitterly, especially in New England, New York, and Virginia, that large growth was impossible. Since the establishment of the Union they have grown with marvelous rapidity, and have accomplished a work in evangelism, education, literature, and missions which, in proportion to their resources, has not been surpassed in history. On account of a refusal of the American Bible Society to circulate versions made by Baptists which translated *baptizo* into words signifying to dip or to immerse, the latter formed their own Bible Society in 1837. In 1865 they issued a revised New Testament in English, a faithful and accurate translation, but dominated by Baptist interpretation in some words. This version, however, was received with no enthusiasm by Baptists, many of whom

THE REGULAR BAPTISTS.

[1] This infusion of Congregational blood was due to the Plan of Union of 1801, by which the thousands of New England settlers in the Eastern and Middle States were gathered wholesale into Presbyterian churches. This accounts for the strength of Presbyterianism in New York and Pennsylvania, and the meager showing of Congregationalism there. Even that showing is a thing of recent years. The Plan of Union was the great renunciation of Congregationalism, a self-effacement unparalleled in the history of Christianity.

have never heard of it. The Baptists have done excellent work for education, their Brown University (1765, at Warren, Rhode Island, removed to Providence, 1770) and their University of Chicago (1857, endowed in 1890 by Mr. John D. Rockefeller) being institutions of world-wide distinction.

OTHER BAPTISTS.

Other Baptist Churches are the Disciples of Christ, founded by Thomas Campbell, and his greater son, Alexander, which holds aloft Christ as the true creed and unifying center of the Church; the Christian connection, a kind of evangelical Baptist Unitarianism; the Freewill or Free Baptists, who have done magnificent work in Maine as well as elsewhere; the Free Communion Baptists; the Cumberland Baptists; the General Baptists (in the West); the Anti-Mission Baptists, the only thoroughly consistent Calvinists in the world; the Seventh-Day Baptists, with their headquarters at Alfred Center, New York; the German Seventh-Day Baptists; the Six-Principle Baptists; and two bodies of estimable Christians of German descent—the Tunkers (Dunkards, German Baptists or Brethren) and the Winebrennarians, or Church of God, which last is an offshoot of the Reformed German Church on account of opposition to revivals.

LUTHERANS.

The Lutherans have had a rapid development in the national period. Their pre-revolutionary period was not specially notable except for the labors of Campanius among the Indians,[1] the work of Justus Falkner in Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, after 1703, and the splendid results of the labors of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, the Lutheran Asbury, 1742–87. For a considerable time their growth was slow, owing to paucity of immigration, and to their attitude toward the English language on the one hand and toward the Episcopal Church on the other. They kept the use of German in public worship, and when their young people desired services in English they sent them to the Episcopal Church, which they regarded as the English Lutheran Church, a fine tribute to the Protestant complexion of that Church under White and his coadjutors. After 1823, however, the Lutheran Church entered upon an era of permanent growth. Lutheranism is not divided into sects or independent Churches, but into parallel sections, if they might be so called, which have no relation one to another. These are: (1) the General Synod, organized 1820, the most evangelical of the sections, (2) the General Council, 1866, High Church, (3) the Synodical

[1] In 1649 Campanius translated Luther's Small Catechism into the language of the Indians. The book was printed in Upsala, Sweden.

Conference, or "Missourians," 1847, very High Church, and (4) the United Synod of the South, 1886, which agrees substantially with the General Council. There are also independent synods.

REFORMED CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES.

The German Reformed Church, which changed its name in 1869 into the Reformed Church in the United States, is composed mostly of the descendants of the Palatinate immigration and other Reformed (as distinguished from Lutheran) Christians of Central Germany and Switzerland. Their great organizer and missionary was Michael Schlatter, who came to America in 1746 and died in 1790. Their great theologian was John Williamson Nevin, who was professor in their theological seminary at Mercersburg from 1840 to 1851, and editor of the Mercersburg Review from 1849 to 1853, and labored with prodigious industry to blend a modified Catholicism with the Reformed theology. This Church has made a notable contribution to American thought in its Christo-centric idea, from which all doctrines are to be developed and by which all are to be judged. It is less Calvinistic than the Reformed Dutch and Presbyterian Churches, and freer in spirit and more Protestant in doctrine than most sections of the Lutheran Church.

REFORMED CHURCH IN AMERICA.

The Reformed Protestant Dutch Church, known since 1867 as the Reformed Church in America, has had a large and notable history. To this body American civilization, especially in New York and New Jersey, owes a great debt. It has always stood for sound doctrine and a dignified church life, and has not been behind in benevolent, missionary, and educational work. It is the most conservative Protestant Church in Christendom. It holds five, or rather six, creeds—the Apostles', the Nicene, the (so-called) Athanasian, which pronounces damnation on all who do not accept its highly metaphysical statements on the Trinity, the Belgic Confession, the Canons of Dort, and the Heidelberg Catechism, which last it requires to be taught in schools and families, and to be regularly expounded from the pulpit. This conservatism exists, however, with a tolerant spirit and a large charity for all other Christians.

THE MORAVIANS.

Perhaps for self-sacrifice and a constant manifestation of the true Christian spirit, no Church has excelled the Unitas Fratrum, or United Brethren, commonly called the Moravian Church. Nitschmann and Peter Boehler, the spiritual fathers of Wesley, Spangenberg, Zinzendorf—what splendid heroisms do these names recall! Zinzendorf's brief work in America is perhaps unparalleled for its unsectarian spirit and devotion

to Christ alone.[1] The Moravians have been abundant in missionary toil, in which they have carried a zeal and self-abnegation which spring from the cross of Christ.

Otterbein was the Wesley of the German Reformed Church. While pastor at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, between 1752 and 1758, he experienced a change similar to Wesley's. This led him out into similar activities, holding evangelistic services, instituting prayer meetings, appointing laymen as leaders, and standing in close fellowship with Asbury, whom he, with Coke, ordained bishop. In 1800 his societies were organized into the United Brethren in Christ. The polity and theology of this Church are Methodist, and it has always maintained an earnest apostolic spirit.

UNITED BRETHREN IN CHRIST.

Another Methodist Church of Americo-German origin is the Evangelical Association, founded by Jacob Albright in 1800. He was a German Pennsylvanian Lutheran who was converted among the Methodists, and began and carried forward with noble perseverance an evangelistic work among the Germans in Pennsylvania. If the Methodists themselves had been doing German work, as they did after 1836, under that great saint, scholar, and theologian, William Nast, who died in 1899, aged ninety-two, Albright's converts would have been enrolled as Methodists. This excellent body of Christians, well called "evangelical," were unfortunately divided into two denominations in 1891, after long and acrimonious disputes over matters of comparatively trifling importance. The larger body, which the courts have decided represents the original Church, retains the old name; the smaller body has adopted the name of the United Evangelical Church.

EVANGELICAL ASSOCIATION.

The history of the Friends of America in the national period presents nothing of special note. They have spread widely in all the older portions of the country, and have built schools, colleges, and benevolent institutions, have been foremost in all reform movements, and have been true to their noble Christian altruism. In 1827 they divided into two bodies, the Orthodox and Hicksite, each claiming to represent original Quakerism. The Orthodox, on the whole, most truly represents Fox, though both have not been untouched by that current which bears all living institutions beyond the boundaries first settled.

THE FRIENDS.

[1] See the fitting tribute paid him by L. W. Bacon, Hist. of American Christianity, pp. 189–193.

CHAPTER IV.

MISSIONS AND REFORMS.

THE American Churches were by no means unmindful of their duty to evangelize the aborigines, efforts toward which have already been mentioned. The founder and greatest missionary was John Eliot, who while pastor at Roxbury began his work in 1646, and continued it with unabated courage and zeal until his death in 1690. He formed several churches and towns of praying Indians, and lived to see twenty-four Indian preachers. His noble enthusiasm touched the hearts of many in England, and led to the formation of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England in 1649, which aided him with £50 per annum. This help, supplemented by his salary of £60 at Roxbury, enabled him in part to carry on his work of translating the Bible into the native language, a work which he achieved in 1661 (New Testament; Old, 1663), the first Bible printed in America. He wrote various other books, and thus began a native Christian literature. Eliot was a man who richly deserved the encomium of Edward Everett, who said of him, "The history of the Christian Church does not contain an example of resolute, untiring, successful labor superior," and that of Richard Baxter, who said, "There is no man on earth whom I honor above him."[1] Mission work among the Indians has been carried on in the national period by various Churches with moderate success. Perhaps the most enduring work is that conducted with splendid devotion at Hampton, Virginia, where that knight of Jesus Christ, Samuel C. Armstrong, the founder and for twenty-five years the principal of Hampton Institute, closed his noble life May 11, 1893.[2]

MISSIONS TO THE INDIANS.

It was fitting that the Church of Eliot should be the first to preach the Sun of righteousness to the heathen, even although she waited until the night was far spent. The birth of foreign mis-

[1] The latest authority on Eliot is Ezra Hoyt Byington in The Puritan as a Colonist and Reformer, Bost., 1899. See the same author's article in papers of Amer. Soc. of Church History, 1897, pp. 111 ff. Daniel Dorchester is at work on a History of Missions among the Indians, the publication of which is to be devoutly wished.

[2] See Samuel Chapman Armstrong, a sketch by Robert C. Ogden, N. Y., 1894.

sions in the United States may be placed in a humble Congregational parsonage at Torringford, Connecticut, in the prayers and teachings of a minister's wife, who said of her son, Samuel John Mills (born 1783), "I have consecrated this child to the service of God as a missionary." When this boy entered Williams College in 1806, he formed a band of students for prayer and conference. It was a veritable Oxford Holy Club in its world-wide influence. Its meeting place was a grove near by. One day a thunderstorm drove the students to take shelter under the favoring lee of a haystack, and while there young Mills first suggested the idea of evangelizing the heathen. "We can and ought to send them the Gospel," he said. They formed a society whose object it was "to effect in the persons of its members a mission to the heathen." When the great preacher and revivalist, Edward Dorr Griffin, was president of Williams College, 1821–36, he said this of the influence of Mills's praying band: "I have been in situations to know that from the counsels formed in that sacred conclave, or from the mind of Mills himself, arose the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, the American Bible Society, the United Foreign Missionary Society [supported for a time by the Presbyterians, Reformed Dutch, and Associate Reformed Churches], and the African school under the care of the synod of New York and New Jersey, besides all the impetus given to domestic missions, to the Colonization Society, and to the general cause of benevolence in both hemispheres." He then adds: "If I had any instrumentality in originating any of these measures, I here publicly declare that in every instance I received the first impulse from Samuel John Mills."[1]

FOREIGN MISSIONS.

In 1810 Mills entered Andover Theological Seminary, where he found like-minded spirits in Gordon Hall, Samuel Nott, Samuel Newell—the first American missionaries to India (1812)—James Richards, the first to Ceylon, and Adoniram Judson, the first to Burma and the illustrious founder of American Baptist Missions to the East—a company of men who in spirit formed a veritable apostolic college. In the parlor of Professor Moses Stuart these students met a number of clergymen, and in response to their appeal to be sent to the heathen they received the noble response, "Go in the name of the Lord, and we will help." On the next day two of those ministers, Samuel Spring and Samuel Worcester, while on their way to the General Association of Massachusetts, at Bradford, formed the plan of the Ameri-

THE AMERICAN BOARD.

[1] Art. Mills, Samuel John, in Bliss, Encyclop. of Missions, ii, 103.

can Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, which was adopted by the Association three days later, June 29, 1810. This is therefore the oldest missionary society in the United States. Marvelous results have been achieved in India, China, Africa, Turkey, Syria, and Hawaii, and strong foundations laid in Roman Catholic lands. Various sections have been substantially Christianized. The work for literature, science, and scholarship has been commensurate with the work for religion. If the twentieth century sees a new Turkey, it will be due in no small degree to the work of Robert College, Constantinople. It was the Congregational missionaries that made the Hawaiian Islands, which were annexed to the United States in 1899.[1] During the Turkish massacres of the Armenians in 1895 the heroism of the missionaries, whose schools and churches were a house of refuge, was beyond praise.

PRESBYTERIAN MISSIONS.

The Presbyterians also began their work among the Indians, one of their first missionaries being the holy David Brainerd (d. 1780), and they have carried on extensive operations among various tribes during the national period. Perhaps the most celebrated of their missions is that to Syria, where they have done some notable work, especially the Arabic translation of the Bible performed by two celebrated scholars, Eli Smith and C. A. Van Dyck. The latter has written several scientific works in Arabic. The beginning of their work in Laos was, like that of the early Church, baptized in blood. Substantial progress has been made in China and Japan, in which latter country James C. Hepburn made all inquirers his debtor by publishing (1867) his Japanese-English Dictionary. The works on comparative religion by the late lamented S. H. Kellogg and by Francis F. Ellinwood, as well as the wonderful quickening to Christian life and service by the activities of their young secretary, Robert E. Speer, are worthy of special mention.

Among the offerings of Andover to foreign missions in the Mills band were Adoniram Judson and Luther Rice. They sailed on separate vessels for India, but both, without knowledge of each other's studies or collusion, reached Baptist conclusions on their

[1] The work of missions for civilization has been specially treated by Thomas Laurie, Contributions of Foreign Missions to Science and Human Well-Being (the Ely volume), Bost., 1881, 2d ed. 1887; W. D. Mackenzie, Christianity and the Progress of Man: a Study of Contemporary Evolution in Connection with the Work of Modern Missions, N. Y., 1898; and especially in the monumental work of James S. Dennis, Christian Missions and Social Progress, 3 vols., N. Y., 1898–1900.

voyage. This was the beginning of American Baptist foreign missionary work, a society being formed in 1814 to support Judson and Rice and send more workers. Judson and his devoted wives are among the brightest names in the history of missions, and the reading of their memoirs has done much to stimulate missionary zeal. He was the father of Christian Burma in his twofold work for missions and literature. The American Baptists have done a work of inestimable importance for civilization in Burma, not to speak of their evangelism. The Burman Baptist Church, too, had its martyr periods. The sufferings of Judson and the martyrdom of native Christians are not eclipsed in the records of heroism. The history of the Telugu (Madras presidency) mission is most interesting as an illustration of long-delayed success. With magnificent faith and self-devotion the Baptists kept their missionaries on the ground, with few or no converts, from 1836 to 1865. In the latter year there were no more than twenty-five Christians as a reward for their thirty years' work. But in 1867, after the long sowing, a harvest was begun. The converts gradually increased until in 1876 there were 1,394 members reported. In 1878, 8,691 were baptized. The marvelous work has gone on until in 1899, 50,735 members are reported. An equally interesting work in a far different country is that in Sweden, where American Baptist missions have achieved a notable success. In 1899 they reported 40,905 members. Most of the Baptist mission churches in Sweden are self-supporting, and are sending their own missionaries to the heathen.

BAPTIST MISSIONS.

"Despise not the day of small things" is the lesson of missionary history. A Virginian free mulatto (with Indian blood) converted in Marietta, Ohio, under the preaching of a zealous Methodist preacher, Marcus Lindsey, felt it his duty to preach the Gospel to the Indians. He started out in 1814 and journeyed until he came to the Wyandot reservation at Upper Sandusky, where he told the simple story of the cross. His labors were successful. In 1817 a revival brought a multitude to Christ. This zealous Negro-Indian evangelist, John Stewart, labored on until he saw substantially the whole Wyandot nation Christianized. His labors led to the formation of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church in New York in 1819. No foreign work, however, was undertaken until 1833, when the consecrated Melville B. Cox was sent to Liberia, where he died in four months, with these words upon his lips, "Let a thousand fall before Africa is given up." Since that time flourishing missions

METHODIST MISSIONS.

have been established in various parts of Africa, India, China, Japan, Mexico, South America, and several nations in Europe. In 1898 the English Wesleyan Methodist missions in Germany were handed over to the Methodist Episcopal Society after negotiations marked with special tokens of the divine blessing. William Taylor, from a missionary standpoint the modern St. Paul, and the founder of "self-supporting" Methodist missions in South America, India, and Africa, was made missionary bishop of Africa in 1884, and founded missions up the Congo and in other strategic points on both the eastern and western coasts and in the interior. Another man of apostolic spirit, James M. Thoburn, was made missionary bishop of India and Malaysia in 1888, and has seen the work spread under his hands in a way that recalls the early triumphs of the Church. In North India, especially, the Baptist history among the Telugus has been repeated with the Methodists. Missions have been planted in different parts of Malaysia, at Singapore, and in the Philippine Islands (1900). Among the founders of Methodist missions must be named William Butler, who laid the foundations in India (1856) and in Mexico (1873) with devotion and wisdom, and, after a singularly fruitful and beautiful life, died in 1899, full of years and honors.

All the Protestant Churches in the United States and Canada have done noble work in both home and foreign missions. The following statistics of American foreign missions were published in 1899: Ordained missionaries, 1,249; native helpers of all kinds, 16,678; communicants, 367,846; income, $5,549,340.[1]

SLAVERY.

In all the colonies slavery was a recognized institution. The Southern colonists differed from the Northern in this, however, that in them slavery was a part of their social and industrial economy. The plantation was the unit of their system, not the town.[2] Protests against slavery, even by Southerners, were not uncommon in the colonial period, and in the North those protests sometimes took the form of a denunciation of the thing in itself. An interesting illustration of the different temper of the two eras is the fact that when Cotton Mather's Essays to Do Good, in which he took grounds against the justice of slavery, were republished by the American Tract Society, the little book had to be expurgated. Nor were the Churches silent. The Mennonites and Quakers uniformly opposed the institution, and at its formation the Methodist Episcopal Church took high

[1] Missionary Review, Feb., 1899, p. 150.

[2] L. W. Bacon, Hist. of American Christianity, p. 147.

and uncompromising ground, as did also individual churches of other denominations. But slavery was so intrenched in the South that the Churches were compelled to recognize it. Even the intense ethical and reforming zeal of early Methodism was powerless against it, as witness the instructive recessions of the Methodist Discipline from its first position.[1] But this recognition was always partial and tentative, most of the Churches in the North bearing testimony as to the evils of slavery and advising various measures of relief. There were always persons, however, even outside of the Friends and other religious societies, who bore unflinching testimony against slavery. Many of these forsook the Churches entirely, and denounced them as false to the first principles of Christianity. The time of the chief activity of the antislavery reform, the third, fourth, and fifth decades of the nineteenth century, has been called the martyr period of our national history, on account of the sufferings, occasionally unto death, of these heroic men. One of the greatest of them, William Lloyd Garrison, was mobbed in Boston in 1835—dragged through the street with a rope around his neck. John G. Whittier, Samuel J. May, George Thompson, Parker Pillsbury, and other brave defenders of freedom, were in riots oft. Elijah P. Lovejoy, who published an antislavery paper in Cincinnati, was shot by a mob in 1837 and his office wrecked. Among the forces working toward emancipation must be mentioned the influence of Uncle Tom's Cabin (1852), a powerful and dramatic story drawn from life. The emancipation of the negroes as the result of the civil war (1861–5), and their premature enfranchisement laid upon the Church a grave responsibility. This has been met by a Christian patriotism and devotion worthy of all praise. A vast deal of missionary and educational work has been done in the South by the various Protestant denominations.

THE FREEDMEN.

Nowhere has the temperance reform won greater triumphs than in the United States. The Church and a multitude of temperance organizations have won thousands of drinkers to sobriety, and legislation, enforced by an enlightened public sentiment, has driven the public traffic out of many regions. Kansas, Maine, and North Dakota have incorporated prohibition into their constitutions, and Iowa, New Hampshire, and Vermont

TEMPERANCE.

[1] See the various histories of Methodism in the United States; Elliott, The Great Secession, Cin., 1855, in which the relation of Methodism to slavery is treated with great detail (valuable documents in appendices), and brief conspectus by T. O. Summers, in McClintock and Strong, Cyc., vi, 182, 183.

have passed prohibitory laws, though in many places these laws are a dead letter. South Dakota adopted a prohibitory amendment in 1890 (with its northern sister) on becoming a State, but in 1898 the people swept the amendment from the constitution, and in 1899 put into effect a State dispensary law, similar to that adopted by South Carolina in 1893. Few Churches force total abstinence on members, although the Methodist Episcopal Church has had a rule to that effect from the beginning, and has lived up to it with a fair degree of fidelity. The woman's crusade against saloons in Ohio in 1873–4, founded on a profound religious impulse, had notable local results, besides leading to the formation of one of the most influential moral agencies in the world, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, which has spread into many lands, and has widened its scope to include related reforms of the greatest consequence.

SOCIAL PURITY.

Social purity deserves to be the next world-reform movement. The Moloch of lust—brother-demon of drink—destroys millions every year, and yet the Church has not in any general effective way attempted to abate that curse. In 1885 William T. Stead uncovered the horrors of London society in dealing with unprotected girls, and his disclosures, for which he was imprisoned, led to the Criminal Law Amendment Act which raised the age of protection to sixteen. In the same year the Woman's Christian Temperance Union took up this cause under the direction of Miss Frances E. Willard, and in 1888 they secured the passage by Congress of an act raising the age of consent to sixteen. There are a large number of agencies for the rescue of the unfortunate and the reform of the fallen supported by Protestant and Catholic churches and by independent charity.[1] In this connection no society has done a nobler and more necessary work than the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice (1873), through its brave and indefatigable secretary, Mr. Anthony Comstock.

THE SALVATION ARMY AND THE VOLUNTEERS.

Rescue work in general brings before us two great societies, the Salvation Army, and its daughter, the Volunteers of America. The Salvation Army was founded by William Booth in 1878 to preach the Gospel to the masses and help the helpless. It is the only great religious society in the world which in a large, determined, practical way has undertaken to carry out Christ's program in Luke iv, 18, and it

[1] The most of these—both national and local—will be found catalogued with information as to each, in that invaluable handbook, New York Charities Directory, 7th ed., N. Y., 1897, p. 568.

has done this in its twofold ministries, religious and social, with a zeal and heroism worthy of apostolic times. It also has had its age of persecution, but in Christian lands that is almost passed. It is military in its government, Methodist in its theology, and revivalistic in its spirit. It does work for the poor and those out of employment, for homeless men and women, for children, and for prisoners. The Volunteers of America was founded by William Booth's son Ballington and his wife in 1896 in a schism from the Salvation Army resulting from a realization in their own persons of the tyrannical organization of the Army. It retains military organization, though with large concessions to American ideas. Its religious and philanthropic aims are similar to those of the Army, though it addresses itself also to the wage-earning class. By the devotion and consecrated genius of Mrs. Ballington Booth, who stands with Miss Frances E. Willard among the most useful women in this generation, a promising field of hope and usefulness has been opened up for prisoners and released convicts.

A most Christian conception of philanthropy is the Settlement, or actual residence in the midst of slum districts, where, by religious, educational, and physical ministries, an attempt is made to lift up the whole population. This is indeed but a greatly needed enlargement of the work done by the Churches. The founder of the Settlement was Arnold Toynbee, a graduate of Oxford, who came under the influence of Ruskin's socialistic Christianity, and believing that a man must, so to speak, incarnate himself among the poor, he took up his residence in Whitechapel, London, in 1875, and associated himself with that enthusiastic and large-minded slum worker, the Rev. S. A. Barnett. Toynbee was carried off by overwork in 1883, and in 1885 Toynbee Hall was organized in Whitechapel under the direction of Barnett. Members of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge reside there and labor in ways of education, relief, and spiritual help, as well as minister to the poor in amusement and recreation, and thus, by first-hand contact and study get at the heart of the problem of poverty and crime. A similar institution—The Hull House—was established in Chicago in 1889, the College Settlements Association was formed the next year, and since that time several settlements have been established, centers of light and healing, by our colleges and theological seminaries.

CHAPTER V.

THE AMERICAN CHURCH IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY.

WHAT shall be the character of Christianity in the twentieth century? Judging the future by the past we may say that the historical trend clearly indicates the following important features.

The American Church will interpret its mission in larger terms. It has already taken a leaf from early Methodism and the Salvation Army, which have taught it that it has a mission to society as well as to the individual.[1] This accounts for that notable and hopeful development of Christian work, the Institutional Church, a conception which was embodied in 1890 independently and almost simultaneously in three or four different cities. It is defined by the Rev. C. A. Dickinson, of the Berkeley Temple, Boston, in these words: "It is an organization which aims to reach all of the man and all men by all means. In other words, it aims to represent Christ on earth in the sense of representing him physically, morally, and spiritually to the senses of the men and women who live in the present age. . . . Some general lines will be friendliness and sociability, charitable aid, aid to self-help; instruction, intellectual and manual; the ministry of music and art; religion pure and undefiled; the simple and urgent preaching of the deepest and most inspiring truth we can possibly attain to."[2] The institutional idea, making the Church minister, as Christ did, to the varied life of man, has been widely adopted, sometimes even in rural places, and when carried on in the true spirit of Christ and for spiritual ends, has attained remarkable success.[3]

THE INSTITUTIONAL CHURCH.

The precursor of the Church in this larger interpretation of its

[1] On the socialistic aspect of Wesley's work see the admirable book by D. D. Thompson, John Wesley as a Social Reformer, Cincinnati and N. Y., 1899.

[2] Art. Institutional Churches in Bliss, Encyc. of Social Reform, p. 735; Charles J. Mills, The Institutional Church, in Bibliotheca Sacra, July, 1892, pp. 453 ff. The last article tells of results as well as of methods. A valuable book is that of G. W. Mead, Modern Methods in Church Work, N. Y., 1896. See also Gladden, The Christian Pastor and the Working Church, N. Y., 1899.

[3] Some Institutional Churches are: Berkeley Temple (Congregational), Boston; Fourth Church, Hartford; Jersey City Tabernacle; St. George's, New York; the Metropolitan Temple (Methodist Episcopal), New York; Plymouth Church, Milwaukee; and the Tabernacle, Denver. See Bliss as above.

mission is the Young Men's Christian Association. This was founded in 1844 by George Williams, then a clerk in a dry goods store in London, who gathered a few of his fellows together for prayer. From this small beginning this organization has grown until it has 5,075 associations and 465,902 members, in the United States, Canada, every European country, and in various places in Asia, Africa, and Oceanica.[1] It reaches young men from the basis of the physical, as well as of the intellectual and spiritual. Two of its important branches are the railroad and college departments, in which it has achieved notable results. The Young Women's Christian Association, founded in New York in 1873, has a similar aim, and has achieved a work similarly noble, fruitful, and abiding.

YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION.

The American Church will organize its working forces for more aggressive service. The thought is taking possession of the Church that it exists not for itself but for the world. This use of its members for the Kingdom in a large way is a recent thing. The organization of woman's home and foreign missionary societies is one of the most important events in Church history, and dates only from 1834—the most of them, however, within the last third of the century. The young people's societies are more recent still, the Christian Endeavor Society in 1881, the Brotherhood of St. Andrew in 1883, the King's Daughters in 1886, the Epworth League in 1889, the Young People's Christian Union (United Brethren) in 1890, the Baptist Young People's Union in 1891, and the Luther League in 1888 (first national convention, 1895). The Brotherhood of Philip and Andrew (1888) states its object in this striking sentence: "Any man can belong to the Brotherhood who will promise to pray daily for the spread of the kingdom of Christ among young men, and to make an earnest effort each week to bring at least one young man within the hearing of the Gospel." Societies for men as well as for young men are now being organized, such as men's clubs in local churches, the Brotherhood of St. Paul, and the Brotherhood of the Methodist Episcopal Church, both in 1898. The remarkably rapid growth of lodges and secret societies for men, as well as social clubs, is not only from the point of view of the Church one of the most alarming facts to be faced, but is a revelation of a demand from the social, fraternal, and intellectual side of human nature of which the Church must take account. The Church will learn from its early history that attention to the spir-

ORGANIZATIONS FOR SERVICE AND SOCIETY.

[1] Year Book of the International Committee of Y. M. C. A., 1899, p. 225.

itual needs of men should not be divorced from ministries to their varied life, but rather logically includes those ministries. The vain hope of men to realize by worldly societies that brotherhood which Christ first made a living reality accounts for these organizations so pathetically numerous. To that hope and feeling the Church must appeal in its work for men and by men, and to that work it must address itself with a pulpit intellectually aggressive, a membership spiritually alive, and all kinds of agencies for the help and healing of man's manifold nature. To her come the golden words of her minister in darkest London: "The social reformer must go alongside the Christian missionary, if he be not himself the Christian missionary."[1]

The American Church, while loyal to truth, will place more and more emphasis on life. The loosening of dogmatic bonds is one of the most remarkable legacies which the nineteenth century leaves to the twentieth. Even the Roman Catholic Church is moved by this age-spirit. No Church has escaped it, or can escape it. Opinions which caused heresy trials half a century ago are now considered conservative indeed. When the Andover professors were tried for heresy in 1886–7 it was well understood by all that, whatever the merits of that special contest, they had traveled far beyond the terms of the old Andover creed, to which they must subscribe every five years.[2] But although the trial did not decide the points in dispute its general result was decidedly in favor of the professors. Everywhere the tendency is the same. Twenty-five years ago the acceptance of the main results of the literary criticism of the Old Testament would have been dangerous to one's ecclesiastical standing, as witness the removal of Professor W. Robertson Smith from the chair of Hebrew in the Free Church College, Aberdeen, in 1881; but to-day the great majority of scholars in all evangelical Churches have accepted those results to a greater or less degree and with perfect impunity.

EMPHASIS ON LIVING.

The main conclusions of conservative and reverent scholars who are working from the facts and not from antisupernaturalistic prepossessions not only do not injure but rather confirm the faith of

[1] The Rev. Samuel A. Barnett, Practicable Socialism, rev. and enl. ed., Lond. and N. Y., 1894, p. 195. He says also: "The one satisfactory method of social reform is that which tends to make more common the good things which wealth has gained for the few. The nationalization of luxury must be the object of social reformers" (p. 65). See Art. Barnett, in Bliss, Encyc. of Social Reform, p. 142.

[2] In 1899 the Board of Visitors set forth an official declaration interpreting terms of subscription to the creed in the most liberal way.

the Church in the divine authority of the Old Testament. Church history shows on every page that the standpoint of to-day on unimportant theological views may be shifted for another to-morrow. When Professor Beet profoundly modified the traditional Methodist treatment of eschatology in his The Last Things, in 1897, the matter ended in a quiet investigation, a result which shows that one of the most conservative sections of Christendom is determined to preach the Gospel and not waste its strength in internecine strife over nonessentials. On the other hand, a young Canadian scholar, Professor George C. Workman, was transferred from the theological to the arts department of Victoria University in 1891 on account of his views of Messianic Prophecy, though he explained that they were entirely consistent with an evangelical interpretation, and was refused reinstatement by a small majority in 1892—an interesting instance of colonial conservatism.[1] The new attitude in theological science at once conservative and progressive, holding stanchly to the Christian foundations, but with open vision to God's ever-dawning light, is illustrated in two or three recent books.[2]

REVERENT AND PROGRESSIVE SCHOLARSHIP.

The twentieth century Church will seek for union where it can be had without prejudice to truth or to effective service. As has already been noted, some of the Scotch Presbyterian Churches have united, and in 1869 the "New School" and "Old School" Presbyterian Churches in the United States came together. All the Methodist Churches of Canada are now under the title of The Methodist Church, the New Connection uniting with Wesleyan Methodists in 1874, and the Methodist Episcopal, Primitive, and Bible Christian uniting with these in 1883. Conferences for the discussion of theological and practical questions have brought the various Reformed Churches into fraternal communion, which has issued in the formation of the Alliance of Reformed Churches throughout the World holding the Presbyterian System, which held its first general council in Edinburgh in 1877, and its last in Washington in 1899. A like friendly association of all the Methodist Churches in the world has been consummated, of which the fruit is the first ecumenical confer-

UNION OF CHURCHES.

[1] For Professor Workman's contributions to Messianic prophecy see the Canadian Methodist Quarterly, Oct., 1890, 407 ff., Oct., 1891, 407 ff., and Messianic Prophecy Vindicated, Toronto, 1899. He is the author of one of the most valuable apologies of recent times, The Old Testament Vindicated, Toronto, 1897.

[2] M. S. Terry, The New Apologetic, N. Y. and Cin., 1897, and Christian Apocalyptics, N. Y. and Cin., 1899, and C. W. Rishell, Foundations of the Christian Faith, N. Y. and Cin., 1899.

ence in London in 1881, the second in Washington in 1891, and the third in London in 1901. It is to be devoutly hoped that these union meetings for discussion will lead to an organic union for work, as well as for an exhibition of that real brotherhood and unity of spirit which form one of the essential prerequisites to the conversion of the world.

A BASIS FOR CHURCH UNION.

In 1886 the House of Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Churches laid down the following platform for the organic union or confederation of all Churches: 1. The Holy Scriptures the only rule of faith. 2. The Apostles' Creed as the baptismal symbol, and the Nicene Creed as a statement of Christian belief. 3. The two sacraments, baptism and the Lord's Supper. 4. The historic episcopate. The bishops also sent down overtures to the various Protestant Churches asking for their response. The replies they received were, on the whole, distinctly unfavorable to the project. This was due in part to the fact that the fourth principle had been interpreted as meaning the practical rejection by the Protestant Churches of the validity of their ministry, and a reordination according to hierarchical and unscriptural assumption underlying the Episcopal theory. It is true indeed that the Committee on Christian Union, appointed at the Lambeth Conference of Bishops in communion with the Anglican Church which met in London in 1888, recommended that the fourth principle, while it necessitates the threefold ministry as the normal rule in the future, does not mean the invalidity of a presbyterially ordained ministry, or reordination. Their report, however, was so far from meeting the approval of the Conference that it not only voted it down and substituted another in the terms of the American proposals of 1886, but suppressed its publication. Here the matter rests. It is evident that the reunion of Protestant Christendom, if it comes to pass, must be around Christ and not around the episcopate. History has demonstrated that. But the love of God in the heart of believers, and their union in Christ, must eventually lead to a manifestation of that union in relation to one another. One hundred and fifty independent sects is not an ideal representation of the Christian Brotherhood. The problem of Christian Union faces the Church of the twentieth century.

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